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MICHAEL VON ALBRECHT

A HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE

VOLUME ONE

A HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE

From Livius Andronicus to Boethius

WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO ITS INFLUENCE
ON WORLD LITERATURE

BY

MICHAEL VON ALBRECHT

Revised by Gareth Schmeling and by the author

VOLUME ONE

Translated with the Assistance of Frances and Kevin Newman

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TO MY TEACHERS AND TO MY STUDENTS

PREFACE

While many frontiers are opened and world traffic is becoming easier every day, one might ask if this progress in mobility is matched by a progress in mutual understanding. It might be worthwhile to listen, in this context, to the undogmatic voice of that literature which to a special degree influenced all western and some eastern literatures. Even if the answers given by Roman authors may be 'dated', certainly the questions they raised, their methods of thought and their standards of quality proved and still prove to be a path to independent thought and intellectual freedom for many.

The present book is addressed to students and teachers of classical and modern languages and to all friends of literature. It will fulfill its purpose if the reader feels the desire to open a classic anew or to discover for himself a Latin author he had not known.

The author gratefully dedicates this book to his teachers—Paul Ludwig, Ernst Zinn, and Pierre Courcelle—and to his students. While preparing the present English edition, he constantly kept in mind his students and the unforgettable experiences of mutual teaching and learning he had at the University of Florida and at the University of Texas.

This English edition is a document of friendship. Frances and J. Kevin Newman did the author the great honor of offering their help as translators and sending him a rough draft of an English translation of vol. I. They were, therefore, the first English translators of the present book. Ruth R. Caston and Francis R. Schwartz made rough drafts of other parts and assisted the author at different stages of a long and complex working process. It is a pleasure to thank all translators for their sacrificial work. The author who, of course, is solely responsible for any error in the final version, is also deeply obliged to his friend Gareth Schmeling, who kindly revised it.

The present edition is based on the second, improved and augmented German edition of 1994. Within reasonable limits, the bibliographies have been updated, and English editions and translations of classical authors have been added. Latin quotations in the text have been translated. The chapters on Roman Jurists greatly profited from three substantial letters from Detlef Liebs. Some remarks came from Reinhard Häussler (on Sallust and Tacitus) and from Aldo

Setaioli's admirable Italian translation of this book (Torino 1995–1996). Further advice was given by Gregor Damschen, Petra Farian, Sabine Grebe (e.g. on Martianus Capella), Janet Weisselberg, Rüdiger Niehl (e.g. on the *Poetae Novelli*), Claudia Nissle, Franz M. Scherer, Matthias Schopper, and, last but not least, by the author's wife.

This English edition would not have been possible without the generous support granted by the *Stiftung Humanismus Heute* of Baden-Württemberg, by Robert Bosch (Stuttgart), and by Inter Nationes (Bonn). The author gives his thanks to these institutions and to the humane persons behind them. Moreover, he wants to express his gratitude to his German publisher K. G. Saur who, with the untiring assistance of Petra Hütter, put his international contacts in the service of the present book. The author is pleased indeed that this book is published in the Netherlands, where, thanks to A. D. Leeman's friendship, he had the privilege of living and teaching some twenty years ago. Albert Hoffstädt of Brill's was a friendly and competent tutor of the publication.

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This book was planned as a single unit, and its division into two volumes is due purely to external constraints.

The four *sections referring to periods* (e.g. 'Survey of the Literature of the Republican Period') which introduce each of the major Chapters II to V present synchronical overviews of the literary activity of that period. There follows a detailed discussion of poetry and, subsequently, prose according to genres and authors. Within each period, works of the same genre are, where possible, treated together. However, authors active in several genres appear only in one place.

The *sub-sections on genre* (e.g. '*Roman Epic*') are intended to facilitate a diachronical *overview*, and their titles are emphasized by *italics*. These sub-sections on genre are in each case placed before the earliest important representative of that genre.

A synoptic study is also made possible by the fact that all the *sub-sections on the authors* exhibit the same subdivisions: Life and Dates; Sources, Models, and Genres; Literary Technique; Language and Style; Ideas; Transmission; Influence. Because of their particular significance, reflections on literature (i.e. literary theory and criticism) are discussed separately ('Ideas I') from the other ideas of the author in question ('Ideas II').

In bibliographical references, short titles *without* initials of the first name (e.g. LEO, LG) refer to the general list of abbreviations at the end of the whole work. Short titles *with* initials and dates (e.g. F. LEO 1912) refer to the specialized bibliography at the end of each particular section.

The orthography of places of publication is determined in each case by the book cited, and so 'Romae' appears along with 'Roma' and 'Rome'. The names of Latin authors and works are abbreviated in accordance with the usage of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. The few exceptions in the cases of Seneca and Claudian are intended for ease of reference. Journals and other works cited in brief are listed fully in the list of abbreviations. Abbreviations used for editions are: T = text; Tr = translation; C = commentary; N = notes.

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INTRODUCTION
LITERATURE AND LITERARY HISTORY

'Roman literature' for us means the works written in Latin in antiquity. The fall of the Western Empire in Rome occurred officially in A.D. 476. In 529 Justinian closed Plato's Academy, and St. Benedict founded his monastic community on Monte Cassino. Symbolically, the end of one tradition coincided with the beginning of another.

From the start, we should make a distinction between ancient and modern ideas of literature. In addition to poetry and novels, ancient literature included genres which today's readers do not normally associate with literature: oratorical, historical, and philosophical writings, that is to say, formal prose in the broadest sense. But there is more. In principle, we have to take into account even technical works, whether they concern agriculture, law, warfare, or architecture. Again, the boundaries between 'artistic' and 'real' letters were fluid, and it would be mere caprice to exclude from literary history such highly personal communications as Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* for the sake of a principle. The lines of demarcation between artistic and utilitarian literature were less strictly drawn than they are today. Even when writing utilitarian texts, classical authors strove for beauty of style, and in Roman eyes usefulness was not a drawback even for *belles lettres*. Indeed, it was this very duality that contributed to the survival of Roman writings. On the one hand, their literary shape made them more accessible to readers (this was the case, for example, with philosophy). On the other, most generations before us read Latin books rather for their content than for mere aesthetic enjoyment.

There are limits to our knowledge of literary history and to an historical approach to literature. Only a small portion of Roman literature has come down to us, and we should never forget how much has been lost. Moreover, in many cases we no longer have the Greek models for surviving Latin works, a fact which makes it difficult to judge the achievement of a given Roman writer. The dating of many authors, even of sets of authors, is questionable, and the biographies of most of them are scarcely known. To reconstruct an historical background, against which literature might be measured, we must often turn to the literature itself. As a result, the danger of circular argument is ever present. There is a chasm between the intellectual

horizon of an author's contemporaries and that of later generations. Authors often waste no words on things they themselves take for granted. Furthermore, what they write sometimes reflects the milieu of their models, not their own. Constraints of tradition and genre are overwhelming. Finally, we often derive a false perspective from relatively rich, but extraneous, information. In some of these cases, conventional knowledge[1] seems to obscure rather than illuminate the uniqueness of the individual and his creative achievement. One might even ask if literary history is a suitable path at all to an understanding of an author's greatness. The problems indicated here have influenced the character and structure of this book:

Indeed, a study of a writer's influence is, in its way, an *historical* approach to a comprehension of his range and stature. It is part of the task of literary history to show what had influence and what might still have influence. Therefore, the impact of Roman literature on world literature is given more emphasis in this book than is customary.

A basic feature of Roman literature is its ability to revitalize itself; hence its place as mother of European literature. This first became evident on a large scale with Christian Latin writings—an exemplary case, not to be overlooked in a history of Roman literature. As the late Imperial period drew its life from the tension between paganism and Christianity, an exclusive consideration of pagan late antiquity would be vulnerable to criticism from the point of view of both history and method.

Of course more space is devoted to 'great' names in classical literature than to others; yet some discoveries about minor writers can be found here. In the final analysis, the attention we pay to less commonly read works may help us more deeply appreciate the greatness of the acknowledged masters.[2]

---

[1] 'The greatness of true art . . . lay in finding again, in grasping again and making known to us that reality from which we live at so great a remove, the reality from which we distance ourselves more and more, the more the conventional knowledge by which we replace it gains in mass and opacity.' M. Proust, *A la recherche du temps perdu VII: Le temps retrouvé*, Paris 1954, vol. 8, 257.

[2] 'We cannot understand the famous unless we have responded sympathetically to the obscure', Franz Grillparzer, *Der arme Spielmann*.

FIRST CHAPTER:
CONDITIONS OF THE RISE OF ROMAN LITERATURE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Geographical and political milieu. Bounded on the north by the Alps, and on its other sides by the sea, the Apennine Peninsula forms a geographic unit. The Apennine range for a long time prevented the Romans from extending their territory into the plain of the Po, which, under the name of Gallia Cisalpina, was also home to a different population. Since there are more harbors on the Tyrrhenian side, Italy has a marked orientation toward the west. As a result, for a considerable period the Romans showed no inclination to acquire territory in the eastern Mediterranean. There was racial diversity as well. The Romans and related tribes were first concentrated in the center of Italy and on portions of the mountainous terrain there. Etruscans settled in Tuscany, Gauls in the plain of the Po, and Greeks in the south of the peninsula. Interaction with these peoples, sometimes warlike and sometimes peaceful, is reflected in Roman civilization and literature.

It was the Elder Cato who recognized the role of Italy. In his *Origines* he took into account not only Rome but also the other cities of Italy, but in doing so he found no followers among later historians. Virgil established a memorial to the Italian countryside and its peoples, with such characters as Turnus and Camilla, and with his catalogue of Italian allies. The contrast between the capital and the rest of the Italian motherland was still felt to be of major importance in the 1st century B.C.

For a long time Rome was governed by Etruscans, a fact which later Romans often found difficult to admit. Much that passes as typically Roman is of Etruscan origin, such as the *fasces* ('bundle of rods'), a symbol of magisterial office, the gladiatorial games, probably even the very name of *Rome.* Etruscan cultural influences extended from soothsaying to theater, art, and architecture.

Greek culture was known from the earliest period, and the more the empire expanded, the more deeply Greek influence penetrated Roman civilization. Having acquired an alphabet from Cumae, the Romans subsequently embraced Etruscan and Oscan varieties of drama and even the Greek tragedy and comedy encountered at Tarentum. The Greek authors imitated by the oldest Latin writers were

for the most part associated with Magna Graecia, either by their origin or their subject matter. The laws of the *Twelve Tables*, which were based on Greek city codes, and the 'Pythagorean' (i.e. South Italian) maxims of Appius Claudius provide early and particularly impressive evidence of this relationship.

The city of Rome is situated at a considerable distance from the sea at a bridge where the Via Salaria crosses the Tiber. Its position on an old trading route was economically and militarily advantageous. Accordingly, at the outset expansion occurred here, along the land route. This explains why relations with Carthage, a sea power, were so good for many years, especially since the common rival was Etruria. Conflict erupted after Rome had acquired all Italy's harbors, and consequently had to defend their interests. The peasant people rose to the new challenge and became, almost overnight, a victorious seapower. Expansion of territory also brought cultural and intellectual challenges, which stimulated new responses. The political union of the peninsula called into play the name *Italy* and Italian myths. Only now did Carthage become an 'ancestral' enemy; only now was an Italian picture of history created. So, too, emerged a genuine Latin literature,[1] one born late, but destined for a long life.

Rome increasingly extended the right of citizenship, attracting the upper classes of the Italian cities, and of course also their talented youth. The Capital became the forum for literary talents from southern and central Italy, and later also for those from Gaul and the rest of the provinces.

Literature may be an echo of great historical events; even so it is not a mere reflection of them, but a projection of new questions and answers. Thus, the epic of Naevius was the result of the First Punic War, that of Ennius looked back to the Second, and so, too, Virgil's *Aeneid* came at the end of a hundred years of civil wars.

The disintegration of social and political links in the late Republican period indirectly encouraged the rise of great personal poetry. The new political order under Sulla, however, did not inspire a lasting echo in literature, a fact indicative of the gulf separating this dictator from Augustus.

The great change between Republic and Empire is reflected most strikingly in the altered function of oratory. Instead of a means of

[1] A necessary presupposition for the rise of Latin literature was the spread of the use of Latin which had occurred in the meantime (cf. *Language*, below, pp. 26–31).

persuading other men to political decisions, oratory now became at best a medium of psychological analysis and self-education, and at worst a mere display of technical virtuosity.

The new peace established by Augustus fostered a unique blossoming of literature: Greek and Roman culture merged, and the world-wide Empire was perceived as a unity. Against this background, a subjective genre like elegy could develop in the hands of the younger generation, who had not consciously experienced the Civil Wars and so enjoyed the blessings of the Principate with more satisfaction than gratitude.

In the exalted intellectual atmosphere typical of Nero's time, writers did not feel oppressed by the burden of a rich tradition and rose to a level of free creativity. With this, literary fields came to be cultivated which so far had been alien to the Romans, as can be seen in Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* and in the *Natural History* of the Elder Pliny.

Again under Domitian, a Roman and imperial cultural identity found expression in Latin. After this, the Empire became more and more fragmented into cultural provinces. At first the outlying regions still sent their best representatives to Rome, as Spain had done in the Silver period. But later, it made more sense for writers to be active in their own homelands. African writers from Apuleius onward are cases in point.

CONDITIONS OF THE RISE OF LITERATURE

Patronage. The attitudes of politicians and patrons may either advance or hinder literature. Republican magistrates put on public celebrations, thereby encouraging the production of comedies and tragedies. Augustus made the right choice with Maecenas, as did Maecenas with Virgil and Horace. Indeed, we may owe the preservation of the *Aeneid* to the personal intervention of the *princeps.* Tiberius did not have such a good eye. He surrounded himself with philologists who had to amuse him by discussing rather absurd problems. In his turn, Caligula allowed the publication of historical works banned under his predecessor. The much misunderstood Claudius entrusted the newly created position *a studiis* (a sort of Ministry of Culture) to his efficient freedman, Polybius. Nero thought of himself as an artist, and encouraged the artistic inclinations of the aristocracy. Vespasian, in spite of his thrifty nature, was the first to regard a public professorship of

rhetoric as a good investment. Domitian enlarged the holdings of the Roman libraries, and founded the Capitoline Poetic Contest. Trajan established the Bibliotheca Ulpia. From the time of Hadrian, the work of jurists enjoyed increased support. Even in the intellectual desert of the 3rd century a small ray of light shines: Emperor Tacitus is said to have taken measures to promote the spread of the writings of his namesake.

The record of sins which the Roman state committed against its literature, however, is no less extensive. In the days of the Republic, important orators were proscribed. Philosophers and Latin rhetors were banished from Rome.[1] The murder of Cicero, the enforced death of Cornelius Gallus, and the relegation of Ovid all ocurred in the time of Augustus. There were many book burnings, and famous speakers were silenced by banishment to lonely islands. In this respect as in many others Tiberius was anxious to continue the traditions of his predecessor—even to the point of persecuting inconvenient historians. Caligula raised negative selection to a principle. A would-be Plato without Plato's wisdom, he wanted to expel the works of the 'incompetent' Homer, Virgil and Livy from the state libraries and from the bookstalls and, conversely, to execute Seneca *because* of his talent. Claudius sent the same philosopher into exile. It was finally under Nero that Seneca, like Petronius and Lucan, met his death. In the 2nd century, Juvenal desperately implored the emperor to rescue Roman literature; his cry went unheeded. Hadrian turned to the Greek language. In the time of the Severi the greatest jurists became martyrs. The dire financial straits endured by the soldier-emperors of the 3rd century allowed, with few exceptions, no patronage. The emperors Valerian and Gallienus had on their conscience the Christian author Cyprian. Justinian closed Plato's Academy.

Private generosity on the part of the aristocracy was an important form of patronage during the whole course of Roman history. In Republican times it was indistinguishable from public support: offices were held by aristocrats who, in organizing games, for example, placed even their private means at public disposal. In contrast to foreigners like Livius Andronicus and Ennius, who needed financial

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[1] Banishment of two Epicurean philosophers from Rome (173 B.C.; Ath. 12. 547a); general expulsion of philosophers and rhetors (161 B.C.; Suet. *gramm.* 25. 1; Gell. 15. 11), and of the philosoper's embassy (156–155 B.C.; Plutarch, *Cato maior* 22); closing of the Latin school of rhetors (92 B.C.; Suet. *gramm.* 25. 2).

help, the satirist Lucilius belonged to the Italian rural aristocracy and was thus economically independent. This was probably also true of the greatest poets of the late Republican period, Catullus and Lucretius.

Under Augustus, Maecenas gave preference to poets who had already gained a reputation, regardless of their social origin. Messalla, who was less intimately connected with the *princeps*, encouraged youthful talents, mostly however from the upper classes.

The leading authors of Silver Latin belonged either to the aristocracy, such as the Senecas, the Elder and Younger Pliny, Tacitus, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus; or, like Martial and Statius, they enjoyed private patronage.

The tendency prevailing from Hadrian's time onward to favor Greek writers was a natural function of the hellenization of the upper class, and had corrresponding effects on Latin literature. The learned scholarship of specialists like the jurists and the Latin grammarians was one of the few intellectual pursuits that still attracted respect from society.

In late antiquity, Latin literature owed its revival largely to the senatorial aristocracy, which maintained with lasting success the tradition of learning even in its pagan aspects.

School and Church. Schools also influenced the origin and expansion of literature. However, 'school' is a multifaceted phenomenon. Education at Rome was in the first instance a private affair. Originally instruction in Greek prevailed; the language was imparted by slaves and freedmen employed as house tutors. In principle the *grammaticus* supervised the reading of the poets for those aged eleven and older, after they had learnt reading and writing from the *litterator.* Latin instruction right down to the days of Augustus centered on the *Odusia* of Livius Andronicus. It was only in 25 B.C. that Q. Caecilius Epirota ventured to lecture on 'Virgil and other modern poets'. A few decades later, however, Virgil had driven his predecessors Livius Andronicus and Ennius out of the classroom. In the 4th century A.D. Virgil, Sallust, Terence, and Cicero were school authors.

From the age of about fourteen on, the pupils studied with the *rhetor.* There had been Latin rhetors since the 1st century B.C. At first their activity encountered official opposition. However, rhetorical instruction soon became the rule, and until the end of antiquity, in spite of the decline of the political speech, it remained the core of education. So it was that on the one hand rhetorical invention and elocution invaded all literary genres: elegy (Ovid), lyric (Statius), tragedy

(Seneca), epic (Lucan); on the other hand, the transmission of Roman authors was conditioned by their suitability for rhetorical instruction. This explains, for example, why we possess almost nothing from Sallust's *Histories* except for the speeches and letters contained in that work.

In addition to schools, the Church came increasingly to control the origin and transmission of literature. Latin translations of the Bible, accounts of the sufferings of persecuted Christians, sermons and exegetical works were directed to the faithful. Other writings refuted heresy. Finally, apologetic writing would present Christianity to the wider world and confront it with the Roman state. Thus, new institutions were able to give rise to literary genres hitherto unknown.

Phases and Phase Displacements. Roman literature was 'made, not born'. The conditions which nurtured it may be understood only in the light of historical circumstances. While Greek literature was able to develop according to its own laws through the sequence of an archaic, classical, and Hellenistic period, Roman literature did not exhibit these 'normal stages'.

To some extent, Rome creatively adapted Hellenistic influences earlier than those of classical and archaic Greece. We can observe this in the works of Plautus, Terence and Catullus. Although classicism was certainly possible from the very beginning, no one wrote a classical epic before Virgil. The historical situation resulted in the peculiar 'double resonance' of Republican literature: it was precisely during the period when Roman society still displayed archaic features that the books it read were overwhelmingly Hellenistic and modern. In those early times contradictory factors were present simultaneously. Thus, Ennius blended elements from a wide range of epochs and intellectual tendencies to make a disparate unity, which was held together only by his person and his desire to act as a teacher and cultural intermediary. Even in Lucretius we are surprised at the jarring contrast between an intellect in tune with Hellenistic philosophy and an archaic, undaunted sense of mission reminiscent of the pre-Socratics. Comedy, among the last fruits of Greek poetry, was the first to ripen in Rome, whereas epic, Greece's oldest genre, was the last. Prose reached its culmination in Cicero before poetry enjoyed its Augustan age.[1] Literary developments seem to occur in reverse

[1] Even in the early period the pioneers of poetry could make use of a developed practice of oratory. The results of these antecedents of poetic style were marked.

order from those in Greece. Condemned to be modern before it could be classical, Roman literature travelled a long road before it discovered its identity. Its fascinating story is not unlike an *Odyssey* or *Aeneid*: first the Romans had to lose what belonged to them, so that later they could consciously recover it at a new level.

The pioneers of Roman literature were cultural intermediaries, and therefore not allowed to specialize in a given genre. Only in the course of time would they learn to make a virtue of their enforced universality. At first what is typologically 'early' and 'late' appeared simultaneously: Homeric myth along with its rationalization in the style of Euhemerus; Aeschylean tragedy along with Menandrean comedy. In Greece, epic, lyric and drama developed respectively within a definite temporal, spatial and social framework. In Rome, by contrast, the literary genres were separated from their original relevance to life with the consequence that a writer could not rely on a generally accepted connection between content and form, but had to establish it himself every time anew. The generic style was no longer determined by the expectations of the reader. It was a shape that was artificial, almost exclusively imposed by models and literary theories. Even the linguistic and stylistic differentiation of the genres became a product of individual artistic judgment.

A Roman poet was different from a Greek rhapsode or tragedian: he had not as a matter of course inherited a generic style drawn from social and craft traditions. The style had to be created. At first, archaism and classicism did not appear directly in literature as discrete and necessary stages of development. They existed along with 'modern' tendencies as in some degree simultaneous forms of style to be learned. Instead of successive stages of a quasi organic development, we find therefore in Rome modernism, classicism and archaism as equally available stylistic attitudes among which an author could choose.

A Roman author was simultaneously a pioneer and a latecomer, contending with twin difficulties. Yet, in spite of its not particularly poetic environment and the discouraging circumstances of its origin, Roman literature maintained its grip on life. It was the result of intellectually disciplined work. We can confirm this statement by comparing Cato the Elder or Cicero with the majority of their contemporaries, or by following the stages in which the Homeric epic was assimilated from Naevius and Ennius to Virgil. In old Roman epic, myth and history, Greek form and Roman matter, modern and

archaic had been associated but loosely; it was Virgil's genius that blended all this into an artistic unity, in which every part was related to the whole. With the *Aeneid* there arose a work of art formed by an individual which was accepted by the community as the expression of its identity, a milestone in world literature. More quietly, but with no less greatness, Horace raised the tender form of the lyric poem to objective meaning without denying the personal dimension.

Literary development never stands still, however, and least of all in the case of supreme masterpieces which, precisely because of their inimitability, challenge the search for new goals. While personalities and styles come and go, there is alternation between expansion and contraction, diastole and systole. Plautus' linguistic creativity and colorfulness is succeeded by the discipline of the purist, Terence. The opposite also occurs: after the classical Virgil comes Ovid, his many facets inspired by Hellenistic models.

In the larger historical perspective, Greek and Latin literature alternated in importance. From approximately the 2nd century B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., Latin literature assumed the leadership, corresponding to the prestige of Italy and later also of Spain. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, in accordance with the increasing economic and political influence of the East, Greek literature again came to the fore. In the 4th century, Latin literature, which had survived especially in Africa, had a wide-ranging renaissance.

LATIN AND GREEK LITERATURE: TRADITION AND RENEWAL

Roman literature is the first 'derived' literature. Its authors consciously took account of the tradition of another people which they recognized as superior. In differentiating itself from its predecessor, Roman literature found its own identity and a specific self-awareness. Thus, it paved the way for later European literatures and became their teacher.

Since the Romantic period, the principle of literary imitation (*imitatio*) has acquired a bad reputation,[1] though even antiquity had been

[1] 'Plagiarism in France. Here, one wit has his hand in another's pocket, and that creates among them a certain dependence. Given this talent for the kind of thievery by which one man filches his neighbor's thoughts before he has quite finished with

familiar with the negative concept of *plagium* (plagiarism). A more equitable evaluation of literary dependence was prepared by a dictum ascribed to Virgil, which said that it was easier to steal Hercules' club than a single verse from Homer (*Vita Donati* 195). An artistic borrowing and transfer to a new context was not considered a theft but a loan meant to be easily recognized as such by anyone.[1] Arellius Fuscus, an Augustan teacher of rhetoric, not satisfied with mere imitation, emphasized *competition* with the model (Sen. *contr.* 9. 1, 24. 13). The showpiece he advanced as an illustration was a passage in which Sallust had surpassed even Thucydides in brevity and therefore defeated the Greek on his own ground. Thus, *imitatio* allowed an author to emphasize precisely his own contribution by measuring it expressly against the achievement of a predecessor. The more significant the model, the greater the challenge and, in the case of success, the greater the emulator's gain in artistic capability. Therefore, a literature conscious of its history is not necessarily a mere dialogue with the past conducted by epigones. Again and again, even at a distance of centuries, it may become a 'summit meeting', as has been the case with Dante, Virgil, and Homer.

Roman literature is one of apprenticeship. It is not ashamed of having teachers, but often pays them homage, even when distancing itself from them and following its own paths. This frequently misleads present-day interpreters. The modern demand for originality often forces authors to claim novelty for what is in fact old. The reverse convention prevailed among the Romans. In political life, innovations had to be trumpeted as old Roman practice so as to gain acceptance. In the same way, a writer had to refer to a series of ancestors and, if need be, to create them. The principle and practice of *imitatio* produced an intellectual relationship binding author to author and period to period. This phenomenon merits the attention of the literary historian and helps him understand his subject both as a coherent process and as the conquest of ever new horizons.

Practice changed in the course of history. In the older period only

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them, wit becomes common property.—In the *république des lettres* thoughts are for public use.' Heinrich Heine, 'Sketches', in: Sämtliche Schriften in 12 Bänden, ed. by K. Briegleb, Munich 1976, vol. 11, 646.

[1] *Non subripiendi causa, sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci* (Sen. *suas.* 3. 7, describing Ovid's relationship to Virgil); s. now: A. Seele, Römische Übersetzer. Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten. Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Darmstadt 1995.

imitation of Greek models was creditable, whereas borrowing from Latin predecessors was labeled as theft. With the formation of genuine Roman traditions, however, a change took place. Virgil, for instance, was also competing with earlier Latin epic poets such as Naevius and Ennius. With Cicero, Latin prose began to count as a classical model; the same may be said of Virgil for Latin poetry.

From the late Augustan period on, dialogue with the native tradition became more prominent. Ovid viewed himself as the fourth in a series of Latin elegists. While the epic poets of the Imperial period were primarily engaged in a dialogue with Virgil, they also drew on Homeric scenes, especially those which Virgil had neglected. The literature of the imperial period was not an exclusive dialogue with Roman writers. As long as the two languages remained in use, the Greek background maintained its importance. This was even more true when knowledge of Greek began to decline: at that very moment literature in translation began to flourish.

The character of the encounter with predecessors also changed. In the early period authors reshaped their models freely, transposing foreign subject matter into a new language (it is hardly possible at this stage to speak of 'translation'). In various genres stricter fidelity to the original gradually prevailed, along with more attentive mastery of form and deeper intellectual penetration. So philosophical literature began with artistic adaptations such as Lucretius' poem and Cicero's dialogues and ended with translations that were strictly scholarly. For both religious and philosophical reasons, late antiquity made increasingly greater demands for accuracy in translations. With the decline of bilingualism it became necessary not merely to imitate the original, but to replace it.[1]

In addition to *imitatio* of particular texts, there was also the disembodied power of tradition, which was transmitted by the educational system and kept alive in the minds of the authors and in the expectations of their public.

INDIVIDUAL AND GENRE

Quintilian divided his first detailed examination of Roman literature (*inst.* 10) according to genre, and in modern times many scholars

[1] Jerome attempts to combine accuracy with beauty.

have followed this method.[1] Even apart from the question of the arrangement of the subject matter in works on literary history, the problem of the literary genres requires our particular attention.

Examining sub-genres,[2] we observe the organic rise and fall of ever new forms. They can be created, for example, by reversal at the beginning, inversion at a particular point, or variation of speaker and addressee. While Horace fostered the fiction of more or less 'pure' genres in his *Ars poetica*, Roman practice followed different paths. Crossing of genres was one of its distinguishing features.[3] Creative manipulation of the genres also allowed for the introduction of elements from other genres. Playing with different traditions, the poet was able to demonstrate his originality.

Since an author often worked in several literary genres, a presentation divided strictly according to genre would break the live context determined by the author's person and his position in history. Roman literature at the outset had no recognized function in society. It had first of all to discover what its place was and then to fight for it. Hence in Roman literature the individual, with his spirit of enterprise and his achievement, revealed himself in a novel way. Accordingly, one of the greatest of modern scholars went so far as to assert that there was no such thing as Roman satire, but only Lucilius, Horace, Persius and Juvenal.[4] However, even the most original Roman had to take account of the basic preoccupation with tradition found in ancient literature, and to pay attention to his readers and their expectations. The truth lies somewhere between the extremes of an emphasis on the individual, which would border on novelistic fancifulness, and a mechanical insistence on laws of genre. Important here is the interplay of fixed and variable elements.

These variable elements include the general preference for Greek or Latin models and also the degree of dependence on them. Here again, there are further choices: an author may either follow an individual predecessor (running the gamut from free imitation to literal translation) or he may adopt a more abstract generic tradition transmitted by school and scholarship. Finally, among the elements of a given literary genre, there may be differences of emphasis or

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[1] For example, Bickel, LG.

[2] F. Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry, Edinburgh 1972.

[3] Kroll, Studien 202–224.

[4] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, Berlin 1921 = Darmstadt 1962, 42, n. 1.

gradation: so it was that Ennius mastered the epic meter, not yet imitated by Naevius, while Virgil mastered the larger artistic form, in which both predecessors had fallen short.

One of the constant elements is the effort to conform ever more closely to the standards established by predecessors, by the tradition of the genre, and by scholarship. With regard to the imitation of individual models this may mean an increase in technical perfection: we may compare the loose structure of some of Plautus' comedies with the stricter complexity of Terence. On the other hand, perfectionism can also lead to slavish dependence, which results in the decline of literary genres. There are indications that comedy after Terence followed this path.[1]

This 'aging process' with its increasing inflexibility, however, is by no means inevitable. Epic, for example, maintained its creative freshness even after the classic achievement of Virgil. Ovid, Lucan, Valerius, and Statius moved along new and, in part, untrodden paths. It is only with Silius that we find symptoms of a timid pedantry characteristic of the epigone, although he made a virtue of necessity and raised his *imitatio* of the *Aeneid* to an artistic principle. The mutual interaction of fixed and variable elements keeps a literary genre alive. The withering of a branch of literature may be avoided by a timely introduction of new models, materials or principles of form. Thus, by means of rhetoric, Ovid and Lucan enlivened epic, and Seneca renewed tragedy.

The standard example of a genre in which variable elements dominate at least at first glance is satire; even if we consider subject matter alone, this genre allowed for an almost limitless variety. On the other hand, there were characteristic constants: although the content of the *satura* developed towards 'universal' poetry, its author's viewpoint always remained personal. The person of the poet was the focus on which its disparate elements were centered. This was another typically Roman feature of the satiric genre.

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[1] Comedy in Menander's style was so strictly defined that any fundamental expansion of the canon hardly seemed possible without affecting the foundations of the genre. Accordingly, it was natural to expect that comedy at Rome would increasingly avail itself of the freer scope presented, for example, by the mime. Nevertheless, even in Plautus' day there was no lack of attempts to open a wider storehouse of models, forms and topics for comedy. Why did the artistic writing for the stage not go further in this direction? An unbridgeable chasm had opened between the artistic standards of connoisseurs, who were only satisfied with the most faithful replication of Menander, and the public's demand for entertainment.

Is satire a loose association of discordant elements, held together only nominally by the authority of the author? Or are there definite formal features, which may be recognized as typical of the genre? This would allow us to define its constant elements in less abstract terms. In the case of satire, a literary genre evolves, so to speak, before our very eyes. The successors of Lucilius took up certain features of his *satura* and so in retrospect raised them to the rank of generic markers. This is true of particular themes, such as the author's posing as a 'poet without poetic claims', i.e. as a 'non-poet'; or his self-portrayal through his relationship to prominent friends or patrons; further themes would be accounts of travels; mockery of the follies of love, of inheritance hunting and so on. But there are also specific literary forms such as dialogues (e.g. consultations with experts); moralizing sermons; or brief narratives. The satirist's high degree of self-awareness and the distance from which he views the world encourage critical reflection, even on literary themes, and the parody of loftier literary genres, such as epic and tragedy. Once traditional structural elements of satire are themselves taken up and modified, it is clear that we may, and indeed must, speak of a genre of satire; this is unmistakably the case with Horace. As development proceeds, the elements increasingly resemble conventional literary patterns. As early as in Horace, self-presentation often becomes self-concealment. This is even more true of Persius. In Juvenal, what had been the most personal form of Roman literature has largely become supra-personal, and for that reason may quite clearly be described as a genre.

While the genre of satire developed *within* Roman literature, the other genres came from outside and followed different laws of development. Their constant features were already established by tradition. The reader is therefore tempted to set the ('ideal') Greek form over against its more or less imperfect Roman realization. This disastrous way of thinking has often led to superficial verdicts on Roman literature as a whole, which ignored the elementary fact that the encounters between a Roman author and his Greek model did not occur in a vacuum. When adapting for the Roman stage a Greek play which he might have seen in Tarentum, an early Latin author had other priorities than a modern scholar, who is not obliged to think of a theatrical audience. It is precisely the deviations from our expectations, therefore, which demand historical explanation.

The need to take account of historical factors is also clear in the case of *love elegy*. This was not an exclusively Roman genre, but it

did receive its definitive stamp in Rome. The accidents of transmission make judgment difficult in many respects. We have no sufficient notion of Hellenistic elegy. Moreover, the works of the very founder of the genre at Rome, Cornelius Gallus, are lost. What we may reconstruct from the evidence of later poets shows that, for Gallus, love was a service and a destiny. Catullus could love and write without political ambitions in the free atmosphere of the late Republic. But the subjectivity of the love poet in Gallus, as we now see from the newly deciphered obelisk inscription, was bound up with the sort of triumphant political self-assurance which in Rome had been visible ever since the time of the Scipios. This made his clash with the *princeps'* far-reaching claim to power inevitable. Often the lives of the poets are like a barometer indicating accurately the painful changes in social climate. What Gallus had created from his personal experience—perhaps still in an artistically ill-defined no-man's-land between epigram and elegy—became in his successors a 'genre'. Propertius in his 1st book elevated Gallus' approach to love to an 'attitude'. It is evident that Tibullus, and especially Ovid, are playing with themes and motifs they already consider traditional. For all this, it would be a mistake to call these authors 'disingenuous' without qualification. Their style had become more and more sophisticated and presupposed an ever increasing literary background; their public had become spoiled: it knew the motifs and demanded artistic variation. Ovid played out to its end, like a virtuoso, the game of this genre, which he already perceived as something Roman. To begin with, therefore, elegy moved from the individual to generic conformity, from personal engagement to classicizing parody. Then followed a renewal of the genre, at first through the mingling of genres (amatory didactic, the letters of the Heroides, even the *Metamorphoses*) and finally through a recovery of the origins of elegy, propaganda for one's own cause. All innovations here were connected with the contemporary use of rhetoric.

What of *lyric*? Can it be called a genre in the strict sense at Rome? Almost nothing is known of popular Roman lyric, which exercised no perceptible influence on artistic poetry. The sacral lyric of the earlier period may be compared with that of a later time only with reservations. Leaving aside late antiquity, only Catullus, Horace, and Statius merit consideration as lyricists in the true sense. Catullus and Horace, however, could not take up any native tradition. They were compelled to create an individual synthesis. As an artistic genre within

Roman literature, the ode was a creation of Horace. Once again, therefore, the scholar is required to take an historical approach.

We can witness to a certain extent the development of *historical writing* into a genre at Rome. We may believe Cicero when he complains about the lack of any national Roman historical writing of quality. The example of Claudius Quadrigarius shows that for a long time there was no obligatory style for historical writing, since he uses fewer archaisms than later historians do. Hence one may accept—if only in principle—the view that Sallust was the first to fashion the generic style of Roman historical writing, by consciously adopting stylistic elements from Cato the Elder. This, however, is true only in a strictly stylistic perspective. The totality of structural markers produced by the blending of Greek and native traditions had been formed long ago.

Cicero is for us the most important, and in many areas indeed the only, representative of oratory. His exceptional status is due not merely to circumstances of textual transmission. We may reconstruct the earlier history of oratory from Cicero's *Brutus*, which gives an historical sketch of Roman eloquence, and from surviving fragments.[1] In spite of an established native tradition, in this area, too, with the general adoption of Greek education among the upper classes, Hellenization began relatively early. Traces of it may be found already in Cato the Elder.[2] As a fragment of Crassus shows, in the 1st century, public speeches of serious Romans could be marked by the then fashionable Asian oratory, right down to the rhythm used. 'Naturalness' in Roman eloquence, as in all arts and cultures, is a relatively rare and late phenomenon. It takes a refined artistic sense to bring forth something that looks 'natural'. The greatest orators, Gaius Gracchus and Cicero, may serve here as examples.

Variety in means of expression allied with the harmonious effect of the whole reached their pinnacle in Cicero's prose. As a result, development of prose style after him had to follow other paths. The new tendency found its culmination in Seneca, whose brilliant but somewhat spasmodic *concetti* may be regarded as the pole opposite from the fluid style of Cicero. With the Flavian classicism of a Quintilian or a Pliny, the pendulum again swung in the opposite direction.

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[1] ORF, ed. by H. MALCOVATI, Torino 1930, 4th ed. 1976.
[2] A more confident account in LEEMAN, Orationis Ratio, I, 21–24, esp. 22–24.

The persistence of the generic markers of oratory was selfishly guaranteed by the rhetorical school, which set its stamp on practically the whole of Roman literature. As for the variable elements in this genre, they were influenced by historical conditions. The Republic had given oratory a scope which would be lacking under Empire. What especially mattered in a speech was its object, occasion, and audience, and the more skilled the orator, the more he would adapt his discourse to the given situation. Although the individual orator had more latitude here, separate types of oratory were differentiated: public or judicial speeches by their object, speeches to the senate or people by their audience. As the historical context changed, either the functional or the aesthetic dimension received greater emphasis in speeches. The question must also be raised whether speeches destined for immediate consumption may be described as literature in the same sense as, for example, epic, and further, whether they may be understood as a genre in a strictly analogous sense.

We are fully entitled to call *Technical writing* a genre, especially in regard to the structure of prefaces, and the general chapters concerning the education of the specialist, his moral outlook, and so on; that is to say, things which strictly speaking are not part of his special subject. The presentation of the actual material is dictated in the first place by the topic itself.

Finally, *Philosophical writings* are essentially represented for us by extensive *corpora* of individual writers: Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, the Church Fathers. In each case, these works bear a quite different stamp: that of their author, his historical situation, his cultural background, his audience, his purpose, and his artistic principles.

It is evident, therefore, that the notion of genre may indeed be fruitful for the study of Roman literary history, but often because of the particular circumstances in which that literature developed can only be applied with a certain caution.

This impression changes, however, if we take into account the later influence of Roman literature. The genres coined by the individual representatives of Roman literature developed their own history, and were continually guided by retrospective reference to these models. To a large extent, individual accomplishments acquired canonical status, even for what were later called literary genres. Specific authors became 'classical' for the most part retroactively, when they were claimed for particular generic traditions. In their creation, the essence of the corresponding genre seemed to be embodied, either exclu-

sively, as when Horace stood for Roman lyric and Cicero for political speech, or alternatively: so it was that satire oscillated between Horace and Juvenal, comedy between Plautus and Terence.[1]

At first, for the Romans, there was no definite idea of genre or style. As a still young people, they had been inundated by a foreign culture which had long passed its prime. Genre and style were therefore something they had to strive for continually, in the face of a permanent risk: that of lacking any style whatsoever, a danger hard to avoid, given the historical circumstances. This struggle demanded unfaltering judgment in matters of taste, and an alert, honest and uncompromising artistic sense. All this effort was not exactly fostered by the social circumstances of the Roman Empire; rather, it had to be painstakingly exerted by the individual writer. Yet precisely as a result of these difficulties, Latin literature became a paradigm for other literatures. Only in individuals could the genres find their identity, and only through the activity of individual creative minds did their influence bear fruit.

DIALOGUE WITH THE READER AND LITERARY TECHNIQUE

Roman literature is not only a dialogue with literary predecessors, but also a dialogue with the reader. Hence, the search for genres must be complemented by a markedly historic perspective. The specific character of a literary text is conditioned not only by the person of the author, but also by his audience. The practice of reading aloud[2] affected the form of texts. Through public readings—and even more through theatrical presentations—literature could reach even the uneducated. Of all literary genres, it is Roman drama therefore which perhaps enjoyed the widest dissemination and contributed most to public awareness of Greek culture. It is all the more regrettable then that all that remains of early Latin tragic poetry are fragments.

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[1] In this the effect of literary theory and rhetoric on the creativity of the authors must neither be neglected nor overestimated. The comparison of texts with relevant theories makes us more aware of the originality of the creative impulse.

[2] Silent reading was naturally known, but hardly more widespread than silent reading of music today; cf. now: G. Vogt-Spira, ed., Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur, Tübingen 1990; id., Beiträge zur mündlichen Kultur der Römer, ibid. 1993; E. Zinn, Viva vox.

Literary history must accordingly not only take into account the origin and education of the authors, but also the scope and nature of their audience. In Rome, education was a private affair. From the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Roman children—if only those of the elite—were instructed by Greek teachers. There was often a significant disparity between authors and audiences in the degree of knowledge and appreciation of Greek education. Even in Cicero's time, a speaker who did not wish to lose all his credit was compelled to do his best to conceal his Greek education.

Just as a speaker adapts the style and form of his message to his listeners, so, too, does the author. An Attic poet, for example, wanting to write a 'tragedy', had to conform to his Athenians' expectations as to what a tragedy was. In this respect there is a convergence of 'receptionist' and 'generic' interpretations, since, within their society of origin, generic laws may ultimately be understood as reflections of the public's expectations. At Rome the situation was different at first, since there the literary genres were not native but had to be adapted to novel surroundings. A Roman author, therefore, initially, could not rely on the literary expectations of his listeners. Using a new linguistic medium and writing for a largely inexperienced audience, he had to create something which was a viable compromise between traditional literary norms and new social conditions. Plautine comedy, when compared with Menander's, manifests a loss of intellectual and psychological subtlety, but a gain in theatrical effectiveness. The poet was a man of the theater, and knew how much Greek sophistication his Roman audience would tolerate. To meet the unspoken but fairly clear demands of its new public, the genre of comedy was transformed.

An author may address different circles of listeners simultaneously. Even Terence did not write exclusively for the educated. Granted, not every spectator could appreciate all the fine points of his plays; even so, the poet did not want to do without the applause of the multitude. There are different levels of understanding: the works of Latin literature in particular are for the most part open to both the connoisseur and the interested amateur. Roman philosophical writings are 'exoteric' and in this they differ from the majority of comparable Greek writings, among which the exception—Plato's dialogues—proves the rule. The fact that Plato wrote dialogues was in general better understood by the Romans, with their openness for the reader's demands, than by Plato's own countrymen.

Latin literature has several levels of meaning and is at the same time accessible to various audiences; this is a characteristic feature contributing to its longevity. Insofar as the structure of the text is conditioned by their needs, the addressee or the audience intended by the author may be felt by later readers as their 'representatives'.

As a general rule, Roman texts have addressees; these play an important part even in the way poems are arranged in books. In a given case, an address to a man or a god may appear conventional, but on the whole it may be said: 'All modern attempts to translate this basic reality of dialogue into a relationship of the 'I' to the self or something similar, that is to say, into a process within the subjectivity of a self-sufficient individual, are pointless. They belong to the abysmal history of man's alienation from reality.'[1] Nevertheless, we continually find in Rome, from the self-addresses of a Catullus down to Augustine's *Soliloquies*, noteworthy steps towards an inner dialogue or monologue. The addressee must be distinguished from the contemporary reader, and the latter, in his turn, from posterity, which is first addressed by Ovid. However, we are dealing with concentric circles, and the one addressed in the text may sometimes serve as a point of reference or as a representative for both wider circles of recipients.

Relationship to a reader calls rhetoric into play. Rhetoric compensates through stylistic means for the original poverty of vocabulary, and as an art of persuasion contributes to the text's effectiveness and its appeal to the audience. The influence of rhetoric was not confined to prose. Elegy used rhetorical technique to woo the beloved and, even in a genre so rich in tradition as epic, Lucan broke through his objectivity to express his emotional involvement in events through rhetorical commentaries, which sometimes gain an almost lyrical ring. Once political speech had lost its relevance, rhetoric, which had been a means of influencing others, became more and more an instrument of self-experience and self-education, a topography or typology of emotions. Thus it helped the Latin authors conquer the field of psychology for literature.

The specific character of the Roman public also determined the manner in which literary techniques such as metaphor, example, myth, allegory were to be applied. The modern reader, for whom the essence of literature is fiction and metaphor, runs the risk of underestimating

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[1] M. Buber, Ich und Du, Heidelberg, 11th ed. 1983, 102–103.

the role of the concrete and factual in Roman literature. Often Roman authors hint at their interpretation of facts merely by the way in which they collect and group them. An exemplary case is Suetonius' *Lives of the Emperors*. The same mentality is observable even in lyric. An influential scholar wrote: 'Ancient poetry never knew a μὴ ὄν in the strict meaning of that term, that is, an imaginary product of pure phantasy, devoid of any reality. The sense of reality was too strongly developed to tolerate mere fiction.'[1] Did not Goethe find in Horace 'frightful reality without any genuine poetry'?[2] Actually, this is one of the differences between Horatian and modern poetry. Yet Roman literature offers to us anything but a trivial stereotype of reality.

This typically Roman preoccupation with concrete details, which the sensitive reader could perceive as a sort of alphabet, does not render their literature easily accessible. Metonymy is more frequent in Horace than metaphor, which is so fashionable nowadays. Sometimes his search for concrete terms leads him surprisingly far.[3] Much of it is felt today as a breach in imagery. One and the same ode may conjure up the mood of winter and summer, the same person may be called metaphorically a dog and shortly afterwards a bull. However, Roman readers were used to establishing connections even between disparate images, and deciphering them as signs of a single thought.

Many Roman works of art use a single concrete incident from history to illustrate a pattern of behavior considered typically Roman: *fides* may be signified by a handshake between partners over an agreement; *clementia* by the pardoning of specific adversaries. Romans were disinclined to speculation. For them, virtues did not exist in themselves, but only in the moment when they were exercised. In an almost 'documentary' way, such instances of realization were presented to a later audience as an *exemplum* which drew its power chiefly from its historical reality. The recording of such individual examples of right behavior in art and literature continued to hand down exemplary experiences. An interpretation of them as fictitious symbols would reverse the Roman perspective. For the Romans, it was the actual

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[1] E. NORDEN to A. SCHULTEN, cited by the latter in Tartessos, Hamburg, 2nd ed. 1950, 96, n. 3; noted by H. HOMMEL, in: Wege zu Vergil, Darmstadt 1963, 423.

[2] F. VON BIEDERMANN, Goethes Gespräche, Gesamtausgabe, vol. 1, Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1909, 458.

[3] Instead of 'wine' he says 'Massic'; instead of 'sea' 'Adriatic'; instead of 'perfume' 'Syrian malobathrum'. He uses names of persons in the same way.

realization that mattered; however, they were not interested in material for its own sake, but in material transformed into a vehicle of meaning. In literature, the mention of historical names had just such an exemplary function. Facts served at the same time as 'letters' in a system of signs. In great authors, the Roman ability to 'read' the facts rose to prophetic levels. Tacitus, for example, described the year of the four emperors in terms that seem to anticipate the process of decay in the 3rd century A.D.

The relationship to Greek forms changed as did the conditions of reception. Although literature as such was not autochthonous at Rome, it acquired new functions in its social context. As a school text, or as poetry written for patrons, epic communicated Roman values; as part of the public *ludi*, tragedy and comedy served for public representation and reflected the generosity of the responsible magistrates; lyric appeared on official occasions as expiatory or celebratory song; epigram flourished both as memorial inscription and as a social pastime; historical writing transmitted the wisdom of aging senators to their younger contemporaries; philosophy offered relaxation and comfort to men of action during their brief moments of leisure. In general, literature, as a meaningful way of passing one's spare time (*otium*), was a complement to the world of *negotium*.

Along with foreign forms, foreign contents were borrowed. In comedy, Plautus interspersed his presentation of Hellenistic life with allusions to Rome, while Terence reduced his theme to what is universally human. Since subject matter and costume remained Greek, the Roman spectator stood at a greater distance from the action on the stage. This permitted a participation which was untroubled by any extraneous aims and which could prepare the way for specifically aesthetic experience.

There was a corresponding shift in the meaning and function of myth. To the Romans, who had been brought up among strict conventions, Greek myth must have appeared as an attractive world of freedom. From their own age of iron, they seemed to be looking in on one of gold. Therefore, the assertion that the Romans lacked imagination is only partly true. Thanks to their strong ties to external reality, they did not consider myth to be a part of their daily lives, but a separate world of fantasy and appearance, a new 'poetic' dimension, only accessible to sympathetic feeling. Subjectivity, emotionalism, ethos and pathos lend a peculiar coloring to the stories told in Roman literature and transpose them from the external to

the internal sphere. Hence, Roman literature gives a new impression of 'inner life'.

Intellectual activity was also drawn into the play of art. Apart from subjects which, like the Trojan War, claimed historical validity, literal belief in Greek myths was not to be expected at Rome. Given that together with those myths, their philosophical analysis had come to Rome, there was a readiness to read them as a code, which helped to transcend what was visible. Greek poets and artists had already done much to emancipate myth from its national and religious roots. It now served as a convenient medium of literature and art, as a treasury of firmly established characters, situations and patterns of life. Its links to tragedy were especially close, and as *theologia fabulosa* it was thought to be the proper domain of poets in general and dramatists in particular (Varro *apud* Aug. *civ.* 6. 5).

In Pompeian wall painting, considerations of meaning determine the arrangement of pictures on a wall or within an entire room.[1] This may shedlight on the patterning of the elements in Roman poetry.

A specifically Roman preference for linking and summarizing concrete details in the service of a single thought culminated in a literary technique which, in the course of Roman literary history, acquired increasing importance. In allegory, the reader's mind was confronted with a picture, whose parts could be taken from reality but were not found there in that combination. This meant that they had to be read as signs for an abstract idea.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

> Therefore, the genius of language is also
> the genius of a nation's literature.
>
> Herder[2]

When we speak of the dominant influence of Greek literature on Latin, we may easily overlook the fact that the Romans were one of the very few peoples who succeeded in setting a literature in their own language over against that of the Greeks. Soldiers, statesmen, and jurists alike were the standard-bearers of Latin. Military colo-

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[1] K. Schefold, Pompejanische Malerei. Sinn und Ideengeschichte, Basel 1952.

[2] *Über die neuere deutsche Literatur, Fragmente*, in: Sämtliche Werke, ed. B. Suphan, vol. I, Berlin 1877, 146.

nies, which at the outset had been linguistic islands, became outposts which fostered the spread of Latin, first throughout Italy, and then the western provinces. Political expansion moved outwards from a center which continued to maintain direct relations with every part. Since it was a principle of Roman politics, if possible, not to enter into treaties with any people as a whole, but with cities individually, dialects could never acquire more than regional significance, even if they were not being suppressed directly. The language of the capital became standard even for authors from other areas. This explains why Roman literature, unlike Greek, knows no variety in dialects.

Even after the disappearance of the Roman empire, Latin remained for a long time the general cultural language of western Europe, and it was only hesitantly that national languages were accepted. What is the nature of this language, which so successfully maintained itself against civilizations both older and younger? What formal characteristics on its part helped to shape its literature?

'Like hammerblows, each of which hits the nail on the head with full force, comes the sound of *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*, and a translator sensitive to this must be reduced to despair by the superfluous, incidental sounds of words like 'I' and 'the' and 'it' in his own language.'[1] The diversity of cases and verbal forms allows Latin to employ prepositions and personal pronouns sparingly. Moods need not be expressed by periphrasis. The article is missing completely. To use a metaphor, the blocks need no mortar between them. The structure of Latin is 'cyclopean'.[2] Such a language allows a thought to be reduced to its essence. All that is dispensable may be omitted. Latin was, as it were, born for solemn inscriptions and witty epigrams, for the blows and sideswipes of the orator's club, but also for the weighty, mysteriously ambiguous utterance of the poet.

A language with a rich treasury of forms may plausibly be thought of as particularly 'logical', and the crystal-clear Latin of the jurists or even of a Caesar favors this interpretation. However, Wilhelm von

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[1] F. Skutsch, Die lateinische Sprache, in: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart I, 8), Leipzig and Berlin, 3rd ed. 1912, 513–565, esp. 526–528; on the Latin language in general: ANRW 2, 29, 1, 1983; R. Coleman, ed., New Studies in Latin linguistics, Amsterdam 1991; J. Dangel, Histoire de la langue latine, Paris 1995; F. Dupont, ed., Paroles romaines (articles by several authors), Nancy 1995; G. Maurach, Lateinische Dichtersprache, Darmstadt 1995.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 526–527.

Humboldt has taught us to make a sharper distinction between word and concept, and certainly the laws of language are dictated in the first instance by psychology, not logic. Logical thinking depends more on the speaker than on the language he uses. Still it is true that Latin possesses precise endings and, beyond that, at least in its classical form, many particles which govern clauses.[1] Therefore it permits an author, insofar as he is thinking logically, to express with peculiar clarity the interrelationships of his words, and to construct a hierarchy of thoughts by means of syntax. The reflective and systematic study of such a language is a good preparation for learning and science, and since the Renaissance it has shown many Europeans the way to intellectual independence.

Apart from the linguistic means just mentioned, which it shares with Greek, Latin characteristically places its verb at the end of the sentence. This makes the most important part of the sentence the coping stone in the edifice, holding the structure together, and unmistakably marking the unity even of longer sentences.

The artistic advantages of such linguistic material are obvious. It permits in prose the building of wide-ranging periods, and in poetry the employment of bold hyperbata. Friedrich Nietzsche said of the Horatian ode: 'In certain languages, what is here attained may not even be *wished* for. This mosaic of words, where every unit exercises its influence to right and left and over the whole, as sound, as place, as concept; this minimum in extent and number of signs which produces a maximum in their energy—all this is Roman and, in my judgment, the very mark of a noble mind.'[2]

The Latin language endowed its speakers with a keen sense of form almost from birth. Nevertheless, not all possibilities offered by the richness of forms were exploited in literature from the beginning. The fruitful challenge of Greek led to a gradual discovery of powers previously dormant, as can be seen by the example of the participle.[3]

The deficiencies of Latin were no less significant for literary development. As a language without articles it stubbornly resisted the use of abstract expressions, something not conducive to philosophical thought. In literature, this offers the advantage of close proximity to

[1] A precision bordering on pedantry may be observed, for example, in the indication of temporal priority (pluperfect, future perfect).

[2] *Was ich den Alten verdanke*, in: Werke in drei Bänden, ed. by K. Schlechta, Darmstadt, 7th ed. 1973, vol. 2, 1027.

[3] E. Laughton, The Participle in Cicero, Oxford 1964.

reality and practice and, from the point of view of an Existentialist, may even appear as a philosophical plus. In daily life, Romans often give preference to concrete expression: 'the capture of the city' may be compared with *urbs capta.* The scope of abstract expressions was to be developed to perfection only in late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

A further 'disadvantage' was a pronounced aversion to compound words, so favored for example in Greek or Sanskrit. The limited vocabulary, and the resulting ambivalence of Latin words, offered the writer a productive challenge. Authors who treated language selectively and with stylistic restraint (Terence, Caesar) secured clarity by other methods than those who would avoid ambiguity by richness (Cicero).

A structural principle which both enhanced clarity and secured a rhetorical effect was equally widespread in poetry and prose. This was the preference for expressions consisting of two or more members, often emphasized by alliteration. The antiquity of this device is proved by divine names structured in a similar way (e.g. *Mater Matuta*) and by Indo-European parallels. The amassing of words related in sense may also spring from the lawyer's anxiety to avoid misunderstandings and false interpretations.[1] On the other hand, doubling of terms may also have arisen from the fear of any too great definiteness.[2]

Color and richness might be attained by rhetorical treatment.[3] Instead of those Greek adjectives which often emphasized quality and perfection (such as compounds with εὐ- in the Homeric epic) Roman literature sometimes used quantitative attributes like *magnus* and *ingens*, and sometimes affective attributes, thus increasing the *pathos* of the presentation. This is true even of a genre where such a phenomenon is quite unexpected—comedy. The refined and sober elegance of Hellenistic art resisted Romanization for a relatively long time, although it was Hellenistic influence which had made itself felt earliest.

These weaknesses of Latin accordingly tempted many an author

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[1] One may compare repetitions found in official language ('the day, on which day'), as well as doublings meant to exhaust all possibilities ('whoever under this law is or will be condemned').

[2] Verbal circumspection prevails particularly in reference to the irrational which escapes precise observation or indeed human knowledge in general. Thus a deity whose sex is unknown is carefully indicated with the formula *sive deus sive dea.*

[3] The often lamented development of rhetoric at Rome is, on this view, not a 'weakness', but an inner necessity.

to make up for the missing precision by the use of emphasis. The best authors, however, felt the poverty of their own language as a challenge to a struggle for supreme stylistic mastery. Horace speaks of the 'cunning juxtaposition' (*callida iunctura*) which gives to a well-known word the quality of novelty (*ars* 47–48).

To turn our discussion from form to content, we are told that the Romans were a nation of soldiers. Indeed, many metaphors were drawn from the military sphere,[1] although the extension of meaning they received was often considerable.[2] The original sense, which sometimes had faded in Latin, could be roused to new life in poetry even in literary genres where warlike sounds were least expected: comedy and love elegy. The ingenious slave became a 'great general', the lover became a 'soldier' in the service of Amor.[3]

However, the Romans were far from any biased glorification of war. Their early culture had not been one of mere warriors, but of settlers and farmers. The natural rhythms of the year in any case allowed military expeditions only at certain times. The Roman method of giving names attests to their rustic past[4] and their other vocabulary betrays the same truth.[5] On the other hand, from quite early on there are traces of urbanization.[6] Latin may have arisen as a language of peasants, but it was as the language of the capital city that it was generally adopted.

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[1] 'The language of the Romans can never deny its origin. It is a military language for commanders, a formal language for administrators, a legal language for usurers, a lapidary language for the stonyhearted people of Rome.' Heinrich Heine, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, 2nd book: *Von Luther bis Kant*, in: H. Heine, Sämtliche Schriften in 12 Bänden, ed. K. Briegleb, vol. 3, 1831–1837, München 1976, 572–573.

[2] Who today is reminded of the military by words like 'interval', 'premium', 'stipend'?

[3] A. Spies, *Militat omnis amans.* Ein Beitrag zur Bildersprache der antiken Erotik, Tübingen 1930.

[4] They are derived from cultivated plants (Fabius, Lentulus, Piso, Cicero) or domestic animals (Porcius, Asinius, Vitellius).

[5] *Delirare* 'to be crazy' ('to stray from the furrow'); *tribulare* 'to vex' ('to thresh'); *praevaricari* 'to be in collusion with an adversary' ('to trace crooked lines with the plow'); *emolumentum* 'advantage' ('product of the mill'); *detrimentum* 'harm' ('wear and tear of the plowshare'); *rivalis* 'rival' ('neighbor along the same stream'); *saeculum* 'generation' ('sowing season'); *manipulus* 'company' ('armful of hay'); *felix* 'happy' ('fruitful'); *pecunia* 'money' (from *pecus* 'cattle'); *egregius* 'outstanding' ('out of the flock'); *septentriones* 'north' ('the seven threshing oxen').

[6] Thus several important animals bear names which phonetically are not strictly Latin but come from Italian dialects, e.g. *bos* 'ox', *scrofa* 'pig', and *lupus* 'wolf'.

Legal and business life offered writers appropriate metaphors. Juridical language and ways of thinking influenced both oratory and poetry, affecting even the presentation of myth. Unlike Roman magistrates, the gods could not cancel official acts of their colleagues (cf. Ovid, *met.* 14. 784–785). Economic and banking terminology often enriched the vocabulary, even in philosophical writing. Seneca 'keeps account' of the time he has 'spent' (*epist.* 1). On the one hand, the meaning of a word might be extended to areas beyond its original sphere. On the other, poetic fantasy could in an instant renew the original association of ideas, deepen it by artistic presentation, and dwell with satisfaction on the contrast between the old and new contexts.

The vocabulary of ethics and of social psychology was of particular importance in Latin. Since it set an indelible stamp on Roman thought, it will be considered in that context.

IDEAS I
CONQUEST OF AN INTELLECTUAL WORLD
POETRY, THOUGHT, AND TEACHING

The conquest of a field originally foreign to its discoverer demands conscious effort on his part. At Rome, therefore, right from the beginning, poetry and reflection could not be divided. In the epitaphs of early Roman poets, proud words commemorate their literary achievement, while the epitaph of the Greek tragedian Aeschylus notes merely that he fought at Marathon. The basic difference here is not so much one between Greek modesty and Roman claims to fame as a difference in social conditions. In classical Greece, literature was something native. It was sustained by citizens. In Rome its first task was to win the right to citizenship.

This fact had two consequences. On the one hand, the old Latin poets, mostly foreigners, could base their self-esteem on their literary accomplishment only. On the other, their activity needed justification and rational defense in the eyes of society. Thus, during the course of Roman literary history, poetry discovered its identity by way of reflection. The Roman public's contribution to this development should not be underrated. It offered far more than material conditions, the Latin language and its concepts of value. A culture still 'young' received from the hands of an older civilization the phenomenon of

poetry and assimilated it with the seriousness and intensity of a first encounter.[1]

At Rome, aesthetic experience was not, as in Greece, a self-evident part of existence. It was a realm yet to be conquered, a system of signs whose forms and contents had to be learned. The author's task was to teach, the reader's to learn. The Roman approach to didacticism was somewhat different from that of the Hellenistic world. A certain reluctance to go into technical particulars encouraged on the positive side a search for clarity and general intelligibility, even for artistic presentation. The 'exoteric' character of Roman literature, its respect for the audience, combined with a need to select from Greek sources what could be generally communicated and understood, induced Roman authors to confine themselves to what was essential and of general human interest. This feature made Roman literature more accessible to later generations, and safeguarded it against any premature loss of freshness. This also explains the moral seriousness permeating many works of Roman literature: the individual felt responsible to his family, his society and himself. Even where moralizing was ridiculed, a system of moral values was still presupposed. The comedy of 'howlers' can only be appreciated against the background of a marked awareness of conventions.

The social situation therefore encouraged development in different directions. On the one hand, it demanded that what was to be learned should be reduced to essentials, which would stand the test of Roman *gravitas*. On the other, it allowed to construct an independent world of aesthetic and intellectual values, thus leading literature towards self-awareness.[2]

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[1] 'In the Romans ... may be enjoyed the spectacle of a reconquest of practically all spheres of life by poetry. This people of farmers and shopkeepers in its sober earnestness and sturdy thoroughness grasped with tough determination the task of constructing a spiritual world.' W. Schadewaldt, Sinn und Werden der vergilischen Dichtung (1931), now in: Wege zu Vergil, ed. by H. Oppermann, Darmstadt 1963, 43–78, esp. 45.

[2] Horace's *Ars Poetica* makes use of Greek theory, but at the same time is itself organized as a poetic work of art.

IDEAS II
OLD ROMAN MENTALITY VERSUS MODERN IDEAS

Before giving a brief sketch of Roman mentality and its manifestation in literature, we have to remind our readers that in this area many simplifications and generalizations are current; on closer inspection we find that they were drawn from particular works of literature. However, each passage must be seen against the background of its own time. Moreover, each author lives in a state of intellectual tension between traditional and new ideas, and in given circumstances he may employ old words to express new ideas or, in his search for a line of ancestors, project contemporary problems into the past.

The social order of the Republic considerably fostered the development of Roman law, one of the most significant achievements of the Roman mind, and one which exercised influence far beyond the area of legal texts. Roman law, as later codified during the Empire, even today forms the basis of civil law in many countries. Since in the course of their history the Romans increasingly developed forms of law intended to regulate intercourse with representatives of other peoples, at a later stage international law and human rights could be organized along Roman lines. Even other areas, such as theology, were influenced by legal thought. The important notion of 'person' was also a discovery of Roman legal thought. A parallel development to this is the rise of autobiography and personal poetry at Rome.

As a republic,[1] Rome was a society in which, at least theoretically, conflicts were resolved more with mental than with material weapons. The state was entrusted to its citizens, not as an anonymous organization, but as the sum of interpersonal relationships deemed valuable and worth protecting. It was a common possession, *res publica.* These were ideal conditions for the rise of an oral practice of political speech and judicial pleading. From here there would develop literary oratory, the writing of history, technical works of law, and indeed the first blossoming of Roman poetry.

The Roman talent for organizing things on a large scale[2] was active

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[1] The Roman state was originally closely linked with the ancient Roman religion. Christianity, at least in theory, made it possible to divide the state and religion, even though soon and with rather lasting success the opposite occurred. It was only at a later period that Europe began to take lessons, not from the Empire, but from the Roman Republic.

[2] The concept of *maiestas* presupposes an order to which men conform: G. DUMÉZIL,

in different spheres of life—most strikingly perhaps in politics. In the plastic arts, we find the construction of large architectural complexes and the purposeful grouping of wall paintings, in literature an 'encyclopedic' tendency and also the practice of shaping entire books of poetry as organized units.

Religion, morals and politics in ancient Rome belonged together, not in the sense of an alliance between sacred and profane, but as a unity from the very beginning. There was no self-contained priestly caste, and most priestly offices had a close connection with political and social life.[1] Accordingly, myths and legends at Rome, if traceable at all, were concerned with the commonwealth of citizens. Traditional mythical characters and situations were put into the context of Roman society and given a national and historical interpretation. This is evident not only from Livy's picture of early history but also from Virgil's mythical invention.

It has often been maintained that the Romans lacked mythical imagination and the sculptor's eye. For them the gods were powers at work,[2] not mythical figures like the gods of the Greeks. On the basis of similar observations, the word *numen*—the mighty 'nod' as an expression of will—has been regarded as typically Roman. The word itself, however, is relatively recent, and in all probability formed on the model of the famous nod of Zeus.[3] *Numen* is a later word, while *deus* belongs to the oldest linguistic stratum. It is true that the Romans possessed a keen sense of power and will but they were unable to imagine these qualities apart from definite persons.

Greeks had sought the divine through contemplation of beauty and meditation of what is perfect. Romans found it chiefly in listening to the words of the gods, in respecting mutual obligations and

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Maiestas et *gravitas*, RPh 26, 1952, 7–28; 28, 1954, 19–20; O. Hiltbrunner, *Vir gravis*, in: FS A. Debrunner, Bern 1954, 195–206.

[1] Accordingly, the Latin *ius* receives a social interpretation ('law'), while Vedic *yóṣ* and Avestan *yaoč* denote 'integrity', 'mystical perfection'. The Vedic *śrad-dhā* defines the relationship with the deity; the Latin *credo* overwhelmingly refers to relations between men. The Indic *ṛtá* denotes the cosmic order, the Latin *ritus* the method of ritual behavior.

[2] Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 61; *leg.* 2. 28; K. Latte, Über eine Eigentümlichkeit der italischen Gottesvorstellung, ARW 24, 1926, 244–258 (= Kl. Schriften, München 1968, 76–90); M. P. Nilsson, Wesensverschiedenheiten der römischen und griechischen Religion, MDAI(R) 48, 1933, 245–260.

[3] S. Weinstock, Review of H. J. Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, London 1949, JRS 39, 1949, 166–167.

above all in leading an active live.[1] The 'reflective' character of Roman literature and art is bound up with this mentality. The Romans regarded themselves as particularly religious (cf. Sallust *Catil.* 12. 3), and ascribed their successes in foreign policy to their piety.[2] The word *religio*, often brought into association with *religare* ('to bind'), according to Cicero (*nat. deor.* 2. 72) belonged together with *neg-legere, di-ligere* and denoted an attitude of constant and loving attention (cf. also the Greek ἀλέγω). Rites and divine signs are the objects of such attention. Everything, whether the flight of a bird or an accidentally heard utterance or indeed a stumbling or trembling, may become a sign or a divine hint determining the behavior of an individual. Observation of signs, however, has little or nothing to do with the practices of magic. The *augur* does not conjure up a mystical fullness of power (Vedic *ójas*), he simply states its presence. Virgil depicts Aeneas as a hero guided entirely by such expressions of divine will. Attention, the gift of observation and patient listening are typical of the Roman *homo religiosus*. The hero of the *Aeneid* is the noblest example of a type of man who, in less exalted guise—as an anxiously superstitious primitive or as a pedantic ritualist—, must have been frequent in Rome.

As a people on the margins of the Indo-European sphere, the Romans preserved a whole series of ancient notions of function, particularly from the area of politics: for example, their terms for king and priest;[3] and even ancient ritual traditions have left clear traces. This is not surprising, given the conservatism of the Romans in such matters. However, it would be one-sided to describe the Roman mentality only as 'conservative'. Much more than, for example, Celtic civilization with its stereotyped patterns of behavior, Roman civilization was open to new experiences. Once he had understood the signs of the time, a Roman was ready for enterprise and bold deeds. Such energy was called *virtus*.

Unrestrained *virtus* was checked, however, by attention to the will

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[1] 'Greek is . . . much more adapted to a natural, cheerful, gifted, aesthetic presentation of happy views of nature. Its habit of speaking in verbs, and especially through infinitives and participles, makes every expression permissible . . . The Latin language, by contrast, is made decisive and imperious by its use of nouns. The notion is presented as complete in the word, fixed in the word, which thereafter receives attention as if it were a real being' (Goethe, WA 2, 3, 201–202).

[2] Cic. *nat. deor.* 2, 8; Livy 5. 51–54.

[3] *Rex* (Sanskr. *rājā; flamen* (cf. *brahman*).

of the gods, deduced from signs. Another important controlling principle was the respect for social values, to which we must now turn our attention. The impact of such values varied considerably according to period, social class and individual.[1]

There are numerous words denoting moral, social or political relationship between persons. To translate them we often need two complementary expressions: *gratia* is 'grace' and 'gratitude'; *fides*, 'trustworthiness' and 'trust'. *Fides*, which is symbolized by a handshake, is the embodiment of keeping one's word. *Fides* was the personification of an accepted principle of social control: checking the aggressive impulse by giving one's word. Accordingly it was incorporated into the worship of the supreme god of the state and considered one of the most venerable Roman divinities. Such ideas paved the way for the later popularity of personifications and allegorical figures in Roman literature. *Pietas*, originally connected with the notion of ritual purity, is right behavior towards the living and the dead. Love of country, of parents and children are included in this concept—things which for us do not belong to the specific sphere of religion.[2]

Further principles guarding against unbridled bravery are *clementia*, 'clemency', and *sapientia*, 'wisdom'. These qualities, which are basic to Roman civilization, are not mere reflections of Greek philosophy. They also refine the prudence of the ancient Roman peasant. Clever talk arouses mistrust,[3] but all circumspection, even great hesitancy, is highly esteemed. This explains the preference for behaviors which are defensive[4] rather than aggressive. Much of this carries a negative connotation in other cultures. Perhaps no other people has made a virtue out of 'heaviness' (*gravitas*) and turned a 'lingerer' (*cunctator*) into a hero.

Festivals in honor of the gods or the dead fostered cultural activity

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[1] As might be expected, derivations from *pater* ('father') are widespread. The meaning is extended: *patronus* (counterpart to *cliens*), *sermo patrius* (cf. 'mother tongue'), *patres* (senators), *patricii*. *Pater* is a title (*pater patriae*) and denotes eminent persons and gods (e.g. *Iuppiter*). The patriarchal order of society is also reflected in the term used for property or inheritance, *patrimonium*. Even so, modern readers are occasionally inclined to underestimate the influence of women at Rome.

[2] *Pietas* is embodied in Aeneas. He carries his father (the past) and his shield with its pictures of his descendants (the future) on his shoulders, fulfilling his duty to both.

[3] *Mentiri*, etymologically 'to think', means 'to tell lies'.

[4] *Prudentia* ('foresight'), *cavere* ('to be on one's guard'), *patientia* ('endurance'), *labor* ('toil').

and were therefore a cradle for literature. Representation and rite transcended simple commemoration. The celebrants were directly involved in the re-enactment of exemplary patterns of behavior. At the funeral procession of noble *gentes*, characters in costume represented the dead man's ancestors, each in the garb of the highest office he had held. Polybius (6. 53–54) considered this form of remembrance a means of education: the example (*exemplum*) was intended to work on the younger generation. In the same framework, the *laudatio funebris* (panegyric of the dead) developed, which prepared the way for Roman historical writing.

Seriousness and mirth are not mutually exclusive. The festival was an occasion on which the Latins could freely indulge their delight in witty sayings[1] and well-turned epigrams, as well as their fondness for music, dance, and theater. In the Republican period such elements, under Greek inspiration, were raised to the level of literature. The public officials of that period in fact showed better taste than those of the Empire, for they encouraged the development of Latin drama. Of course it always had at its side raw and grisly forms of popular amusement.[2]

The significance of the typically Roman concept of *otium*[3] for culture and literature has long been neglected. The one who appears in public as a serious-minded Stoic need not be a spoilsport at home. In the philosophic dress of Epicureanism and even without, pleasure in Rome found its adherents. *Otium* was the opposite of business, *negotium*. In this case, leisure formed the positive concept, and business (*negotium*) the negative, even linguistically. Romans knew not only

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[1] An institution such as the triumph well expressed the emotional nature of the Romans, their feeling for expansive gestures. The triumphing general appeared as a manifestation of Jupiter. But at the same time a specially appointed person whispered into his ear jests intended to remind him that he was only a man.

[2] The fact that gladiatorial games originated in the worship of the dead cannot rob this institution of its gruesomeness. All civilizations, especially those founded on powerful repressions, have such dark sides. The theory that watching them neutralizes personal cruelty is a mere palliative. The contests described by the Roman epic poets seem at times to reflect impressions of the gladiatorial combats. It is to his credit that at least Seneca condemned such games. Our generation which, thanks to technology, can murder on a greater and more efficient scale has the right to regard the Romans in this area as bunglers, but no right to assume the moral vantage point.

[3] J.-M. André, L'*otium* dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine des origines à l'époque augustéenne, Paris 1966.

how to fight and die, but also how to live. Many private forms of literature have their roots in *otium*: epigram, elegy, lyric monody, and the occasional poem.

Before abandoning the theme of Roman mentality, which is as attractive as it is difficult, we must make clear that this is an area less monolithic than often assumed. Much changed in the course of time. Much varied from place to place, for Italy is by no means uniform. Much altered in accordance with the environment of city or country, much was evaluated differently by one and the same person in different circumstances. Much that we regard as universally valid reflects the judgment of individual great writers. Accordingly, our picture of the attitude of the ancient Roman in relation to the state is colored by the outlook of Cato the Elder although he did not embody the typical Roman aristocrat. Cato was a *homo novus*, and had every reason to put public concerns before private ones and to depreciate personal honor—at least by not mentioning the names of Roman magistrates who, as representatives of their *gentes*, certainly looked out for their reputations. The suppression of the names in Cato's *Origines* was exceptional and not typically Roman. Another great author who has drawn for us a lasting picture of the Roman mentality is Cicero. Admittedly he projected back onto the Elder Cato the Greek education of his own time, and it is highly probable that he did the same for the picture he sketched of the Scipionic Circle. Even more dramatic is the alteration of the image of primitive Rome offered by Livy. The Augustan writer transferred to the primitive period his own noble ideal of humanity which was reminiscent of Menander. The contribution of the Attic Orators and Xenophon to the development of Roman concepts and Roman identity remains to be assessed.

Though it is difficult to reconstruct the real circumstances in Rome's early period, the sketches offered by Cato, Cicero, and Livy remain valuable evidence of the way in which at particular periods the best representatives of literature thought of the character of their people. What is more, these concepts became strongly influential later, thus acquiring a certain validity at least after the fact. Of course this in no way bridges the gap between literature and historical reality. Therefore, these sketches are to be studied within and explained from their historical contexts.

Nor should we overlook the clash between traditional and modern values found in the literary witnesses themselves. This tension, mostly

unresolved but extremely fruitful, is a constant feature in Roman literature. The richness of new philosophical and religious ideas, which in the course of history the Romans were not reluctant to accept, was more impressive and more productive than the immovable, patriarchal background so readily conjured up by some of their writers.

Already in the earliest Roman authors there was an antagonism between old Roman values and progressive Hellenistic ideas, as, for example, in Plautus, Ennius, and the tragedians. Lucretius took hold of the philosophy of Epicurus with emotional seriousness, while Catullus adopted for himself the erotic and literary life-style of the Hellenistic world. Stoicism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, Middle Platonism, and mystery religions opened to many an author the world of the mind. Epicureanism justified the dignity of private life and happiness.

Conversely, the Stoa offered a philosophical foundation for civic virtues and for the concept of world empire. In the area of political thought, Cicero synthesized the values of the Republican past. He also laid the groundwork for the Augustan ideal of the principate. Offering a new picture of Roman history to his contemporaries and to later generations, Livy emphasized the values of tolerance, clemency and wisdom for which he felt the time was ripe.

The emperors needed a religious basis for their rule. Accordingly, long before Constantine, there arose a series of quite different models which were equally significant whether successful or not. Such were the Apolline sun-kingship of Augustus and Nero, Caligula's effort to impersonate an Egyptian pharaoh, Domitian's presentation of himself as Jupiter Cosmocrator, Seneca's, Hadrian's, and Marcus' idea of a philosopher king, Commodus' posing as Hercules, and the different oriental state cults from Septimius Severus on. In an attempt to breathe new life into state religion, continually fresh efforts were made to secure a link with living philosophical and religious tendencies.

The central position of the Augustan period in Roman history is shown by its balanced relationship to past and future. The same may be said of its literature, which lovingly assumed the old Roman inheritance, but also, by the prudent adoption of new religious trends, laid the groundwork for many developments to come.

Under Nero, Seneca pointed to the future by writing his manual for princes, the *De Clementia.* It is true that the contemporary addressee of this was unworthy, but it is equally true that many of Seneca's expectations were fulfilled by the emperors of the 2nd century, who boldly adopted the Stoic ideas of the senatorial opposition and on

them firmly established their rule. Seneca's philosophical writing was favored by the religious atmosphere of the time. The same may be said later of Apuleius and *mutatis mutandis* of the Christians. However, in contrast to other mystery religions, Christianity could not mesh with emperor worship. The fact that it was the most energetic emperors who persecuted Christians is a striking proof of this. Constantine brought about a turning point by putting to his own use (as philosopher-emperors had once done) the strongest spiritual force in the Empire and assuming its leadership. This political change altered Christian literature. Apologetics lost significance, while the struggle against heretics became a civic duty. More interesting than Christian loyalty to the government, an attitude which after Constantine survived well into the future, was Augustine's recognition of the importance of the provinces and of their possible autonomy from Rome, a fruitful lesson he drew from the City's downfall. Inspired by the debate with Christianity, a national and Roman senatorial opposition formed once again. It did much to preserve and transmit literature. The rise of a Christian humanism in late antiquity provided a first model for all later renaissances of Latin literature. We may conclude that literature does more than react to contemporary trends; it is also able to place itself at the vanguard of new developments and thus anticipate the future.

To sum up: the circumstances under which Roman literature developed as described here rest partly on external and partly on internal factors. To the first group belong geographical, political, economic, and organizational influences; to the second, changes of taste and artistic purpose in a dialectical alternation of generations and fashions. The important thing for a historian of literature is to observe how these factors work together in a real historical process and in an individual's literary creation.

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BEFORE LITERATURE

The history of what preceded dramas and epics of Greek type at Rome does not belong to literary history in the narrower sense. Nevertheless, such texts deserve mention since they reveal in part stylistic tendencies comparable to those found later in artistic prose and poetry.

A first obstacle to our search for the earliest antecedents of the literary genres is the difficulty of drawing a clear line between poetry and prose in that early period. Originally, the concept of *carmen* was not limited to poetry. It denoted a solemn saying uttered orally, whether treaty, oath, prayer or magical spell.[1] This last meaning is still visible in the French *charme*. In fact many texts which may be classed under the rubric of 'solemn oral style' could be interpreted either as raw poetry still ignorant of quantities or as a prelude to later artistic prose. In any case, certain structural markers—for example the division of a longer line into two related sections of similar though unequal extent—may also be observed in later poetry, and alliteration and bipartite expressions are likewise employed in literary poetry and prose.

The most significant lyric text from the pre-literary period is the *Carmen Arvale*. This is the hymn of a primitive rite, renewed by Augustus, intended to preserve the state. It is transmitted to us in an inscription dating from A.D. 218.[2] Of course we are dealing here with *concepta verba*, or established formulas, familiar also in legal language. But remarkably, in this text destined for song, the use of alliteration, otherwise so favored in archaic Latin, does not play a dominant role. Instead rhymes (*lue rue*) and small variations are characteristic, e.g. Mars is continually addressed by different titles. Although solemn tricola will later be deployed in Cato's speeches, in general the *Carmen Arvale* should not be classified as prose:[3] we know that it was accompanied by dance, and this presupposes a definite rhythm. In particu-

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[1] J. Blänsdorf, Ein System oraler Gebrauchspoesie: Die alt- (und spät) lateinischen Zaubersprüche und Gebete, in: H. L. C. Tristram, ed., Metrik und Medienwechsel, Tübingen 1991, 33-51.

[2] CIL I, 2nd ed., 2, No. 2 (pp. 369–370); CE 1; cf. Varro, *ling.* 5. 85; Gell. 7. 7. 8.

[3] Not so Norden, Priesterbücher 94; 109–280; more correctly S. Ferri, Osservazioni archeologico-antiquarie al *Carmen in Lemures*, in: Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli, Firenze 1956, 289–292; in general: G. H. Henzen, Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, Berlin 1874; C. Thulin, Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa, Berlin 1906; M. Nacinovich, *Carmen Arvale*, Text und Kommentar, 2 vols., Roma 1933–1934; R. Stark, Mars Gradivus und Averruncus, ARW 35, 1938, 139–149, esp. 142–143; K. Latte, Augur und Templum in der Varronischen Auguralformel, Philologus 97, 1948, 143–159, esp. 152, 1; A. Pasoli, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Bologna 1950; R. G. Tanner, The Arval Hymn and Early Latin Verse, CQ 55 n.s. 11, 1961, 209–238; B. Luiselli, Il problema della più antica prosa latina, Cagliari 1969; U. W. Scholz, Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos, Heidelberg 1970; M. T. Camilloni, Ipotesi sul *Carmen Arvale*, in the same author's Su le vestigia degli antichi padri, Ancona 1985, 60–86.

lar, the forced abbreviations, such as *sins* for *sinas*, may be ascribed to the requirements of the dance step. On such occasions we are painfully aware of the lack of any musical tradition worth the name.

Musical rhythm is also perhaps more important than the words allow us to recognize in the *Carmen Saliare.* This was the hymn of the college of the priests of Mars, the 'leapers', a hymn containing their triple stamping (*tripudium*). A further group of texts belonging to the Salian priests is known as *axamenta* (roughly: 'formulas of invocation'). It is not certain whether they were sung.[1]

The loss of secular folklore is much to be regretted. At least we do know for certain (although this is sometimes forgotten) that a Roman's life in all its stages was accompanied by songs: cradle-songs, work-songs, drinking-songs, dance-songs, love-songs, marches, or laments for the dead. The pithy praise of the dead in epitaphs develops before our eyes into poetic *elogia* in the style of Greek epigrams. The Scipionic epitaphs are proof of this. But were there also ancient Roman heroic songs? Should we rather believe ancient witnesses and Niebuhr's[2] instinct, or the modern cliché pronouncing the Romans unpoetic? Recent studies[3] have shown convincingly that the delight in festival and song was native also to the ancient inhabitants of Italy. Traces of early Indo-European myths have been detected, especially in Livy.[4] The surprising choice of the Saturnian meter for early Latin artistic epic would be more understandable if this meter had previously served in Rome as a vehicle for narrative. As ballads performed at the banquet[5] (although already in Cato's time they had been forgotten) such songs would be something between epic and lyric. This view is supported by the lyrical character of the saturnian.

Is the saturnian a Greek import or a native, even Indo-European,

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[1] At Festus p. 3 Lindsay the manuscript tradition is *componebantur. Canebantur* is a conjecture.

[2] A. Momigliano, Perizonius, Niebuhr and the Character of Early Roman Tradition, JRS 44, 1957, 104–114 (in favor of the existence of such *carmina*).

[3] G. Wille, Musica Romana. Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer, Amsterdam 1967.

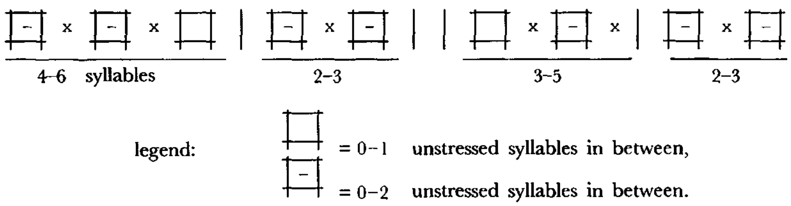
[4] Dumézil, Mythe.

[5] E. M. Steuart, The Earliest Narrative Poetry of Rome, CQ 15, 1921, 31–37; L. Alfonsi, Sui carmi convivali, Aevum 28, 1954, 172–175; skeptically handled by H. Dahlmann, Zur Überlieferung über die 'altrömischen Tafellieder', AAWM 17, 1950, 1191–1202 (publ. Wiesbaden 1951); pottery inscriptions from Teanum prove that the Oscans used a saturnian form of verse for their popular poetry (P. Poccetti, Eine Spur des saturnischen Verses im Oskischen, Glotta 61, 1983, 207–217).

meter? This is a question which we are hardly in a position to answer. The answer would depend on the way in which the search was conducted. If only the verses of artistic poetry evincing Greek influence are allowed to count as saturnians, one may follow Marius Victorinus and Terentianus Maurus[1] in describing the meter as quantitative, although its stichic employment and rhythmic treatment are not Greek. However, the more preliterary texts (along with other material outside literature in the narrow sense of the word) we define as saturnians, the more we are forced to resort to word-accent, the number of syllables or words, or a combination of these principles; that is, unless everything which cannot be interpreted as quantitative is to be regarded as prose. The hypothesis of a development from accentual verse with fairly fixed boundaries between words[2] towards quantitative verse is therefore unavoidable. This is true even though to project two mutually exclusive explanations into a temporal sequence, connected by the convenient notion of evolution, may seem merely to shift our dilemma into the minds of the earliest authors.[3] Nevertheless, as a Greek, Livius Andronicus was naturally inclined to explain to himself the foreign saturnian according to the metrical principles of his people. As so often in the history of Roman literature, the leap forward in development had its source in the initiative of a single individual.

[1] GL 6, 138–140; 6, 399–400.

[2]



The diagram was made by W. Kissel.

[3] The history of the problem is traced by M. Barchiesi, Nevio epico, Padova 1962, 310–323. An account of recent research is found in P. W. Harsh, Early Latin Meter and Prosody, Lustrum 3, 1958, 222–226. G. B. Pighi, Il verso saturnio, RFIC 35, 1957, 47–60, constructs his theory of the saturnian simply on the regularity of its word count. A. W. De Groot, Le vers saturnien littéraire, REL 12, 1934, 284–312, accepts the possibility of subordinate accents. T. Cole, The Saturnian Verse, YClS 21, 1969, 1–73, argues for an Indo-European origin (esp. 46–73). The Indo-European verse is shown to be isosyllabic by A. Meillet, Die Ursprünge der griechischen Metrik, in: Rüd. Schmitt, ed., Indogermanische Dichtersprache, Darmstadt 1968, 40–48. A Greek origin is proposed by G. Pasquali, Preistoria dalla poesia

Epitaphs are significant.[1] Some of them are in saturnians, others in dactylic or iambic meters.

Before we leave lyric and turn our attention to drama, we must mention the songs of mockery[2] which particularly reflect the natural bent of the Italians, be they improvised songs of merriment at the harvest festival, or more or less ritualized barbs such as the young bridegroom had to endure in the Fescennine Verses. Even the triumphant general at the height of his glory was greeted by caustic derision.

Originally, the Fescennine served to ward off evil spirits, and even stage plays had at first a religious purpose. They were introduced at Rome to atone for a plague in 364 B.C. (Livy 7. 2). Long before Livius Andronicus, therefore, Rome possessed a stage tradition handed down to them by way of Etruria. But the accounts in our authors concerning dramatic *saturae* are obscure and contradictory. The ways in which Greek dramas were modified in Rome may probably be traced back to native traditions. This is true of the evolution towards the musical play with 'flute' accompaniment and the fondness for anapaestic rhythms. The lavish use of the trochaic septenarius in Roman comedy is reminiscent of the Sicilian poet Epicharmus (6th–5th century B.C.). This meter, which served as the *versus quadratus* in soldiers' songs at triumphal processions, had a long Italian pedigree.[3] The popular forms of the Roman theater, notably the Oscan Atellan farce, will be discussed later. The final Hellenization was preceded by influences of Greek culture transmitted in some cases by Etruscans or Oscans.

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romana, Firenze, 2nd ed. 1981, 91–112. Cf. E. Fraenkel, The Pedigree of the Saturnian Metre, Eranos 49, 1951, 170–171; G. Erasmi, The Saturnian and Livius Andronicus, Glotta 57, 1979, 125–149; also V. Pöschl, Gli studi latini, in: Giorgio Pasquali e la filologia classica del novecento. Atti del Convegno Firenze-Pisa (1985), a cura di F. Bornmann, Firenze 1988, 1–13; D. Fehling, Zur historischen Herleitung des Saturniers, in: H. L. C. Tristram, ed., Metrik und Medienwechsel, Tübingen 1991, 23–31; older standard works: F. Leo, Der saturnische Vers, Berlin 1905; W. M. Lindsay, Early Latin Verse, Oxford 1922; B. Luiselli, Il verso saturnio, Roma 1967.

[1] Cf. the Scipionic inscriptions (on them H. Petersmann 1991) and for example the funeral poem on Claudia (CIL I, Berlin 1918, no. 1211; von Albrecht, Rom 101–102 with note 131).

[2] Cf. Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 145; Verg. *georg.* 2. 385–386.

[3] F. Altheim, Die neuesten Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte der römischen Metrik, Glotta 19, 1931, 24–48; further E. Fraenkel, Die Vorgeschichte des *versus quadratus*, Hermes 62, 1927, 357–370.

The roots of prose are, as already indicated, related to those of poetry, but in part also quite different.

Sacred and legal texts belong to the sphere of a 'solemn oral style'. The special significance of orality, of the actual performance of the established words, is clear from the fact that the validity of a legal act depends on it and not on any written document. These areas gave rise to stylistic tendencies found later in literary prose: combinations of two nouns and other parallel structures as well as an extended use of alliteration.

The *Twelve Tables* mark a milestone on the way to a somewhat more developed prose style. Just as this work owed some of its content to the *codes* of the cities of Magna Graecia, so did its language. Along with instances of carelessness like the abrupt change of subject, we find here the first efforts at subordination and the organization of periods. Since this text was learned by heart for generations, its influence should not be underestimated. Just as many an Englishman grew up with the King James Bible, so the Roman grew up with the law of the *Twelve Tables*[1] and was conditioned by it in his use of language.

As a republic, Roman society fostered the development of every type of public speaking. In this area there is no doubt of the existence of an old native tradition. Greek rhetoric subsequently helped to give an account of what the young Roman had learned in the forum through observation and imitation.

Without doubt law and oratory were the two most important preliminary stages of literary prose at Rome.

The *laudatio funebris* bridged the gap between oratory, biography, and historiography. The praise of the dead performed an important educational function in Roman society. The generic tradition of the *laudatio funebris* was ancient, even if the examples preserved are of later date, and ancient historians rightly doubted if such documents of family pride could be trusted as historical evidence. Other rudimentary forms of historical writing raised fewer literary claims. The records of the pontifices contained, for the most part, only dry facts, which were based on the calendar board drawn up by the *pontifex maximus*. While these priestly annals were published already in the 2nd century B.C., other material remained limited to a very narrow

[1] Cic. *leg.* 2. 59. It was only in Cicero's lifetime that learning the *XII Tables* by heart became unfashionable.

circle of readers; for example, the ritual books of the pontifices[1] and augurs, the official records of the consuls and censors (perhaps a point of departure for later *commentarii*). The publication of the legal formulae (*legis actiones*) by Gnaeus Flavius, the secretary of Appius Claudius, responded to a strong public demand. It gratified the desire for legal certainty; however their literary value must have been correspondingly slight.

The first author known to us as an individual, Appius Claudius Caecus,[2] censor 312 B.C. marks the transition to literature in the full sense of the word, both in prose and in poetry. This 'boldest innovator known to Roman history'[3] gained his lasting repute by more than the construction of the road and aqueduct to which he gave his name. He also earned it by his famous speech—still read in Cicero's day—against Pyrrhus' ambassador, Cineas (280 B.C.; Cicero *Brutus* 61). His maxims in saturnians, adapted from a south Italian Greek ('Pythagorean') collection, were, if taken as genuine, the first harbinger of a still distant literary spring. They revealed even then the Romans' penchant for practical morality, the lapidary style of their language, the historical and geographical conditions defining Greek influence, and the highly personal character of literary achievement in Rome.

To sum up: it is true that at Rome literature in the proper sense arose only under Greek influence. There were, however, important native conditions accounting for its rise and its preference for particular literary genres. Strong pre-literary traditions also set an indelible stamp on later literary development. In particular, the penetration of Greek culture began long before the rise of literature, and maintained a clearly visible connection with Rome's territorial expansion.

This indication of preliminary stages does not diminish the achievement of the true pioneers of Roman literature proper. It simply makes clear what were the starting points of their work, what means of expression they found available and what conditions of reception they were able to exploit.

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[1] G. Rohde, Die Kultsatzungen der römischen Pontifices, Berlin 1936.

[2] P. Lejay, Appius Claudius Caecus, RPh 44, 1920, 92–141; E. Stoessl, Die *Sententiae* des Appius Claudius Caecus, RhM 122, 1979, 18–23; I. Tar, Über die Anfänge der römischen Lyrik, Szeged 1975, 15–30; M. Marini, Osservazioni sui frammenti di Appio Claudio, RCCM 27, 1985, 3–11.

[3] Mommsen, RG 1, 310.

Most recent introduction with further bibliography: H. AND A. PETERSMANN, Republikanische Zeit I: Poesie, in: Die römische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, ed. by M. VON ALBRECHT, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1991. * G. VOGT-SPIRA, ed., Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom, Tübingen 1989. * G. VOGT-SPIRA, ed., Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur, Tübingen 1990. * G. VOGT-SPIRA, ed., Beiträge zur mündlichen Kultur der Römer, Tübingen 1993. * D. TIMPE, Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit als Basis der frührömischen Überlieferung, in: J. VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, H. REINAU, eds., Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung, Stuttgart 1988, 266–286. * See also the sections on genres.

SECOND CHAPTER:
LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

I. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In Rome literature was a late phenomenon. Five centuries of struggle passed during which books were hardly even a dream, before the need was felt to set over against the Greek achievement an artistic literature in Latin.

But now from ever more distant regions unforeseen prosperity inundated Rome's noble houses. The old thirst for glory and the new enjoyment of life joined to produce a hunger for culture and literary education which earlier had been partly unthinkable and partly suspect. The heirs of Romulus started to adorn their homes with Greek works of art and Greek books. In order to lend beauty to feast and festival, in order to explain in Latin their exploits and their trophies to a united Italy, to friends and foes, to children and children's children, they set to work house-tutors, chroniclers in verse, playwrights, composers of festival poems. The date of the first production of a Latin drama at Rome (240 B.C.) marks an epoch. Etruria had been vanquished (282 B.C.), the Greek city of Tarentum, famous for its vigorous theatrical life, had been conquered (272 B.C.), the First Punic War had been won (241 B.C.). Italy, unified under Roman leadership after the victory over Pyrrhus, faced as a shared ordeal the clash with Carthage. With the end of the struggle between the orders (287 B.C.), an internal consolidation took place. Rome was now the most powerful center in the western Mediterranean, possessor of a unified territory. This new identity required a name, and so now the whole peninsula took the name of its southern tip: Italy.

It also needed authentication in literature and myth. Festivals were the appropriate venue for public reflection and presentation. At first the topics of the new Latin drama in Greek style were often Trojan, or related in some other way to the history of Italy. Livius Andronicus wrote his Latin epic *Odusia* as a piece of Italian pre-history. The epics of Naevius and Ennius incorporated the experiences of the First and Second Punic Wars. In moments of respite after great changes the time was ripe for literature. But that literature was more than a

mere echo of events. It was an answer, even a blueprint of the future.

Roman literature developed along with the breath-taking expansion of Rome from dominance in Italy to world empire. In 240 B.C. the Empire embraced Italy (but not the plain of the Po, which came under Roman jurisdiction in 225–222) and Sicily (apart from Syracuse). It soon took in also Corsica and Sardinia (227 B.C.). The Second Punic War brought the Romans Spain (206 B.C.), although it would be a long time before Spain was finally pacified. Hesitatingly, they turned to the east. After the victory over Philip V of Macedonia at Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.), Flamininus proclaimed to an incredulous and amazed Greece that it was free. It was only some time after the defeat of Perseus by Aemilius Paullus at Pydna (168 B.C.) that a harsher wind blew from Rome. Macedonia became a Roman province in 148 B.C., Achaea after 146, and Asia after 133, thanks to the will of Attalus III of Pergamum.

Rome was now a new Hellenistic state, albeit one with its own language. In the provinces, beginning with Sicily which became Roman after the First Punic War, Roman magistrates simply behaved as if they had been the heirs of the Hellenistic tyrants. Becoming more adept and more discriminating with each passing day, the stern and sober patrons developed understanding and taste, and then began to write books, first with hesitation, and later with enthusiasm. Not even the hundred years of civil war could impede the irresistible rise of Roman literature. On the contrary, it lent it intellectual depth.

Around 100 B.C., Rome was mistress of almost the whole Iberian Peninsula, of Provence (from 121 B.C.), Italy, the whole Adriatic coast, Greece, western Asia Minor and the North African coast between Utica and Leptis Magna. Between 100 and 43 B.C. there were added Gaul (58–51 B.C., conquered by Caesar), Pontus, Bithynia (74 B.C. by the will of Nicomedes IV), Cilicia, Syria, Judaea, Cyprus, Crete, Cyrenaica, Numidia (Province of Nova Africa). The Mediterranean had become *mare nostrum.*

The simultaneous advance of Roman literature from modest beginnings to world status was no less powerful. Yet it took place against a dismal historical background. The circle of the privileged at Rome was and remained narrow. The unity of Italy, which may be traced from the 3rd century, was severely tested. It proved itself not merely a blessing but also a challenge. The Italians who for the most part had fought loyally at Rome's side as early as the Punic Wars had to wait unreasonably long for legal equality. Even the bloody Social

War, with its large-scale fratricide, brought them only partial success.

Native Roman citizens for the most part fared even worse. The new conquests destroyed economic equilibrium at home. The rich became richer[1] and the poor poorer. Considerable wealth had accumulated in the hands of leading families, mostly in the form of large estates, which were managed in plantation style. Accordingly the number of slaves—and of slave rebellions—increased. On the other hand free smallholders were decimated by the wars, severely damaged by Hannibal's devastations, and impoverished by competition with the *latifundia* worked by cheap slave labor. The roots of Rome's military power were being threatened. Either an agrarian law had to restore the small farmer, or the line of least resistance had to be followed, and a military career opened to include the large numbers now without property.

The senators were divided. Some with ill-concealed greed defended the status quo. Some with ostentatious selflessness supported reforms which, while more publicly effective, offended their colleagues. In settling this quarrel, even though it was conducted between social equals, they were not overscrupulous. For the first time citizens murdered citizens, senators murdered senators, while appealing under pretext of law to national emergency.

After the collapse of the Gracchan reforms, Marius adopted the second-best method, and brought about the overdue reform of the army. He replaced the citizen soldiers with an army that was paid, which meant that although efficiency increased, the sense of civic duty declined. The soldiers felt less obligation to the *res publica* than to their general. Soon Roman troops would march against Rome.

Admittance to civilization was no protection against the shattering barbarity stamping that century's moral character. The institution of proscription made murder of fellow citizens a routine and profitable political weapon. There was scarcely a family of repute without its dead to mourn.

In foreign politics, after the fall of Carthage Rome showed itself no more peaceful or merciful. Numantia is the proof. Only the grounds for war were often more threadbare than before. The oligarchy saw no reason to depart from its traditions. Were not wars a means of distracting attention from domestic conflicts? And must not every

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[1] The *equites* began to define themselves as a second socially elite class from the 2nd century B.C. on.

Roman noble take the opportunity to satisfy his desire for glory and, in the process, to enrich himself according to the requirements of his class, so that on his return to Rome he could drive his rivals from the field? The attitude with which Caesar would begin and conduct his Gallic War was therefore already established. His special contribution was his grand manner, and his mercy towards fellow citizens—and no one else.

Not even a resurrected Carthage could have rallied these Romans. If ever now a real threat came from abroad, it had, unlike previous crises, no longer a unifying effect. In order to repel the danger, the senate was forced to grant extraordinary powers to individual commanders, and there was no way to prevent the selfish misuse of such authority. Even this desperate remedy only succeeded therefore in accelerating the decay of the Republic.

This period of turmoil, in which the ancient link to family and community was loosened, was quite peculiar in its atmosphere. It showed a double aspect. On the one hand, given the frequent change of rulers, there prevailed for most people a depressing uncertainty of existence. On the other, new possibilities for freedom opened up for individuals. Never before had a Roman been able to live to the full as Sulla or Caesar could. Sulla, if need required, was energetic and active, although without commitment to any planned career. Half predator, half aristocrat, a gambler by nature, he marched and conquered, murdered and ruled with relish. Yet he possessed a gift rarely found in politicians, a spirit magnanimous enough to retire of his own free will. In this he surpassed his aptest pupil, Caesar, who, by an irony of fate, reproached him with political illiteracy because of his withdrawal from office.

The failure of the senatorial aristocracy in the face of the Gracchan attempts at reform, like the fatal reform of the army by Marius, initiated a process which led through numerous civil wars to the obliteration of the Republic by the Principate. The replacement of citizen soldiery by professionals had the unintended consequence of finally guaranteeing victory to the one who could secure for himself the best and most expensive army. As the Republic lost respect it was transformed into a military dictatorship. There was a corresponding change in the Roman system of values. The state, no longer taken for granted, now became a problem. The individual discovered his freedom.

CONDITIONS OF THE RISE OF LITERATURE

The changing influence of particular parts of Italy and the spread of Romanization among neighboring areas were reflected in the varied origin of Roman authors, a development which would naturally continue during the Empire. In the beginning, the south, with its heavy debt to Greek influence, had taken the lead. In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. authors came increasingly from the center of the peninsula.[1] From the first half of the 1st century B.C. on, with Nepos and Catullus, the north,[2] too, found its voice. Cisalpine Gaul, long felt to be foreign, gave to Rome some of its greatest talents.

The social background of these writers varied. The senator, who often combined the roles of author and patron, wrote his own speeches, composed memoirs or historical works,[3] with special emphasis on his own family's exploits. To praise himself, he could employ epic writers of humble origin, who at first were often Greeks. The dramatists too were mostly from modest circumstances, as, for example Accius, a protégé of D. Junius Brutus, consul in 138 B.C.[4] Lyric poets received commissions for religious hymns.

Respectable Italian citizens who wrote poetry were at first rare, and appeared as individual champions. From the 3rd century Naevius may be mentioned, from the second Lucilius. Intellectual freedom in both cases was fostered by financial independence. The attitude towards poetry changed only gradually as Hellenization advanced. Yet, independently of their origin, authors gained respect and recognition. Ennius is said to have been honored by a statue in the vault of the Scipios. Even for an aristocrat, the writing of poetry became less

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[1] From south Italy came Livius Andronicus (3rd century), Ennius (3rd–2nd century), Pacuvius (2nd century) and later Horace; from central Italy Naevius (3rd century), Cato (3rd–2nd century), Plautus (3rd–2nd century), Lucilius (2nd century), Cicero (1st century), Caesar (1st century), Varro Reatinus (1st century), Asinius Pollio (1st century); later Sallust, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid; from Africa Terence (2nd century); later, Apuleius among many others; from north Italy Nepos (1st century), Catullus (1st century); later, Virgil, Livy, and the Elder and Younger Pliny; from Gaul Pompeius Trogus.

[2] S. Mratschek, Literatur und Gesellschaft in der Transpadana, Athenaeum, n.s. 62, 1984, 154–189.

[3] In the Sullan period historical works were also composed by clients of the great families.

[4] Laberius, the writer of mimes (d. 43 B.C.), however, was a Roman knight. Caesar compelled him to appear publicly on the stage. The audience compounded the disgrace by awarding the palm to his rival Publilius Syrus, a freedman.

of a scandal. Some epigrams dating from the turn of the century mark a modest beginning. Soon, however, senators were found not only in the traditional College of Poets but also among the neoterics. Helvius Cinna and Licinius Calvus are examples. In general, in the 1st century B.C., writers of noble origin became more numerous; Varro Reatinus, Cicero, Caesar, and Asinius Pollio wrote poetry.[1] The tragic poet Accius, although his parents were only freedmen, did not rise from his place when the noble Julius Caesar Strabo entered the College of Poets (Val. Max. 3. 7. 11), and society acknowledged that in the empire of the mind ancestors made no difference.

The municipal aristocracy gained a reputation in scholarship with Aelius Stilo, in prose with Nepos, in poetry with Catullus. In Horace's time, poetic dabbling was already a fashionable weakness in the best circles (*ars* 382). If literary masters made their way to the forefront in spite of their humble origins,[2] among other factors, this may be credited to the social tolerance of men like Maecenas. Many of his peers, such as Cicero's friend and publisher Atticus, put their means at the service of literature.

Parallel and Complementary Phases. The change in Roman society during the last 200 years of the Republic is reflected in literary development.

The period from 240 to 146 B.C. included the Second Punic War, Rome's severest trial. It differs considerably in historical atmosphere, intellectual attitude, and literary production from the following century of civil wars. During the first hundred years, Roman literature was influenced by its encounter with Greek culture in southern Italy, by the unification of Italy and by the confrontation with Carthage. Numerous intellectual stimuli felt at Rome were productively exploited by individuals. Cultural interaction was of course a general phenomenon, but the rise of literature was bound up with particular places and persons. Prose at Rome, at least in principle, could make use of resources already available. Poetry had to create generic styles and forms from virtually nothing. Only gradually, and often with astonishing slowness, did traditions become established. During these early years occurred the flowering of the *palliata* and of historical epic, and the beginning of prose. Stylistically in this time, colorful expression

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[1] Nigidius Figulus seems only to have written prose.

[2] Two qualifications must be made: Virgil and Horace, though not of noble family, were not entirely poor; and Maecenas only encouraged talents which had already proved themselves.

and fullness prevailed. Towards the end, Terence introduced stylistic restraint, which would set a trend for the future.

In the period when Flamininus was granting freedom to the Greeks, Cato, in his *Oration for the Rhodians*, advocated a policy of clemency. Cato's *Origines* linked the historical identity of Italy to that of Rome. In comedy, we can grasp the beginnings of a Roman sense of humanity. It was already visible in Plautus' *Captivi* and of course in Terence. Ennius set wisdom higher than brute force. Unhappily, in the following century, in spite of its advancing culture, Rome failed to take to heart these teachings of its oldest literature.

A new century (146–43 B.C.) opened with the destruction of Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia, and ended with the self-annihilation of the Roman Republic. The contrast with the previous period is instructive. The elegant and succinct manner of Gaius Gracchus bears the same relationship to the lavishly colored style of Cato the Elder as do the innovative comedies of Terence (d. probably in 159) to those of Plautus. In his circle, Lucilius, so aware of language, fully merited the title *doctus et urbanus*. The increasing purism of the 2nd century, which may have been partly due to Stoic influence, soon led to a feeling that the works of Caecilius Statius and Pacuvius in the intervening generation lacked style. As a result, they were more quickly forgotten than the equally luxuriant works of their pioneering predecessors, Plautus and Ennius, which had become classics. The second half of the 2nd century saw a considerable development in oratory couched in a relatively strict style (the Gracchi); the literary enhancement of historical writing (Coelius Antipater); the culmination of Republican tragedy (Accius); and the beginning of scholarship (Aelius Stilo).

Sullan literature took many forms. Orators like Crassus and Hortensius cultivated an Asian style, with its relentless rhythms. The early Cicero still competed with these speakers. Later, he would find a classical mean, although without ever denying his beginnings. The historian Claudius Quadrigarius wrote with crystal clarity, displaying no trace of the fondness for archaism later normal in that genre. Evidently, the formal appearance of a genre was something not yet rigidly defined.

The strictness of the 2nd, and the variety of the early 1st century formed the basis for the subsequent Golden Age. During the waning decades of the Republic prose reached its culmination in Cicero and Caesar. Poetry likewise was represented by two towering figures,

Catullus and Lucretius. These two poets are often categorized as 'preclassical', an epithet that raises problems because it suggests the notion of incompleteness. The value of these authors is diminished if they are considered not as products of their own time, but as preliminary stages on the way to some kind of sequel. They are in fact the witnesses of an intellectual liberation which could only have taken place in that period.

LATIN AND GREEK LITERATURE

Thanks to Alexander, Greek civilization mastered the world. During the Hellenistic period, which may be defined as lasting from the death of Alexander to that of Caesar, Rome conquered the Greek east, and was at the same time penetrated by Greek culture. But, unlike most Mediterranean peoples, the Romans remained loyal to their native language, and responded to Greek literature by creating a literature of their own. In the Hellenistic period, Latin assimilated Greek literary forms, and, in the first instance, those that were contemporary.

The encounter with Greek culture did not take place in a vacuum. It was tied to those particular cities and areas with which Rome came sequentially into closer connection. Greek authors were not read at random; preference was given to those who, through their subjects, their origin or their biography, had ties with Italy. Ennius, for example, turned his attention to Sicilian authors like Epicharmus and Archestratus of Gela. Even later, the Romans liked to refer to Pythagoras as an 'Italian' philosopher or to Theocritus' 'Sicilian Muses'.

Each of these authors was less concerned with imitation than with the challenge presented by an historical situation. From this point of view, the origin of Roman literature takes its place within a larger process. The Romans owed their triumphant course not to their alleged conservatism, but to their ability to relearn, and to find new answers to new challenges. Earlier, they had not been in the habit of breaking down their legions into maniples. Now they adopted these tactics from the Samnites, and defeated them with their own weapon. In its struggle with the Carthaginians the 'peasant people' built large fleets, and won victories at sea.[1] Roman patriarchs, with Cato the Elder in

[1] Duilius in 260 B.C. at Mylae; Catulus in 241 B.C. at the Aegadian Islands.

their van, adapted modern Hellenistic farming methods. New ways of living found expression in Hellenistic planning of houses and villas. Our picture of the rise of Italy as its own center of culture is inseparable from the rise of a self-awareness which expressed itself in open confrontation with Greek literature.

When Aemilius Paullus, victor at Pydna (168), had the Royal Macedonian Library brought from Pella to Rome, this marked a turning-point in history. The close relationship of the Romans with the Pergamene kingdom, bequeathed to them by its last ruler, Attalus III (133), had permanent consequences for intellectual life as well.

The head of the Pergamene school of grammarians, the Stoic Crates of Mallus (2nd century), the teacher of Panaetius, came to Rome perhaps about 169 B.C. as ambassador for his country. There he gave lectures, and his interpretation of the poets became standard for many Romans after him. He discovered in Homer extensive geographical knowledge and, in the description of the shield, a scientific picture of the Stoic universe. To prove his point, he had to make considerable use of allegorical interpretation. In grammar, Crates defended the importance of anomaly rather than analogy. He initiated the Stoic direction taken by Roman scholarship and the Romans' approach to language and literature. The linguistic doctrine of the leading grammarian L. Aelius Stilo[1] Praeconinus, who died in the first third of the 1st century B.C, would be Stoic in principle. Through his students, Cicero and Varro, he defined for centuries the subsequent development of the Roman mind.

The close association with Pergamum contributed to the fact that scholarship of the strict Alexandrian variety did not find permanent footing in Rome. The textual critic and analogist Aristarchus (d. about 145 B.C.), and the universal scholar Eratosthenes (d. about 202 B.C.), both Alexandrians, are intellectual antipodes to Crates. Eratosthenes, for example, who calculated the circumference of the earth, held that Homer was not a scientific authority.

Rhodes provided another bridge into the intellectual world of Greece. It was an island republic which, not least because of its significance as a trading power,[2] exerted a powerful influence on Rome. After the adoption of a pro-Egyptian policy by the Ptolemies in the

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1 Suet. *gramm.* 2 (on Crates); 3 (on Aelius Stilo); GRF 51–76.

2 Elements of Rhodian marine law were actually incorporated in Roman law: cf. RE s.v. *iactus.*

middle of the 2nd century, Rhodes welcomed scholars expelled from Alexandria. It was also the refuge of the great astronomer Hipparchus of Nicaea (d. after 127) and of famous teachers of rhetoric such as Molon, who taught Caesar and Cicero. It was also the favorite home of the philosopher Posidonius of Apamea (d. about 51 B.C.), whose work would become the basis of many Latin philosophical texts. His teacher Panaetius (d. about 109) was actually born in Rhodes. Panaetius was a student of Crates and a member of the Scipionic Circle. It was he who provided the model for Cicero's *De officiis*. Rhodes, too, therefore, made an essential contribution to the Stoic cast of Roman thought.

Rome's schooldays under Greek tutelage were not free from tensions. The Romans were willing enough to profit from Greek experiences, but showed no inclination to be distracted from reality by Greek theories. The philosophers who arrived as ambassadors in 155 provoked a clash between old-fashioned respect for the *res publica* and modern skepticism. The men who came from Athens to Rome were the Peripatetic Critolaus, the Academic Skeptic Carneades, and the Stoic Diogenes. Carneades spoke one day in favor of justice in policy and the next day against it. Cato took steps to secure the early dismissal of these corrupters of public morals. This did not prevent him from secretly learning as much as he could from the Greeks, even in the area of capitalist agronomy. The creation of a Latin literature is, in fact, a fruitful reaction to overweening Greek influence.

Numerous anonymous merchants, freedmen, and slaves furthered the spread of Greek influence in the capital. Many served as tutors and emended or even composed the historical works written in Greek by their Roman masters. But there were also individual personalities of importance. One fruitful intellectual seedbed for future literary growth was the so-called Scipionic Circle. It was not exclusive. Greek and Latin authors swarmed around the notables of the Rome of those days. Here the historically necessary exchange between two cultures was realized in lively dialogue. Polybius and Panaetius communicated to Roman society the education for which its best representatives yearned. Conversely, there arose a new picture of the historical and cultural mission of Rome in the minds of these Greeks.

The last decisive step was taken at the end of the Republic. The circle of the neoterics, which again was not exclusive, united young men of noble birth. Here for the first time Latin literature liberated itself from the claims of traditional society. The conservative Cicero

(who in his day had made his own contribution to the advance of Roman poetry) looked on the group with a suspicion that would be shared later on by Horace.

GENRES

One of the oldest genres is oratory, which is the soul of every republican society. The young Roman acquired this skill by listening to proceedings in the Forum and by attaching himself to one of the great orators of the older generation. From orally transmitted practice there developed typical characteristics of style.

Legend places the first influence of Greek rhetoric as early as Tarquinius Priscus. It gradually increased since the masters of the world wanted to put into practice what they had learned from their Greek tutors. Already in Cato the Elder traces of Greek rhetoric have been discovered.

At a later phase of literature, Gaius Gracchus, whose Latin was particularly elegant and pure, depended so much on Greek technique that he always kept in his retinue a Greek elocutionist, whose task was to give him the right tone with a pitchpipe. In an age without microphones, the success of a speaker was determined by his ability to speak loudly and clearly without damaging his voice, and for this he needed Greek coaches.

In the generation before Cicero, the Asian style came into prominence, for which archaic Latin shows an affinity. Crassus divided his speeches into short rhythmical commata. Hortensius followed him. Cicero himself preserved clausula-rhythms, even though he soon overcame an exaggerated Asianism by wide-ranging imitation of Demosthenes. In comparison with him, the extreme Atticists lost their attraction. In Cicero's oratory a degree of art is attained which allows us to forget art, a 'second nature', which however no longer has much in common with the first. In the school of Greek rhetoric, Latin oratory cast off the last remains of official and legal stiltedness still clinging to it from its early period. In style, Cicero discovered the golden mean between Atticism and Asianism.

The custom of publishing speeches began early in Rome and was said to have been practiced by Appius Claudius. Cicero's publication of his speeches was therefore nothing unusual in his day. For a *homo novus* the publication of speeches was a method of self-advertisement

as lawyer and politician. Another typically Roman motive was to provide the younger generation with educational material, an ambition inspiring Cicero's other works. His ornate *philosophical and rhetorical writings* were quite different from Greek books of his time. Mommsen jokingly remarked that he had driven from the field Demosthenes with his speeches and Plato with his philosophical dialogues. Only time, he suggested, prevented Cicero from outdoing Thucydides as well.[1] But, more fairly, it needs to be said that in his day Cicero was literally the only author who in prose could dare to challenge Demosthenes and Plato. Such courage to confront the greatest masters of the past also shows that Latin literature had advanced beyond its years of tutelage. So it was that Lucretius measured himself against Empedocles.

Although Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical writings reflect the circumstances of his career, they were not inspired exclusively by political aims of the day. They were a necessary expression of the author's identity as an intellectual and made him a teacher of Rome and Europe. In his speeches, too, it is not the ephemeral which rouses admiration, but the ability of a great man to view a given case in the light of greater, more general issues. The publication of speeches has been called a symptom of decadence,[2] but for two thousand years this decadence has given us food for thought. Without it we would miss the pinnacle of Latin prose, and Mommsen would have missed intelligent contemporary documents. If the Romans had manfully resisted this literary original sin, they would have had no more to say to us than, for example, the Spartans.

Cicero's *Letters* are an inestimable witness to contemporary events. The degree of literary elaboration in them varies. There are notes jotted down spontaneously to trusted friends, sometimes cheerful, sometimes dismal, along with sober communications to his wife, and, at the opposite end of the scale, studiedly polite greetings to opponents and carefully polished official reports. And yet this author of a thousand nuances has been deliberately downgraded to the status of classical representative of classicism!

We encounter *technical writing*[3] in two standard representatives, one early and the other late: Cato's work on agriculture, and the simi-

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[1] RG 3, Berlin 6th ed. 1875, 620.

[2] MOMMSEN, *loc. cit.*, 619.

[3] For bibliography see Roman Technical Writers, below, pp. 564–582.

larly titled work of Varro. In Cato, the carefully organized introduction is visibly distinguished from the actual instruction, which raises no literary claim. Varro, by contrast, writes as a scholar, and in that work strives moreover, by using the dialogue form, for a literary effect throughout.

In the area of *law*[1] Rome also had a native tradition. The *Law of the Twelve Tables* (middle of the 5th century B.C.) is known only from fragmentary later quotations. Since it was learned by heart by every Roman, however, its influence was considerable. For many years civil legislation was kept in the background by interpretation and further development of existing law. Legal formulae were long safeguarded on the grounds that they were the property of the priests, who were originally the only ones concerned with interpreting the laws. The publication of the formulas around 300 B.C. marked an essential step forward. An important source of law was provided by the edicts which the praetors published on taking office.

Legal science originally made no literary claims. It consisted of the *responsa* given by *iurisconsulti* (Cic. *de orat.* 1. 200). In their houses could also be found young students.

Roman law early fell under Greek influence.[2] The *Twelve Tables* followed the codes of Greek cities. Otherwise Greek legal forms were only rarely adopted.[3]

The extension of the imperium also made legal regulations for dealings involving non-Romans necessary (*ius gentium*). Legal scholarship was further refined under Stoic influence,[4] to which the Scipionic Circle contributed. In the late Republican period, the *ius gentium* was closely related to *ius naturale.* Greek influence was at work here, as Cicero's *De re publica* and *De legibus* reveal. Nevertheless the *ius gentium* remained Roman in structure. Under the influence of philosophy, and particularly of the Stoa, the jurists came to develop a delight in definition. An example is offered by the Ὅροι of Q. Mucius Scaevola. Cicero took up the questions of Roman law in his *De iure civili in artem redigendo.* Since he had no technical proficiency as a jurist, the

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[1] For bibliography see *Roman Jurists* and *Juridical Literature of the Republican Period,* below, pp. 616–630.

[2] An old borrowing from Greek is *poena* ('fine').

[3] For example, some part of the Rhodian marine law and the general principle requiring written codification of laws.

[4] J. Stroux, *Summum ius, summa iniuria.* Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der *interpretatio iuris,* Leipzig/Berlin, no date (about 1926).

influence of philosophy and rhetoric in this work must have been considerable. Though likewise no jurist, Varro composed fifteen books *De iure civili.*

No complete works by jurists of the Republican period have been preserved. We know of publications of commercial and testamentary formulas, as also of *Responsa* (*Digesta*). The practice of giving responses led M. Junius Brutus to cast his work on *ius civile* into the form of a dialogue. Here an apparently Greek literary form sprang from a practice observed in Roman life. The *Twelve Tables* were given legal commentaries, which adapted their intent to contemporary needs and were accompanied by the relevant formulas. An example is the *Tripertita* of Sextus Aelius Paetus Catus. There were also commentaries on the praetorian edict and that of the curule aediles. Quintus Mucius Scaevola composed a system of *ius civile* in 18 books. It was supplied with a commentary by Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a contemporary of Cicero. The same author created an elegant style of jurisprudence. The transformation of legal language from the lapidary brevity of the *Twelve Tables* to captious longwindedness may be followed on inscriptions, for example in the *Lex Acilia repetundarum* (122 B.C.).

Historical writing in origin was the only genre of writing compatible with social distinction. Cato, Cincius Alimentus, Fabius Pictor, even the Graecomaniac Aulus Postumius Albinus, were all senators. There is only a single genuine writer among them: the historian, orator, and jurist Coelius Antipater, but it would be too bold to conclude from his Greek *cognomen* that he was of humble birth. In the time of Sulla there is some change. Claudius Quadrigarius certainly did not belong to the patrician *gens Claudia*, and Valerius Antias may have been a client of the patrician Valerii. Even so, the historian Sisenna was a senator, just as later were Cicero's contemporaries Aelius Tubero and Sallust.

We do not possess memoirs like those of Sulla, and so the *Commentaries* of Caesar are for us a unique phenomenon in Roman literature. They link the Roman *commentarius* with features of Greek historiography. Cicero would gladly have written history if he could only have found time. Since his historiographical theories were based on Herodotus and Theopompus, the outcome of his efforts would probably have been not unlike the work of Livy. Sallust's historical works offered a stylized picture of the late Republican period. The *Jugurthine War* dealt with the earlier part of this period, the *Catilina* with a later phase. The *Histories* lay in between. Sallust created a

fixed style for Roman historical writing, modeling its language on Cato and its literary technique on Thucydides. The *Histories* show us a different Sallust, one somewhat closer to Herodotus; but impulses towards this development are found earlier, especially in the *Bellum Jugurthinum*.

The fragments of Asinius Pollio and Trogus prove that Sallust's manner was not the only one possible for a historian. Even in literary technique there are great differences; for example, Trogus rejected the practice of inserting invented speeches, otherwise so common. Livy, too, was not an orthodox follower of Sallust. His diction is visibly different. It was through Tacitus and Ammianus that the Sallustian style became typical of the genre.

Poetry at first adopted predominantly Hellenistic literary forms. *Epic* was nominally Homeric, but in practice mostly followed Hellenistic historical epic. Ennius perfected archaic Latin epic in the very first stage of Roman literature. In the late Republican period, Catullus created a miniature epic in the Hellenistic style. Cicero translated Aratus, and celebrated the deeds of Marius and his own consulship. Lucretius produced a didactic poem in the grand manner. Technically, these poets imbued epic with refined Alexandrian technique and with elements of rhetoric. Lucretius mastered the large-scale form. Without these pioneering works, the *Aeneid* could not have been written. The Republican epic developed Hellenistic techniques, but still fell short of complete assimilation of Homer. In content, each of these works exhibits individual features and a personal touch.

It was a logical consequence of the historical situation of Roman literature that a Hellenistic literary form such as *New Comedy* should take definitive shape in the first period of Latin literature. Some genuinely Italian elements irresistibly invaded certain early Latin comedies: thanks to his linguistic creativity and his musical gift, Plautus produced something essentially different from Menander. Attention to purity of language and strictness of form contributed to the refinement of comedy. Terence reached a classical compromise. After him, literary comedy ran out of energy and clung ever more closely to its models, to be ruined finally by suicidal perfectionism and pedantry. The public demanded cruder fare.

Tragedy enjoyed longer life. It reached its high point in the century of turmoil following 146. This genre, which played an important part in the assimilation of myth at Rome, likewise reflected Hellenistic taste. It had something of the character of grand opera. At the same

time, tragedy especially catered to the Roman sense of *pathos*. Horace would find a talent for tragedy in the Romans (*spirat tragicum*, 'he has some tragic inspiration', *epist.* 2. 1. 166), and Cicero would attest to the lasting impression created by tragic performances. Accius, Rome's most finished tragic writer, possessed both the archaic power and the modern sensibility to create something valuable. Thus the loss of his works is particularly regrettable. The genre, without whose influence both the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses* would be unthinkable, is represented under Augustus by Varius and Ovid, and under Nero by Seneca. That author's delight in macabre and gruesome elements had probably been prepared by the tragedians of the Republican period. Because of gaps in the tradition, the reader might have the impression that tragedy at Rome passed directly from its Hellenistic to its rhetorical stage. But in the light of the fragments of Accius we should revise this judgment. His clear, dignified language forms the poetic pendant to the well-chiselled prose of C. Gracchus.

The native Roman *satura* came into prominence equally in the second half of the 2nd century with Lucilius. As a medium through which a free man could express himself, satire was in many ways ahead of its time, sometimes heralding Catullus and even Horace. *Doctus* and *urbanus*, Lucilius was part of his period; he belonged with purists like C. Gracchus, but also with critics of language like Accius, although with the latter he could not see eye to eye. These are the years in which literary scholarship was also making its appearance in Rome.

Epigram, elegy, and *lyric* began only in the late Republican period, if we discount sepulchral epigrams, the *Hymn to Juno* of Andronicus, and the quite different lyric of the Plautine *cantica*. After shaky beginnings at the turn of the century, personal poetry in Hellenistic miniature forms culminated in Catullus. These genres were particularly linked to the discovery of the world of *otium* during the last decades of the Republic. In form they bore the mark of the Callimachean school, but in content they breathed the spirit of a new individual freedom. Thus, these genres were unmistakably the children of their time and yet harbingers of things to come. Love elegy, both technically and as a genre, would only reach perfection in the next stage of literature.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

In what language would that new Roman and Italian self-awareness find expression? The answer to this question was not a foregone conclusion. Authors wishing to be read by the Greek-speaking world wrote in Greek, even if they were Roman senators. Conversely, the magnetism and luster of Rome as center of power, with its uniform administrative and military language, was so strong that not only Rome's Italian kinsfolk but also many Greeks began to write in Latin. In the long run, the Greek colonies in the west were less able to resist assimilation to Latin than the self-contained Greek linguistic sphere of the eastern Mediterranean. As the language of the capital, Latin became the language of literature. Latin, to whose authority surrender now had to be made, was subsequently justified as a 'Greek-Aeolic dialect'.

Language and style acquired in the first instance rich color and fullness. This was equally true of the poems of Naevius, Ennius or Plautus, and of the prose of Cato the Elder, in which heavy, archaic ornament within the sentence contrasts with brusque brevity at the end.

In the 2nd century, selectivity increased. The comedies of Terence provide the first evidence, but in the speeches of C. Gracchus the purism and strictness distinguishing the Roman aristocracy is no less manifest.

Lucilius is actually one of the most colorful Latin authors. Even so, he aims to be *doctus* and *urbanus*, and criticism of language is one of his pursuits.

The clear, factual Latin of Claudius Quadrigarius allows us to estimate what we have lost with Sullan prose. Cornelius Nepos and Varro compensate to some extent for the lack. Technical writers and jurists would develop this style further, after Sallust had imposed his archaizing manner on history.

Caesar continued the tradition of purism typical of the capital. Cicero was his equal in purity of language, but outshone him in fullness. He conquered numerous new provinces for the Latin language in both prose and poetry. The lively variety of the levels of language and of generic styles exploited by this master of a thousand colors has not been fully appreciated; instead, the whims of critics have turned him into a mute idol of classicism.

Cicero remained unmatched as a prose writer, but his quite successful efforts to refine the hexameter were soon overshadowed by

Catullus. To the epic verse and to particular small-scale lyric forms in Latin Catullus lent a tenderness and sweetness previously unknown. Yet, despite magnificence in concepts, he found difficulty in mastering the elegiac couplet. Technically, much remained to be done by the Augustans in this area.

In his language, too, Catullus was continually defying convention. He struck out in two directions. Along with an extraordinary delicacy of language we find in him coarse, even rude expressions. This unparalleled breadth of linguistic range is evidence of the scope of an author who in Rome turned the small poem into a great artistic form.

Lucretius, who complained of the poverty of Latin, was wholly dedicated to his theme. In his search for the right word he allowed himself to be led into unexplored realms of language which he researched with bold innovative instinct.

IDEAS I
REFLECTIONS ON LITERATURE

The earliest Latin poets won for themselves and for poetry the right of residence in Rome. Their identity was inseparable from their work, and their self-confidence rested wholly on their literary achievement; this made them forerunners of both the Augustans and later European authors. Ennius mirrored his own life in the picture he gave of the cultivated friend who chats with the commanding general after work, but he also thought of himself as a reincarnation of Homer. Plautus communicated with his public by breaking the dramatic illusion. On other occasions, he projected his poetic *persona* into the role of a slave, which he frequently played himself. It was the cunning slave, spinning the plot, who became the 'strategist' or 'architect' of the play. The will of the author determined destiny: 'Plautus wanted it this way.' Only one further step remained to complete the idea of *poeta creator.* Terence turned his prologue into a vehicle for literary polemics; he thus wrote the first texts of literary criticism in the Latin language. In Lucilius, reflection became more detailed and technical. Accius followed two routes, that of poet and that of scholar. Yet scholarship was on the road to independence. Volcacius Sedigitus and others produced critical catalogs of Roman poets. Appreciation of native literature was added to philology's role as preserver and interpreter.

Catullus and the neoterics took over the Hellenistic poetics of graceful 'play' and of 'trifles'. It is surprising to find in Catullus of all people the division between poetry and life expressed with full force (*carm.* 16),—although this was intended as a defensive tactic. Malicious contemporaries had defamed the singer of tender love poetry as 'unmanly'. Acts described in blunt language would convince those miserable cronies of Catullus' potency. With this, the poet maintained his sovereign independence. In Lucretius the conviction of freedom found different expression. Old *topoi* of the mysteries, such as the untrodden path at the side of the highway, the untouched spring, had long lost their original religious significance, and had been adapted by Hellenistic poets to literary creation. One may recall Callimachus' prologue to the *Aetia*, which influenced Ennius. Lucretius (1. 921–950) restored to such faded ideas their savor of intellectual adventure. This attitude fit well into an epoch of great political adventurers and even outstripped their deeds in daring.

For Lucretius, poetry had a subordinate role. It was the honey with which the doctor makes his bitter medicine acceptable to children. The poet thought of himself, we may deduce, as a physician. As a born poet, he was in fact proof against his own unpoetic theory of poetry. Likewise, he reflected on the poverty of the Latin language, while busy with the task of enriching it.

In many of his introductions, Cicero boasted of having conquered new fields—such as philosophy—for the Latin language. A parallel with the conquests of Roman generals is easily made. He defended his own literary activity, and emphasized the merits of Latin. In his *Pro Archia*, he established the function of the poet in Roman society.

IDEAS II

For a long time there could be no talk of a 'world of ideas' at Rome. What we understand by 'thinking' would have struck a Roman of the old school as sheer cynicism and an attack on the state. The five early centuries which knew no literature, and the continued expulsion from Rome of philosophers and rhetors until well into more civilized times speak for themselves.

Once literature began, it came to reflect historical development significantly. The 'Italic' phase of the Roman Empire brought about an inner consolidation, leading to the rise of a Latin literature. The

creation of ideas, myths, and values was linked to concrete historical, geographical, and administrative conditions. The establishment of a national history went hand in hand with the establishment of cultural awareness, and depended on stimuli from southern Italy. Public and social values were formulated, but along with them literature also shared the task of enlightenment. From the outset, drama, epic, and other genres also encouraged reflection. Centrifugal forces ever present in Roman society, such as the ambition of individual families and increasingly of individual personalities, found expression early in poetry. Evidently, the grandees of Rome took undue satisfaction in the Hellenistic panegyric of rulers, to which they became accustomed at the hands of compliant poets, beginning with the worthy Ennius. The collective moral attitude of old Roman society, particularly emphasized by *homines novi*, could not long withstand the personality cult of the Greek-speaking East. There was an ancient equivalence at Rome between the triumphant general and Jupiter. Perhaps linked to this, we now find in the Scipios a victorious self-confidence, of which the guiding stars were Alexander and Achilles. We also find a feeling about life which broke the mold of the civic heroism of the old Roman type, and which was bound to appear suspect to conservatively minded contemporaries. What an individual politician might have called the discovery of his personal liberty seemed to his peers a striving for regal dignity dangerous to the state. The late Republican period was uncommonly rich in great personalities. Politically, these individuals strove for power. Yet it was no coincidence that Sulla, the terrifying exponent of personal caprice, also made his appearance as the composer of an autobiography. All this is matched in the literary sphere by the rise of original personalities like Lucretius and Catullus, who were largely liberated from Roman conventions. The affinity of modern readers to these very poets rests not least on the fact that they worked in a challenging atmosphere of social change not possible either earlier or later in ancient Rome. The chaos of the 3rd century A.D. would produce no literature. By contrast, the confusions of the Republican period contributed to the emancipation of the individual and to the birth of personal poetry.

In the late Republican period, old bounds were transgressed. Rome itself was no longer safe from its sons as they came of age. The shrine of Fortuna at Praeneste was a monumental triumph of architecture over landscape. Technical power came to master the material world. Man became conscious of what was feasible and made it

a reality. Cato had already acquired modern farming techniques. Without the precise methods of the Roman *agrimensores*, Caesar's achievements as a general would have been unthinkable.

Attitudes towards life at this time fluctuated between unparalleled autonomy and an uncertainty equally unheard of. On the one hand, proscriptions and civil wars daily confronted the individual with his mortality. On the other, the great conquests in east and west opened to him the vastness of space.

The contrast with the previous period could not have been sharper. Not long ago the city itself had been both cosmos and religious community, thus forming the only world for the Roman, who felt himself part of its hierarchical structure.

Looking back, Cicero recognized what had been lost. In sketching a picture of the past, he was early enough to be able to speak from personal observation, and late enough to enjoy a lofty philosophical stance. In his intellectual attitude, Cicero was the opposite of a Roman of the old stamp. He owed all that he was to his education, which had brought him liberation and lent him grandeur. By meditating on the Roman state and Roman law he steadily fulfilled in his time a unique mission. He conquered for Latin prose the realm of mind and of philosophy. Here, he was no less bold than many a general. However he did not settle to rest in that new world, but worked to become by means of philosophical reasoning what earlier Romans had been by nature. Thus, he continued to return to politics, and was active in the service of the republic to the end. It is worth emphasizing that behind such a voluntary commitment to the commonwealth there was not foolishness and weakness, but strength and a willingness to sacrifice, of a kind not shown by the great men of action of that time.

Lucretius separated the natural universe from the state, and analyzed it with a thoroughness previously unknown at Rome. He was one of the first Romans to consider nature a worthy object of study. Moreover, while Cicero clung to the uniqueness of the Roman state, and tried to anchor it in an equally unique natural world, Lucretius, with Epicurus, denied that our world was the only one in existence (Lucr. 2. 1084–1092). To crown everything, he argued that the gods had nothing to do with its guidance. Ritual, a central element of old Roman religion, became meaningless in this regard. 'Piety' was no longer the performing of rites, but a state of mind (Lucr. 5. 1198–1203). Without his traditional mediators, man stood alone under the

starry sky (Lucr. 1. 140–145). Not blind belief, but enlightenment and knowledge of nature brought freedom from fear. The experience of emancipation from old prejudices (*religio*) was novel, and novel, too, was the joy of illuminating with the torch of reason and nothing else the darkness of a life into whose depths Lucretius, as a man of his time, had looked. In retrospect, men like Marius and Sulla almost deserve thanks for so emphatically demonstrating to their countrymen what a questionable thing the *res publica* was. But it needed a genius like Lucretius to draw from this truth such bold consequences, and to match his famous contemporaries' foreign conquests with spiritual conquests of infinitely greater dimensions.

Another contemporary, Catullus, discovered love and poetry. They belonged to the sphere of leisure (*otium*). Catullus, however, scandalized his fellow Romans by making *otium*, if not theoretically, at least practically, the content of his life. The powerful had done enough to discredit the *res publica* in the eyes of thoughtful young men. Defiant indifference set the tone of Catullus' verses to Caesar (*carm.* 93). Catullus here was not the humble provincial who respectfully received a highly placed guest from Rome, which would have been the traditional role gladly played by Catullus' father. The poet was full of self-confidence. He had his own point of view which allowed him to challenge the great ones of the world as a free man.

For Catullus, the worlds of *otium* and *negotium* exchanged places. Words which Romans normally employed in the *res publica* (*fides*, *foedus*) were internalized, and transferred to private, inter-personal relationships. Catullus gave them a personal meaning.

Love was presented as a total human experience. *Bene velle*, expressed in *bene facta* (76. 1), was opposed to the sensual *amare* (cf. 72; 75). Instead of asserting that Catullus had discovered spiritual love, we should rather say that for man, who is normally so anxious to possess, he discovered the love of surrender ascribed by tradition to women. In an extraordinary exchange of gender roles, Catullus compares himself with Juno, the spouse of the unfaithful Jupiter (68. 135–140).

Undoubtedly, Catullus was one of the first men in Rome prepared to learn something from the experiences and sufferings of women. In another sense, Lesbia was his teacher. But she was more than a 'mistress of love', playing the part expected from *hetaerae*. She was for him a divine and demonic being, who lead him to an extreme *aporia*.[1]

[1] Cf. poem 76 and von Albrecht, Poesie 80–94.

The feelings with which he confronted her were divided (*odi et amo*, 85; cf. 72. 8). In his discovery of love as a content of life and even school of life for a man, Catullus broke through the bounds of the traditional Roman way of thinking.

'Going beyond normal bounds' is the theme of poem 63. Through his dedication to the Great Mother, Attis gave up not only his manhood but also his home. At a time when many Romans were breaking out of inherited social structures and seeking new paths, the *Attis* is to be taken seriously as an historical witness to the atmosphere of that age. Exceeding boundaries and expanding consciousness: these basic experiences of Catullus' generation were brought together here by way of example in a mythological narrative. Attis had to learn that the journey into the unknown had its price: the loss of familiar social relationships. In the end he was left alone, not liberated, but enslaved. Even more gloomy is the conclusion of the miniature epic on Peleus (*carm.* 64). By Catullus' time, encounters between gods and men were no longer possible. Transgression found its nemesis, and Catullus knew that. But he had successfully rattled the bars of the human cage and become for Roman and later readers one of the greatest cultural discoverers and liberators.

Like the architect of the great temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, Catullus was also the creator of symmetrical structures on a grand scale. We still admire them in the *carmina maiora*, such as 64 and 68. That generation forced its way simultaneously both within and without, into the intimate and into the monumental dimension.

In sum, the early Republic celebrated in epic and historical writing the unity of Italy, although these efforts at first enjoyed no continuation. The summons to mercy and *humanitas* in comedy and in political speeches are other features worthy of mention. So is the praise of wisdom at the expense of brute force in epic.

The late Republic plumbed all the heights and depths of life itself both in a positive and a negative fashion. In Caesar, all is action, fulfillment of the day, put into words imperiously. Cicero conquered for the future the realm of philosophy. He and Sallust were not content to paint a picture of their own times, but succeeded in making a new and creative discovery of 'old' Rome, which thanks to their writings would become authoritative both in the immediate and long term future. The late Republican period marked indeed a high point in the development of Latin prose. The past was still near enough to be understood, and yet far enough away to be grasped

and intellectualized in words. In poetry, even where its subject was not expressly drawn from contemporary history, we find what may be called a seismographic graph of the inner quakings of the time. It offers a subtle picture in which if not the events, at least the atmosphere in which they happened is reflected, along with the mentality by which those events were experienced or rejected.

Culturally the restless and 'decadent' time of transition between Republic and military dictatorship was especially fruitful. In protest against the events of the day, new intellectual continents were discovered. Cicero and Sallust internalized the idea of glory, and established the intrinsic value of literary activity. The poets pressed even further. The loosening of the link to society and often the chaotic circumstances of the time themselves set the individual free, and compelled him to look for his rule of life not abroad in the world, but in his own heart. The discoveries of that age were of lasting value, not only because they had been personally endured and mastered by individuals but because they were given expression by true poets in strong and valid language. For poetry, the late Republican period was a moment of freedom between old and new forms of subjection, when a brief suspension, as it were, of the laws of gravity, made possible, for an instant, what was otherwise impossible.

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II. POETRY

A. EPIC AND DRAMA

ROMAN EPIC

General Remarks

Antiquity distinguished literary genres in two ways. One was purely external, and took as its criterion meter.[1] The second noted the difference of type and significance of content. Perhaps following Theophrastus, Suetonius defined epic as *carmine hexametro divinarum rerum et heroicarum humanarumque comprehensio* ('a representation of divine, heroic and human affairs in a hexametric poem').[2] Its task was to communicate an all-embracing picture of the world, so that Silius (13. 788) could say of Homer: *carmine complexus terram mare sidera manes* ('his poetry embraced earth and sea, the sky and the nether world'). Homer was considered a wise man, teacher, and educator. His works were Bible and school primer at the same time. A young Greek grew up with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, a Roman with Livius Andronicus (Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 69–71), Ennius, and eventually Virgil. In spite of the progress of science, one wanted to believe in the infallibility of Homer's text, an attitude that gave rise quite early to the development of allegory. In the Augustan period, the geographer Strabo (*geogr.* 1. 2. 3 C 15–16) ascribed to Homer wide geographical and political knowledge. In this, he followed Stoic theories of the utility of literature, and opposed the critical Alexandrians. Indeed, he regarded Homer's poetry as 'elementary philosophy' (πρώτη τις φιλοσοφία 1. 1. 10 C 7).[3]

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[1] Everything metrically equivalent was combined under one rubric: e.g. by Dion. Hal. *comp. verb.* 22. 7 AUJAC-LEBEL = 150 HANOW; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 46–72; 85–100.

[2] Suet. poet. p. 17, ed. by A. REIFFERSCHEID, Lipsiae 1860: περιοχὴ θείων τε καὶ ἡρωϊκῶν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. For Theophrastean origin of this definition: R. HÄUSSLER 1978, 226, n. 46.

[3] Like Hipparchus (2nd century B.C.) Strabo regards Homer as the founder of

Herodotus already attributed (2. 53) authoritative status to the accounts of the origin of the gods in Homer and Hesiod, ascribing thus to great poets the power of creating gods. Reflective poets like Virgil were guided by such expectations on the part of their readers. The world of the Romans was the *res publica*, and so for them, more perhaps than for the Greeks, major epic gained political and religious importance. Both features of the *Aeneid* were to be reflected in European poetry. Camões lent eternity to an *imperium*; Dante, Milton, Klopstock wrote sacred poems.

In late antiquity, Virgil replaced Homer. The commentator Servius (about 400) wrote on the beginning of *Aeneid* 6: *Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est, in qua hic liber possidet principatum* ('Virgil is full of science throughout; in this regard, the present book holds the first place'). Macrobius, writing perhaps at the beginning of the 5th century, tried to show that Virgil was an expert in all sciences. He compared the colorful richness of Virgil's poetry with Nature, and the poet with the Creator (*sat.* 5. 1. 18–5. 2. 2). We stand at the threshold between ancient and modern poetics. The notion of polymathy is ancient; that of human creativity[1] looks ahead to the future.

Compared to these ancient views, some modern efforts to explain the nature of epic[2] seem trivial. They are marked by ideas such as 'delight in realistic detail' and 'epic lengthiness'. They are also unsatisfactory as tools of literary theory. They fail to recognize the brevity and 'dramatic' presentation which distinguish the greatest ancient epic poets, Homer and Virgil. The epic poet, who has to master relatively large amounts of material, must possess in a special degree creative οἰκονομία, the strategic disposition of the material: *ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici/pleraque differat* 'that he shall say at the moment what at the moment should be said, reserving much...' (Hor. *ars* 43–44).

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geography. Poetry and myth are said to have developed first, and from them history and philosophy; these are the concerns of a minority. Poetry is a mixture of truth and falsehood, according to Zeno and Polybius, but the latter is necessary in order to guide and aid the multitude. According to Stoic doctrine, only the wise man may be a poet (1. 2. 3 C 15). Even for Melanchthon, by his description of the shield of Achilles, Homer founded astronomy and philosophy (*Declamationes*, ed. K. Hartfelder, Berlin 1891, 37); cf. now T. Gould, The Ancient Quarrel Between Poetry and Philosophy, Princeton 1990.

[1] Perhaps not formulated in philosophy before Plotinus, but already anticipated in Roman poetry: cf. G. Lieberg 1982.

[2] Staiger's Grundbegriffe has been influential.

Greek Background

Thanks to Livius Andronicus' achievement as translator, from its beginning Roman epic confronted the question of cultural assimilation and intellectual apprenticeship (*imitatio*). This is not a negative concept. Since Andronicus, Roman epic had to define its identity in terms of the rebirth of Homeric epic.[1]

In spite of programmatic claims to be following Homer, for the Romans, Hellenistic epic was the nearest starting point. This is true of the writers of historical epic such as Naevius and Ennius, but partly also even for Virgil, who engages in an intensive dialogue with Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century B.C.).

The struggle with Homer proceeded in roughly three stages: the archaic Latin, the Virgilian, the post-Virgilian. After the pioneering achievements of Livius Andronicus and Naevius, Ennius perfected the external assimilation of Greek epic by naturalizing the hexameter. He called himself a Homer reincarnate. In fact, he fashioned once and for all poetic language and meter, the 'divine apparatus', the similes, making all the colors of Homeric narrative available. Even so, he remained a Hellenistic poet, though of course his medium was Latin. It was still a long way to any serious competition with Homer. Ennius composed a work which on its surface was highly expressive and full of unremitted tension, and was written in a style now artificial, now mysteriously solemn: an epic of great picturesque fascination, but lacking both sculptural depth and large-scale architectonic structure. The missing artistic unity was replaced by one of ideas.

It was left to Virgil to transfer to Rome the overarching framework and epic structure of the *Iliad*. Neoteric practice and Hellenistic theory helped him in this endeavor. To some degree, Virgil went beyond Homer in dramatically shortening the narrative; in omitting whatever is unnecessary for the continuation or the understanding of events; and in giving individual shape, in the fashion of Apollonius Rhodius, to stock situations such as that of daybreak. Like Apollonius, he drew psychological themes in Euripidean manner into his epic. Unlike his predecessor, however, he did not care for displaying factual knowledge and learning for their own sake. Everything was guided by a grand, leading idea. In his dialogue with his Roman predecessors he was aware of his own superiority.

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[1] Ennius; on the importance of Homer see also Manil. 2. 8–11.

In Virgil, internal structure had precedence over color. But Ovid and Statius took a different clue from Homer and from Hellenistic delight in small-scale painting. They were also, like Lucan, influenced by rhetoric. Accordingly, they strove to lend to epic a power of visual suggestivity. This tendency marked a new, third stage of encounter with Homer, following that of Ennius and Virgil.

Virgil himself was to become for his successors what Homer and Ennius had been for epic poets until Virgil. Roman models now became authoritative; the Greeks continued to be imitated, especially in passages hitherto overlooked by Latin poets. In the silver age, Lucan was the 'anti-Virgil', Valerius Flaccus was a follower of Apollonius while remaining close to Virgil; Silius was an orthodox Virgilian, Statius a Virgilian who was also a successor to Homer. Valerius and Statius created a final, definitive blend of Greek mythological epic with the Virgilian and Roman tradition.

Roman Development

Pre-literary origins are no longer accessible. The beginning of Roman epic, therefore, is the *Odusia* of Livius Andronicus, a pioneering work and a document of cultural assimilation. Each of the three greatest Roman epics of the pre-Christian era was inspired by an experience of a great war and the subsequent restoration of order. After the First Punic War, Naevius wrote the *Bellum Poenicum*. After the Second, Ennius wrote the *Annales*. After the Civil Wars, Virgil composed the *Aeneid*.

Each of the epics of the Republican period displayed a multiplicity of heroes and actions. The *Aeneid*, however, possessed an inner unity. It stood at a climactic point of both general and literary history. Mature poetic technique permitted bold experiment with a large-scale form without loss of inner cohesion. A deliberate reinstatement of myth made possible unity of action without neglect of history. The idealized experience of the early Principate showed the way to a unity of character without sacrifice of Republican ideals. The result was the classic 'sacred poem' (R. A. Schröder)[1] of a universal empire with Rome at its center.

In a sense, Virgil had 'stopped' the stream of Hellenistic and Roman literary development for a moment. But still in Augustus' lifetime it

[1] In: E. Zinn 1963, 317.

returned to its ancient course. This is proved by the court epic of Lucius Varius Rufus and by the work of gifted rhetorical poets such as Cornelius Severus and Albinovanus Pedo. Ovid names other contemporaries (*Pont.* 4. 16). He himself in the *Metamorphoses* created a universal poem *sui generis*. It is more Alexandrian than Virgil's epic: rich in color, full of lively pictures, but without classical unity.

Under Nero and the Flavians, Rome once again, politically and intellectually, played the role of world capital, and epic experienced a rebirth. But the relations between individual and society were no longer in balance. Epic withdrew from the present to the past, from the state into the world of the mind. Formally, epics were influenced by the *Aeneid*. In content, political disillusionment and Stoic opposition encouraged introspection. In Lucan, the Virgilian view of world history collapsed. *Virtus* now proved itself by resistance. Unlike Virgil, Silver Latin epic poets were no longer inspired by a positive experience of the present, but by a past becoming ever more distant. Lucan himself had not experienced the Civil War of which he wrote. Silius Italicus looked even further back to the war with Hannibal. Valerius Flaccus and Statius turned their attention to Greek myth, and interpreted it creatively as an 'Old Testament' of the Greco-Roman civilization in which they were living. With Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Lucan's praise of the young Nero, the possibilities of a political epic relevant to the present had been exhausted for the moment. Now the preference was for problems of moral philosophy (Silius) and of purely human concern (Statius, in the footsteps of Ovid). Even so, their themes were still of importance to the community. Roman values such as *fides* in Silius, or imperial virtues such as *clementia* in Statius, prevailed. In the following period, which was tired of 'unrealistic' epics, the serious satire of Juvenal appeared as a substitute.

It was only the late Imperial period which roused epic to new life. Direct reference to contemporary events was typical of the peak of the epic panegyric (Claudian, cf. Sidonius Apollinaris and Corippus). A new feeling for religion gave rise to Biblical epic. It developed from modest beginnings (Iuvencus) to significant achievement (Sedulius). There also appeared the important Christian epics of Prudentius, whose allegorical style explored further typical approaches of Roman poetry.

Literary Technique

The Roman sense of representation aimed less at realism than at dignity. This is especially true of epic, which is both universal and representative of a political or religious identity. An epic poet emphasizes important and meaningful events and omits what is insignificant.

Narrative structure. In narrative, this principle often requires a 'technique of isolated pictures'. More often the chain of events is determined by causality than by temporal continuity.[1] The same is true for the manner in which Virgil reveals fatal connections between events. He graphically reflects relationships of content in quasi musical symmetries.[2] Concentration on essentials may sometimes occur at the expense of visual qualities and pictorial vividness, although this objection does not apply, for example, to Ovid, Statius, and Claudian. Even Virgil and Lucan laid more stress on facts than some critics concede.

Ornatus. 'Epic ornament' acquired new significance in Roman epic. The Roman epic poets, with the exception of Lucan, preserved the divine apparatus of Homeric tradition. It served to bring about dramatic changes in the story and to lend them vividness. Naevius had already staged a conversation between gods, which prepared the prophecy of Jupiter in Virgil. An assembly of the gods, such as that in *Aen.* 10. 1–117, had been anticipated by Ennius. Gods appeared as protectors or destroyers of individual heroes (*Aen.* 12. 853–884; 895). Even without a naive belief in their existence, gods of nature could reflect aspects of the physical universe.[3] In general, they formed a hierarchy comparable to that of Roman society, with Jupiter at its head. Anthropomorphism of the gods was taken especially far in Ovid and Statius.

Simultaneously in Rome, the number of allegorical figures increased, a device found occasionally in Homer and more often in Hesiod. They embody particular powers (e.g. Discordia: Enn., *ann.* 266–267 V. 2nd. ed. = 225–226 Sk.; Allecto: *Aen.* 7. 324). Their appearance may be described (Fama: *Aen.* 4. 173–188) or their actual dwelling place (e.g. Ovid, *met.* 12. 39–63). In accordance with the ethical bent of Roman thought, these personifications were mainly virtues or

[1] F. Mehmel 1935; 1940.

[2] *Aen.* 6. 450–476 may be compared with the entire 4th book; M. von Albrecht, Die Kunst der Spiegelung in Vergils *Aeneis*, Hermes 93, 1965, 54–64.

[3] Heinze, V. e. T. 298–299 (Engl. ed. 238–239) on *ratio physica*.

emotions. This fondness for allegory anticipates medieval literature and art.

Descriptions of works of art[1] in Homer are self-contained and free from any extraneous purpose: for example, the shield of Achilles, *Iliad* 18. 478–608. In Roman epic, they are ideologically connected with the narrative: for example, the shield of Aeneas, *Aeneid* 8. 626–728. Just as in Hellenistic miniature epic, parallel or contrast between action and description of the work of art are the aim of a workmanship which 'transcends' its immediate object.

In the same way, episodes and vignettes are closely interwoven with their context: for example, in *Aeneid* 2, the fall of Troy acts as a foil for the rise of Rome. The connection may be causal (e.g. an *aition*, frequent in Ovid) or final (an historical example, such as the story of Regulus in Silius 6. 101–551). This technique may be compared with the thematic correspondences in Pompeian murals.[2]

Although similes still served to intensify the presentation, they were also being used increasingly to give dignity to the action. Instead of evoking things familiar to everyone from everyday life, poets now resorted to lofty, though often obscure, mythology. The reader, instead of getting closer to the object, is now kept at a distance from it. In order to secure a strong coherence of thought and structure, the elements of *ornatus* often break free from their immediate context and assume an articulating and interpretative function. These artistic devices point beyond themselves, and give the presentation a transparency in which the basic idea is no longer immanent and immediately present, but transcendental and symbolic.

Even though exclamations and invocations of the Muses play a somewhat larger role than in Greek literature, the Roman representatives of the genre, with the exception of Lucan, seem to maintain the traditional 'objectivity' of the epic poet. Yet a decisive change had taken place. Objective presentation gave way to emotional motivation, gesture to abstract formulation, and temporal to causal connection. Feelings were expressed at first in somewhat restrained tones (Naev. *frg.* 4 M. = 5 Bü.; Enn., *ann.* 110 V. 2nd ed. = 105 Sk.). Later they became ever more vivid. In Virgil, the experiences of the

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[1] A history of the description of works of art in the ancient literatures is offered by P. Friedländer 1912; s. also V. Pöschl, Die Dichtkunst Virgils, Wien 1950, Berlin, 3rd ed. 1977.

[2] Schefold, Kunst 36; Schefold, Malerei passim.

love poets had left some traces. His language from the *Eclogues* on was brought to life in a fresh way. A personal tone is felt even in his epic. The poet freely chose and evaluated his material, grouped it according to its own laws, and used abstract nouns to denote explicitly the psychological powers at work in his story. The poet took over and manipulated his object, imbued it with feeling and significance and modeled it anew from within. At the center of the poetic world was no longer Homer's 'sun' but the poet's heart.[1] Both poet and interpreter, he replaced immanence with transcendence. Things were not left to enjoy their own existence. Rather, will reconstructed reality. Not content to contemplate and then reflect the world, the poet energetically subdued it. In the post-Virgilian period, the effort to imbue reality with poetic life led increasingly to pathos and rhetoric in epic. In Lucan it is not narrative, but the passionate excitement of the reader, which seems to be the principal aim.

Language and Style

Livius Andronicus already used a more formal language in epic than in other genres, including tragedy. At times, he even outdid his original. He paraphrased proper names, and took delight in bold hyperbata and archaisms. Even after his day, epic preserved its privilege of using archaic ornament. Virgil could employ forms such as *olli* and *aulai*, but not Horace. The language of Naevius possessed the restraint, dignity, and plainness of Roman triumphal inscriptions (*frg.* 39 M. = 37 Bü.), while he arranged mythical elements to convey solemnity (*frg.* 19; 30 M. = 8; 24 Bü.). In the saturnian, apart from the rhythm, alliteration was an important feature of style. Naevius' art reminded Cicero (*Brut.* 75) of Myron's. Later, Virgil would reacquire at a fresh level this architectural, dignified fashion of using language.

Ennius irrevocably determined the language and meter of Roman epic. He introduced the hexameter, and once and for all established, as a peculiar Roman feature, the prevalence of the penthemimeral caesura. Richness of expression, such as archaisms and neologisms, a somewhat haphazard and motley colorfulness, rhetorical impetus and studied adornment: all this distinguished the language of this great pioneer. For all his significant mastery of language, however, he was indebted in detail not only to Homer and Hellenistic writers, but

[1] E. Zinn 1963, 312–322, esp. 319 and 321.

also to his Roman predecessors. Later, it was particularly Lucretius and Ovid who had influence as creators of language, whereas Cicero and Virgil contributed to the formation of style.

Virgil's language, holding aloof from all extremes, left its mark on Roman epic. His meter was developed by Ovid and Lucan towards elegance and smoothness. The influence of rhetoric on the language of epic from Ennius on was incalculable. It affected Cornelius Severus (Sen. *suas.* 6. 26), Ovid (Sen. *contr.* 2. 2. 8), and Lucan, to mention only these, and continued into late antiquity. To account for this, we may recall that Roman epic, especially at the beginning and end of its development, was close to the panegyric; and what is more, the creator of the literary language of classical Latin had been an orator.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Roman epic writers had been *poetae docti* from the start. A decisive step towards a sharpening of artistic awareness was made, however, by the authors of Roman miniature epic composed in the Hellenistic manner, such as Catullus, Helvius Cinna, and the poets of the miniature epics of the *Appendix Vergiliana.* They brought into focus the problem of organic unity in works of art (cf. later Horace's *Ars Poetica* and *Letter to Augustus*). It took much work on a small scale and attention to detail to find the solution. Lucretius' convincing management of a large-scale, self-contained form was another important achievement conditioning the rise of the *Aeneid.* Even the successors of Ennius were less and less able to avoid the stricter demands on form imposed by the neoterics.[1]

Ennius' pride as a poet was un-Homeric. It may be explained by his success in winning, both for literature and for himself, a social position which was significant, given Roman circumstances. The change from Ennius to Virgil is inconceivable without the labors of Lucretius, Cicero, and the neoterics. As a philosophical poet, Lucretius in theory assumed the modest attitude of a 'doctor', while in practice displaying Empedoclean solemnity. Cicero, in his *De Consulatu suo,* made himself the hero of an epic and panegyric presentation. In

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[1] Hostius (*Bellum Histricum,* after 129 B.C.), A. Furius Antias (cf. Cic. *Brut.*), M. Furius Bibaculus (Caesar's *Gallic War*), P. Terentius Varro Atacinus (*Bellum Sequanicum*); the latter also wrote mythological epic (*Argonautae,* following Apollonius Rhodius), as did the early Neoteric, Cn. Matius, who wrote an *Iliad,* and Ninnius Crassus.

both cases, the strongly personal engagement is characteristically Roman. Virgil, in his *Eclogues*, became the mouthpiece of Sibylline prophecy. In the *Georgics*, he replaced the traditional 'immodesty' of Roman poets with the humility of a priest of the Muses. In the *Aeneid*, the poet's attitude is basically 'prophetic'; he invokes the Muse particularly when he intends to transcend the human scope of his consciousness and memory. Later, many epic writers felt inspired by their imperial patrons (an idea found not in the *Aeneid* but in the *Georgics*). Furthermore, Statius and Silius gratefully paid homage to the great poets of the past, who were their true teachers. Juvencus indeed, in his Biblical epic, would appeal to the Holy Spirit.

Ideas II

Mythical and Philosophical View of the World. Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld are occupied by gods. This ancient 'three storeyed' model of the world (*theologia fabulosa*, Varro apud Aug. *civ.* 6. 5) was for Homer the only one conceivable. For the Romans it was from the start less obligatory, since, along with Greek poetry, they simultaneously took over Greek philosophy and its quite different, scientific view of a geocentric world (*theologia naturalis*). They also adopted the allegorical explanation of myth, through which the philosophers tried to reconcile both 'theologies'. Thus, in Rome the conditions for the use of mythical elements in epic were different from those in early Greece. No Latin epic poet could dispense with the philosophers' explanations and their demythologizing of the Homeric epic. If he wanted to write an epic, he had to reverse that analytic process, to make a retrogressive effort and retranslate into myth his own experience of the world and his own picture of history. In a time removed from myth, and in a prosaic ambience, this task was difficult, almost insuperable. Only Virgil, the greatest poet of Rome, and one of the greatest of mankind, had the artistic skill to master it.

Each epic poet found another solution to the problems caused by this coexistence of different views of the world (*theologia fabulosa, naturalis, civilis*, Varro, *loc. cit.*). With his pagan tolerance and unerring sense of the appropriate, Ovid changed his picture of the world in the *Metamorphoses* according to the context. He employed *theologia naturalis* in books 1 and 15; *civilis* in book 15; *fabulosa* in the rest of the work.[1]

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[1] A side-glance may be directed at didactic epic: Lucretius passionately assailed

Lucan abandoned the so-called divine apparatus, a bold step contradicting the style of the genre (cf. Petronius 118–124); instead, he founded his epic on Stoic teaching. The important role of philosophical instruction even in narrative poetry is a symptom of the 'universal' aspirations of Roman epic and its intellectual position in the aftermath of philosophy.

Myth and the Roman idea of the gods. The Roman idea of the gods was originally abstract, just like their concept of the state (*res publica*) and the morality supporting it (the Roman virtues). An outlook that knew nothing of images was confronted by an adopted (Greek) world of images. Roman awareness of invisible moral powers had to be transformed into an anthropomorphic world of myth. To achieve this, poets like Lucan and Silius had recourse to Stoic and Cynic ethical teaching, along with the means developed by rhetoric for the concrete presentation of abstract thoughts (personification, allegory, prosopopoeia). When consciously adopting the mythical picture of the world into Roman epic, the poets had to overcome the above-mentioned difficulties. Virgil answered them by creating a Roman myth.

Myth and History. For Homer, myth was history. Conversely, in Rome, the concern of epic with history in the narrower sense produced a novel tension between historical and mythical reality. In Naevius, the simple narration of fact and the solemn stylization of myth occurred side by side. History was viewed with austere, sober realism, whereas 'Greek' mythology was the only way of representing vividly the higher values of life. Naevius himself was the first to exploit this contrast artistically: for him, myth became a golden background and served to enhance the importance of the present. Virgil bridged this gap by interspersing the mythical narrative with prophetic digressions into the historical future. Lucan avoided the difficulty by avoiding myth.

Historical poetry was not a Roman creation, but Latin epic from its very beginnings was more inclined towards history, whether because the Romans originally lacked a myth that transcended history, or because the Romans' sense of mission was directed towards historical fulfillment.[1] The *Odusia* of Livius Andronicus supplied a segment

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the mythical picture of the world and replaced it by the Epicurean. Manilius in his astronomical lore attempted to make a Stoic synthesis.

[1] For a criticism of Virgil's methods cf. W. H. Auden, 'Secondary Epic' (Homage to Clio, New York 1960, 26–27); G. Schmeling, The *Satyricon*: The Sense of an Ending, RhM 134, 1991, 352–377, esp. n. 22.

of primitive Italian history. Whereas the *Iliad* had 'integrated' its story into a single exemplary and self-contained narrative, in Naevius and Ennius historical events were detailed in all their multiplicity. Unity was not based on person and action, nor on organic structure, nor on sculptural or architectural qualities. It was found merely in the concepts forming the moral background: in the *res publica* and in the abstract values represented by the Roman virtues. It took a Virgil to reverse this relationship, and to make the ideas presupposed by the Ennian epic, the values of the Roman state, mythically visible in a single person and a uniform action. Here myth, a world initially alien to the Romans, underwent an intellectual transformation. It gained symbolic power by allegorical refashioning (which on its part presupposed allegorical interpretation). The multiplicity of historical events no longer made a direct appearance in the *Aeneid*; rather it was projected into the story of Aeneas as a prophecy. Virgil's eye discovered inchoate forms ('archetypes') containing all the potential of a future still in store (1. 254–296; 4. 615–629; 6. 752–892; 8. 626–731). Silius Italicus reversed this Virgilian process of concentration. His *Punica* again depicted historical multiplicity, but made the events transparent against the ever present Virgilian background. The *Aeneid* was continually presupposed as an authoritative archetype, and so it guaranteed for Silius' poem intellectual unity in multiplicity. Lucan opposed to the Virgilian myth of birth a mystery of death.

The original link between history and the panegyric in the Roman epic led once again in late antiquity to the creation of accomplished poetic works (Claudian). The Augustan idea of the return of the golden age had lasting influence. Both in pagan and Christian form (Prudentius) two aspects of Virgil's legacy lived on in late antiquity: the religious belief in the fulfillment of a messianic expectation, and a linear and teleological sense of time and history lending special meaning to the actual moment. With his interpretation of history, Virgil became an important partner in dialogue for Augustine, the founder of a Christian philosophy of history.

Anthropology. Primarily, Roman epic poets were as little concerned with the physical macrocosm as were Roman philosophers. They were interested in the state as an intermediate cosmos, and in the human soul as microcosm.

Originally in Roman epic, only the vicissitudes of the community deserved description (cf. Naevius, frg. 42–43 M. = 50–51 Bü.). In Homer, the heroic deeds of the individual brought honor to himself

and his clan. But in Rome, the achievement of the individual affected, as an *exemplum*, the Roman people as a whole (Cicero, *Arch.* 22). *Iustitia* and *religio* were the foundations of the state; the auspices were observed (Ennius, *ann.* 77–96 V.).Virgil transformed the Homeric notion of fate into the mission of a nation. Thanks to this positive[1] interpretation of fate, the *Aeneid* became an anti-*Iliad.* Aeneas accepted his *fata* in hope and trust. In Lucan and also in Statius, on the other hand, it was no longer peace and construction but war and destruction that were now the fates' primary aims.

As the notion of national mission faded, individual destiny gained in significance (Ovid, Statius). Such an upward revaluation of the realm of *otium* was ultimately rooted in the *humanitas* of the Scipionic period. Ennius already turned himself into the spokesman of this new world—his world—when he depicted the friendship between the general and his confidant, the scholar (234–251 V. 2nd ed. = 268–285 Sk.). Later, out of Apollonius' rather generalized description of Medea's experience of love, Virgil shaped a grand personal destiny (Dido). Private and purely human concerns, which had been restrained in the *Aeneid* by national duty, were presented for their own sake in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as individual destinies (Cephalus and Procris, Ceyx and Alcyone). Statius' epic may also be cited. This loosening of metaphysical and social links sharpened the eye for what is demonic in man, his pleasure in evil (Ovid, Lucan) and his personal guilt (Ovid). These aspects protected the epic presentation of a merely human destiny against the danger of degenerating into the contingency of a mere adventure story. A new form was discovered to express great truths about man. From this introspective form of epic[2] no further development was possible. Only the fresh emphasis on the link to the state and nature in late antiquity (Claudian) could once again give rise to significant epic.

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[1] Virgil's glance however was too penetrating to be satisfied with painting in black and white.

[2] A relatively late example is furnished by the recently discovered Alcestis Barcinonensis, which lends rhetorical and poetic life to a 'universally human' story.

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ROMAN DRAMA

General Remarks

The word drama, derived from the Greek δράω, 'I do, I act' denotes tragedy, comedy and satyr play under the aspect of presentation. It is the term employed in the Greek documents of dramatic performances. For Roman literature, the satyr play is the least important of these forms of Greek drama.

The principal festival in Athens at which dramas were presented was the Greater or City Dionysia (March-April). Originally at these festivals the poet was also actor and producer. The author, the choral singers, and the performers were respectable citizens. With the introduction of the second actor by Aeschylus, and of the third by Sophocles, professionalism began to take over.[1] In Athens, a tetralogy was presented in a single day, consisting of three tragedies and a satyr play. The celebrations had the character of an *agon.* A panel of judges presented prizes to the authors and in due course also to the actors.

In the Hellenistic period, groups of traveling actors were organized (οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται). Through the agency of a manager, they contracted with the cities and traveled from festival to festival. This ended the link with any definite polis, and reflected the declining importance of the chorus. Even so, these craftsmen retained their superior social standing.

[1] In comedy, the number of actors seems not to have been limited to three. Surviving Roman dramas may be presented by between three to five players, including exchanges of roles; cf. on this J. A. BARSBY 1982.

It was a distinctive feature of classical Attic drama to be rooted profoundly in the community and in public worship. According to Aristotle, both tragedy and comedy had grown from improvisation (*Poetics* 4. 1449a). Organic connections were noted between satyr play and tragedy ('goat song'), but also between tragedy and dithyramb, a form of Dionysiac choral lyric.

Tragedy

Aristotle, who died in 322 B.C., defined tragedy in his *Poetics* (6. 1449b 24–28) as 'the imitative representation (μίμησις) of a serious and self-contained (complete) action possessing a definite magnitude, in artistic speech whose specific modes (i.e. speech and song and their respective meters) are employed separately in the different parts, presented by persons acting, not narrated, effecting by the excitement of sympathy and fear (pity and terror, ἔλεος καὶ φόβος) the purification (discharge) of feelings of that kind'. Κάθαρσις is understood medically as 'relief joined with pleasure'.

For the Greeks, a 'serious' action normally took place against a heroic and mythical background.[1] This explains the definition given by Theophrastus and quoted in Diomedes (3. 8. 1: FCG 57): *Tragoedia est heroicae fortunae in adversis comprehensio* ('a tragedy is a representation of a heroic fate in bad circumstances').[2] Aristotle gives action (plot) precedence over character drawing. The act of 'getting it wrong' (ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτημα) committed by the tragic hero is distinguished both from unlucky accident (ἀτύχημα) and from crime (ἀδίκημα; Aristot. *rhet.* 1. 13. 1374 b 7).

Hellenistic theory canonized a division of tragedy into five acts. It gave great attention to character portrayal and style. Pathos and horror may indeed not have been first introduced into the genre by Seneca, but rather stem from Hellenistic times. Otherwise, Horace's advice not to shed blood on the stage (*ars* 185–186) would be irrelevant.

The doctrine of the moral usefulness of tragedy taught that its aim was to guard the citizens against their weaknesses and to guide them towards the best possible philosophical life (*Schol. Dion. Thr.* 17. 16–33 Hil. = FCG 11–12). It is attested from the period when ancient

[1] There are, however, also historical plays, such as Aeschylus' *Persae*. Tragedies with wholly invented plots, such as Agathon's *Anthos* or *Antheus*, are quite rare.

[2] Theophrastus, loc. cit.: τραγῳδία ἐστὶν ἡρωικῆς τύχης περίστασις; cf. *Etym. M.* 764. 1 (FCG 16); *Schol. Dion. Thr.* p. 306 Hil.

texts had to be defended in a Christian ambiance. However, the notion may well go back to the Hellenistic period. At that time, different schools of philosophy were concerned with poetic theory: Peripatetics, Stoics, Epicureans. Horace juxtaposed the aims of usefulness and pleasure (*aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae*, 'poets want either to be useful or to please', *ars* 333). He was aware therefore of two different positions, one rigorous, the other hedonist, and he tried to link them: *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*, 'he has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure' (*ars* 343). The demand for a philosophical education in the *poeta doctus* smacks of the Stoa: the poet must be aware of duties to his neighbors, his country, humanity; and also of the tasks proper to the individual classes of society and age groups (*ars* 309–318). Character portrayal therefore takes priority. Horace also accepts the Aristotelian notion of a quasi-rhetorical emotional 'guidance' (ψυχαγωγία) which induces varying feelings in the listener (*ars* 99–105).[1] To conclude, Epicurus sees in poetry[2] a 'stronghold of human passions',[3] while Philodemus, for his part, interprets it in a purely hedonistic fashion.

Comedy

Comedy takes its name from the unrestrained festival procession (κῶμος) in honor of Dionysus from which at Athens the stage play developed, perhaps from more or less obscene and outspoken political banter between choral leaders and chorus (cf. Arist. *poet.* 1449 a 9–14).

By the literary form called comedy one has always understood a dramatic poem with a happy conclusion, mostly played against a middle-class, civic background.[4] While tragic heroes rise above the common level, comedy presents actions of men who are somewhat worse than average (Arist. *poet.* 1448 a 16–18; 1449 a 32–33). Love themes are important.[5] In dramatic structure Menander's comedy,

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[1] A pre-Platonic, purely rhetorical definition of the nature of tragedy is found in Plato, *Phaedr.* 268 c–d.

[2] The notion of poetry is governed in antiquity by drama, while in modern times lyric sets the tone.

[3] Ἐπιτείχισμα ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν, quoted by Sext. Emp. *math.* 1. 298.

[4] *Comoedia est privatae civilisque fortunae sine periculo vitae conprehensio* (Diom. *gramm.* 1. 488. 3–4); *in comoedia mediocres fortunae hominum, parvi impetus pericula laetique sunt exitus actionum* (Evanth. *de com.* 4. 2 Cup.).

[5] Lact. *epit.* 58. 5 *de stupris et amoribus*; Serv. *Aen.* 4. 1 *sane totus* (sc. liber IV) *in consiliis et subtilitatibus est; nam paene comicus stilus est: nec mirum, ubi de amore tractatur.*

which set the standard at Rome, transferred Aristotle's theory of tragedy to another genre. The action is self-contained and organic: it has a beginning, a middle and end; it consists of necessary or probable happenings, and develops at least in part from the character of the *dramatis personae*. However, the presentation is cheerful. The language borders on the colloquial and is *mediocris et dulcis* (*Gloss. Plac.* 5. 56. 11), without however being vulgar. Its distinguishing mark is *elegantia* (Quint. *inst.* 1. 8. 8). A contrived discrepancy between object described and linguistic level may contribute to the comedy (Arist. *rhet.* 1408a 14).

In contrast to Old Comedy, New Comedy replaces coarse abusiveness with nuances, thus giving respectability its due (Arist. *eth. Nic.* 1128a 22–25). Comedy, particularly New Comedy, passed for a reflection of life (below, p. 107–108). How far, however, it is removed from realism is shown by a glance at its poetic technique.

Greek Background

Tragedy

Of the three great Greek tragic writers—Aeschylus (d. 456/55 B.C.), Sophocles (d. 406/05) and Euripides (d. 406)—it was the third who had the greatest influence at Rome, in accordance with the Hellenistic taste which regarded Euripides as the 'most tragic' of the tragic poets (Arist. *poet.* 1453 a 29–30).

There was in addition considerable influence from Hellenistic tragedy which also affected the production, reception, and reshaping of the three classical authors. More than 60 names of later tragic poets are known. They were active in many places, e.g. at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.). Unfortunately, we possess out of all this only Lycophron's *Alexandra*, written perhaps at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. (a long prophetic speech put into the mouth of Cassandra); and parts of Ezechiel's play on the theme of the Exodus, *Exagoge*, an 'historical' play from perhaps the 2nd century B.C., with a double change of scene, known to us through Eusebius (*praep. ev.* 9. 28; 29 p. 437–446). For the rest, we must depend on fragments, accessible on papyrus,[1] in Stobaeus or in Latin

[1] On *Pap. Oxy.* 23, 1956, no. 2382, s. B. Snell, Gyges und Kroisos als Tragödien-Figuren, ZPE 12, 1973, 197–205.

adaptation. About one third of the subject matter of Hellenistic tragedy, compared with that of Attic drama, consists of new material. It was drawn from out-of-the-way myths, and also from history, both older and more recent. This latter provided a point of departure for the Roman *praetexta*, just as Ennius stands in the line of succession of Alexandrian epic. It was not lack of quality which led to the disappearance of Hellenistic tragedy, but the Atticizing taste of the Imperial period.

Comedy

For Roman comic poets, Old Comedy, chiefly represented by Aristophanes (active 427–388 B.C.), has no importance. After the intervening period of Middle Comedy[1] came the New Comedy, which provided the model for Plautus and Terence. In contrast with the Old, New Comedy abandoned both fabulous fantasy and criticism of contemporary politicians. Its action takes place among middle-class citizens of the polis, and its action is fictitious, self-contained, and clearly organized. Its structure is influenced by late Euripidean tragedy. Accordingly, the role of the chorus is reduced, while intrigue[2] and recognition play an important part.

The leading poets of the New Comedy were Menander (d. 293/92 B.C.), the centenarian Philemon (d. about 264/63) and Diphilus (4th–3rd century B.C.). The unchallenged master of the genre, Menander, supplied the originals for several plays by Plautus[3] and Terence,[4] and Terence was especially attracted to his subtle character portrayal. Diphilus had created the romantic *Rudens* and the farcical *Casina*, and he also lent an animated scene to Terence's *Adelphoe*. Philemon's strength lay in his comedy of situation, sententious apophthegms and clever conduct of the action. To him may be traced the *Mercator*, the *Trinummus* and perhaps also the *Mostellaria*. The ingenious and refined Apollodorus furnished the models for Terence's *Phormio* and *Hecyra*. Demophilus, whose name alone betrays his craving for popularity, was the source of the *Asinaria*.

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[1] Traces of Middle Comedy have been recognized in Plautus' *Persa*, and also in his *Poenulus*, *Amphitruo*, and *Menaechmi*.

[2] A. Dieterle 1980.

[3] *Bacchides*, *Cistellaria*, *Stichus*, and perhaps also *Aulularia*.

[4] *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Hautontimorumenos*, *Adelphoe*.

Roman Development

The beginnings of the Roman theater are obscure. According to Livy,[1] in 364 Etruscan dancers performed for the first time at Rome mimetic dances to 'flute' (*tibia*, αὐλός)[2] accompaniment in a religious context. There had been an outbreak of plague, and there was a need to placate the gods. The Romans came to know the Greek theater in South Italy, where Tarentum especially was famous as a city of theater. The encounter did not primarily have a literary character. Drama was 'absorbed' like other elements of Greek culture, and experienced in a festive, religious context. As a result, from the days of Livius Andronicus on, Hellenistic stage practices[3] were taken over, and this fact had far-reaching consequences for Roman refashioning of the different dramatic genres.

The ritual framework for theatrical productions in Rome was provided by triumphs, temple dedications, funerals and above all by public festivals. In April the *Ludi Megalenses* were celebrated in honor of the Mater Magna; in July the *Ludi Apollinares*, in September the *Ludi Romani*. In November came the *Ludi plebei* in honor of the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. There were therefore many occasions for visiting the theater. The plays were performed on a temporary stage, built on wooden scaffolding. From the beginning, the theater in Rome was linked with festive pageantry and the display, for example, of captured booty. In keeping with the character of such festivals, drama had to compete with crude popular entertainments. It was only in 68 B.C. that a fixed wooden theater was built, followed in 55 by Pompey's stone theater. The theaters were architecturally related to temples, and themselves contained shrines (*sacella*) on the upper edge of the spectators' galleries (*cavea*). The link with religion must always be reckoned into the account.

The *aediles* were responsible for games, as were the *praetor urbanus* and the *decemviri* or *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. The magistrate bought a play from the author and hired a troupe of actors. This explains why sallies against magistrates, or against the powerful families who

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[1] J. H. Waszink, Varro, Livy, and Tertullian on the History of Roman Dramatic Art, VChr 2, 1948, 224–242; for Varro as a source of Liv. 7. 2 und Val. Max. 2. 4. 4: P. L. Schmidt in: G. Vogt-Spira, ed., Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom, Tübingen 1989, 77–133, esp. 77–83.

[2] The *tibia* resembled an oboe rather than a flute.

[3] Older Etruscan influences, as well as elements of the Italian popular theater, must also be borne in mind.

would probably continue to fill the magistracies, were from the beginning unlikely.

The Romans adopted tragedy, not in its classical form, but in the framework of the Hellenistic stage practice found also in Magna Graecia. This affects the form of Roman tragedy. The theater of the day favored the display piece, rich in parts and trappings. Cicero lamented that in tragic productions 600 mules or 3000 costly vessels were on show (*fam.* 7. 1. 2). But the aim was not merely to entice the spectator's eye. Music played a greater role in the tragedy of the Hellenistic period than in Euripides. Among the Romans, recitatives and cantica occupied considerable space.[1] Tragedy drew closer to opera.

In tragedy Hellenistic taste preferred themes appealing strongly to the emotions (cf. Hor. *ars* 95–107; *epist.* 2. 1. 210–213). In their selection of subjects, the Romans also took into account their connection with Italy. This explains the importance of Trojan myths. Even if the material is shared with classical drama, often an intermediate Hellenistic source should not be excluded. Livius Andronicus and Naevius were not writers of classicizing taste.[2]

The appearance of similar titles in Livius and Naevius shows that the younger poet already wanted to outdo and replace works of his predecessor. He also created the genre of *praetextae*, providing tragedy with Roman plots.[3]

Ennius favored Euripides. The proportion of classical Greek models appears greater in him than in other Roman tragic playwrights, though it must always be remembered that Euripides, the most 'modern' and 'tragic' of the great triad, was the darling of the Hellenistic period. Atilius, a contemporary of Ennius, not only adapted comedies, but also Sophocles' *Electra.*

Pacuvius, Ennius' nephew, showed a more pronounced affinity with Sophocles, probably not because of any classicizing inclination, but in order to keep out of his uncle's patch. He also employed many Hellenistic models.

Accius represented the culmination of Republican tragic poetry. In his relationship to his various models, he showed considerable

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[1] Since only comedies are fully preserved, we have to quote the comparative figures for Plautus: there are 45% of spoken lines against 65% in Euripides.

[2] K. Ziegler 1937, col. 1986 against Leo, LG 71.

[3] The fragments are found in L. Pedroli 1954; G. De Durante 1966.

independence. His younger contemporary, Julius Caesar Strabo, used Hellenistic models for his *Tecmessa* and *Teuthras*.

Classicizing tendencies may perhaps be noted in Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother. Distinguished dilettantes also wrote dramas; an example is Augustus' *Ajax*. The classic tragedies of the Romans were Varius' *Thyestes*, produced at Octavian's victory games (29 B.C.), and Ovid's *Medea*.

In the imperial period, tragedies show a republican attitude. In Seneca's dramas, we encounter for the first time plays completely preserved. They attest the rhetorical and pathetic cast of tragedy, and in places its receptivity to the gruesome and cruel. Through Seneca, Rome gave indispensable stimulus to European drama.

Comedy presupposes a mature, open society, a feature not particularly typical of archaic Rome. The Roman ambience therefore altered comedy. Before we consider comedy's Italian roots, the especially important Latin comedy in Greek dress, the *palliata*, requires our attention. In his comedies, Naevius shone because of his power of language, which pointed the way for the great Plautus. With Plautus and Terence, comedy attained within Roman literature, earlier than any other genre, a degree of excellence which secured its influence on later Europe. Both great comic writers sought, each in his own way, to strike a mean between slavish imitation and barbaric caprice. They cut out dispensable scenes, and added episodes from other plays, a procedure which has, not entirely happily, been called 'contamination'. At the side of these two masters, Caecilius Statius and Turpilius also deserve mention. After Terence, the *palliata*, ever trying to fulfill an exaggerated demand for fidelity to the original, seems to have lost all of its impetus.

Next to the *palliata* stands comedy in Roman dress, the *togata*.[1] Its chief representatives are Titinius and Afranius. Too little is known of

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[1] First edition of the writers of *togatae* by R. and E. Stephanus, Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum, Genevae 1564. Titinius and Atta: Titinio e Atta, Fabula togata. I frammenti (TTrC), a cura di T. Guardì, Milano 1985; CRF, 2nd ed. 1873, 133–159 (Titinius), 160–164 (Atta); 3rd ed. 1898, 157–188 (Titinius), 188–193 (Atta). A. Daviault, *Comoedia togata*. Fragments, Paris 1981 (controversial). *Bibl.*: A. Pasquazi Bagnolini, Sulla *fabula togata*, in: C&S 13, 1974, No. 52, 70–79; 14, 1975, No. 56, 39–47; T. Tabacco, Il problema della *togata* nella critica moderna, BStudLat 5, 1975, 33–57. *Bibl.*: Bardon, litt. lat. inc. 1, 39–43; W. Beare, The *Fabula Togata*, Hermathena 55, 1940, 35–55; W. Beare, The Roman Stage, London, 2nd ed. 1955, 118–126; 3rd ed. 1964, 128–136; M. Cacciaglia, Ricerche

Atta, a contemporary of the actor Roscius. Titinius, Plautus' contemporary, brought the *togata*, after its beginnings in Naevius, to fruition. His language has the strength of the pioneer. The greatest poet of the *togata* was Lucius Afranius, active in the time of the Gracchi. He showed a preference for Terence and Menander, and it was with Menander that, to Horace's amazement, certain critics paired him (cf. Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 57). Among other material, there survives a prologue with literary polemics in the style of Terence (*com.* 25–30). There were also prologues spoken by gods, in the manner of Menander (*com.* 277; 298–299; 403–404). The *togata* departs from Terence in displaying a liking for cantica. Pederastic themes, likewise known to the Atellane, are also found. The sly slave, however, is missing. At Rome, the master had to be the cleverest. Afranius was staged even in the days of Cicero and Nero, and under Hadrian he gave rise to a commentary. The *trabeata* however remained without lasting influence. This was the effort of Gaius Maecenas Melissus under Augustus to breathe life into a comedy using the garb of the knight.

It cannot be denied that comedy, in the strict sense of that term, was, at Rome, a Greek import. Nevertheless, the comic theater, as an element of Roman life, had also Italian roots, particularly in Etruria and Magna Graecia. From Etruria came the *pompa circensis*, the festival procession introducing the circus games with its 'flute' player and its *manducus*. Undoubtedly, many words of the Roman theater are Etruscan, although nothing is known of Etruscan dramas. The impromptu play of the *fescennini*, which used to be performed, for example, at the *compitalia*, had perhaps nothing to do with the origins of the Roman theater, in spite of Livy 7. 2. This is not to deny, however, a possible influence on Plautus' virtuoso scenes of mutual abuse.[1]

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sulla *fabula togata*, RCCM 14, 1972, 207–245; A. Daviault, *Togata* et *Palliata*, BAGB 1979, 422–430; T. Guardì, Note sulla lingua di Titinio, Pan 7, 1981, 145–165; H. Juhnke, Die Togata, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., Das römische Drama, Darmstadt 1978, 302–304; Leo, LG 374–384; E. Vereecke, Titinius, témoin de son époque; in: RecPhL 2, 1968, 63–92; E. Vereecke, Titinius, Plaute et les origines de la *fabula togata*, AC 40, 1971, 156–185; A. Pociña Pérez, Naissance et originalité de la comedie *togata*, AC 44, 1975, 79–88. Afranius: CRF, 2nd ed. 165–222; CRF, 3rd ed. 193–265; F. Marx, RE 1, 708–710; the prose mime *Pap. Hamb.* 167 is not by Afranius: J. Dingel, Bruchstück einer römischen Komödie auf einem Hamburger Papyrus (Afranius?), ZPE 10, 1973, 29–44; B. Bader, Ein Afraniuspapyrus?, ZPE 12, 1973, 270–276; J. Dingel, Zum Komödienfragment *P. Hamb.* 167 (Afranius?), ZPE 14, 1974, 168.

[1] On Liv. 7. 2 s. now: W. Hofmann, Die Anfänge des Dramas in Rom, Altertum 26, 1980, 143–149.

The phlyax,[1] a rustic form of farcical comedy from South Italy, is known to us indirectly through vases of the 4th century. Its themes are burlesques of the divine, travesties of myth, and scenes of everyday life. The chief representative of the phlyax or *hilarotragoedia*, was Rhinthon of Syracuse, active in Tarentum in the time of Ptolemy I (d. 283/282 B.C.). He was thus later than the vase paintings.

The *fabula Atellana*,[2] named after the town of Atella near Naples, reached Rome early, perhaps in company with the worship of Minerva. There, in the context of *ludi* not otherwise known, it was ritually presented using the Oscan dialect, possibly in connection with funeral games. It continued in this way until the end of the 1st century B.C. In the 1st century A.D. it took on new life. It was not acted by professional players, but by citizens wearing masks. Typical characters were Maccus, the fool; Pappus, the old man; Bucco, the glutton; Dossennus, the hunchback, with intellectual pretensions. The pieces were short and mostly improvised, and of a licentious and peasant nature. The Atellane shows connections with the phlyax, particularly because of its obscenity[3] and employment of masks which led to the special importance of gesture. The Atellane should not be called 'realistic'. It early received the role of closing play, like the satyr drama. In the Republican period, its ideology was conservative. Under the emperors, it indulged in open criticism.

The Atellane acquired literary status about 100 B.C. It replaced the *palliata* and *togata*, to which it was assimilated even as regards its external form. Almost insoluble complications were regarded as typical of the Atellane (Varro, *Men.* 198 B.). Plots recall to some extent the *palliata*: for example, in the use of doubling (*Duo Dossenni*). Tragic myths were given a comic twist, as in Pomponius' *Agamemno Suppositicius* and Novius' *Phoenissae*. It preferred the iambic septenarius. In the Republican period, cantica seem to be missing, although later they came into fashion (Suet. *Nero* 39). Chief representatives of the

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[1] Rhinthon: CGF 183–189; A. Olivieri, Frammenti della commedia greca e del mimo nella Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia, 2 vols. esp. vol. 2, 2nd ed., Napoli 1947, 7–24; M. Gigante, Rintone e il teatro in Magna Grecia, Napoli 1971; E. Wüst, Phlyakes, RE 20, 1, 1941, 292–306; A. D. Trendall, Phlyax Vases, London, 2nd ed. 1967; M. Gigante, Teatro greco in Magna Grecia, AIIS 1, 1967, 35–87.

[2] CRF, 2nd ed. 223–276; CRF, 3rd ed. 267–335; P. Frassinetti, ed., Fabularum Atellanarum fragmenta, Augustae Taurinorum 1955; P. Frassinetti, Le Atellane. Atellanae fabulae, Roma 1967; Leo, LG 1, 370–372; R. Rieks, Mimus und Atellane, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., Das römische Drama, Darmstadt 1978, 348–377 (with bibl.).

[3] Including pederastic themes, also found in the *togata*.

literary Atellane were Pomponius of Bologna and Novius. Even Sulla is said to have practiced this genre. The Atellane soon yielded to its rival the mime.

The *Mime*[1] (Arist. *poet.* 1447 b 10–11) imitated scenes of daily life, including both the permissible and impermissible (Dion. *gramm.* 1. 491. 15–16). The store of motifs was larger than in comedy. It could include, for example, adultery committed by a wife. Masks were not usual, and so facial expression gained in importance. In contrast with the serious drama, female roles were performed by actresses. The Doric mime of Sophron spread its influence from Sicily to both Athens and Central Italy. It made a fruitful contribution to higher genres of Greek literature (Plato, Theocritus). The *Mimiambi* of Herodas were destined for reading by connoisseurs.

At Rome, the sub-literary mime was popular, and at least from 173 became a permanent feature at the Floralia. After the play, as an extra treat, the crowd had the right to observe the charms of the actresses undisguised (Val. Max. 2. 10. 8). In 115 B.C. the whole *ars ludicra,* including the mime, was banned from Rome by censorial edict (Cassiod. *chron.* 2, pp. 131–132 M.). Its revival in the 1st century B.C. was all the more marked. Mime actors, both male and female, were despised by Cicero[2] in accordance with traditional Roman standards but from the days of Sulla and Mark Antony they were favored by the powerful. Even Caesar and his heir valued this genre. Augustus looked on his whole life as a mime (Suet. *Aug.* 99). It was Justinian who first forbade the mime (A.D. 525), and yet he introduced it into his own palace by marrying the mime actress Theodora.

In Cicero's time, it was the mime rather than the Atellane that served to conclude tragic performances (*fam.* 9. 16. 7). The genre gained literary form thanks to the Roman knight D. Laberius (106–

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[1] CRF, 2nd ed. 279–305; CRF, 3rd ed. 339–385; Romani Mimi, ed. M. Bonaria, Romae 1965; H. Reich, Der Mimus, 2 vols., Berlin 1903 (controversial); A. Marzullo, Il mimo latino nei motivi di attualità, Atti e Memorie Acc. Modena 5. s., 16, 1958, 1–44; D. Romano, Cicerone e Laberio, Palermo 1955; M. Bieber, Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum, Berlin 1920; M. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre, Princeton, 2nd. ed. 1961; R. W. Reynolds, The Adultery Mime, CQ 40, 1946, 77–84; R. W. Reynolds, Verrius Flaccus and the Early Mime at Rome, Hermathena 61, 1943, 56–62; R. Rieks (s. note before last); H. Wiemken, Der griechische Mimus. Dokumente zur Geschichte des antiken Volkstheaters, Bremen 1972. *Herodas*: ed. I. C. Cunningham, Leipzig 1987 (with bibl.).

[2] D. F. Sutton, Cicero on Minor Dramatic Forms, SO 59, 1984, 29–36.

43 B.C.) and Caesar's protégé Publilius Syrus. In his mimes, Laberius continued in his way the tradition of the *palliata*, *togata*, and Atellane. He made use of personal prologues and dialogues in senarii. His choice of words was careful (Fronto 4. 3. 2), although not free from vulgarisms (Gell. 19. 13. 3) and neologisms (Gell. 16. 7). In his polished apophthegms, Laberius did not refrain even from politics: *porro, Quirites! libertatem perdimus* ('go ahead, Quirites! we are losing our freedom') and: *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*, 'necessarily he whom many fear has to fear many' (125–126).

Publilius Syrus arrived in Rome as a slave. After his emancipation, he enjoyed a career as writer of mimes and principal actor in them. He prevailed over Liberius at the *Ludi Caesaris* in 46 B.C. (Gell. 17. 14; Macr. *Sat.* 2. 7. 1–11). A mass of apophthegms is known from his works. They are cited e.g. by the two Senecas, and later were assembled in a school textbook (Jerome, *epist. ad Laetam* 107. 8). Even in modern times, they have been highly esteemed, thanks to Erasmus.

Literary Technique

Tragedy, which perhaps developed from the dithyramb, was originally linked with choric song. The share occupied by recitative and speech grew steadily, while the importance of the chorus declined. The gradual expansion of the spoken parts is in accord with the progress of *logos*. Tragedy is concerned with processes of recognition.

In Attic tragedy, prologue, dialogue (epeisodion) and *choric song* occur in the following order: prologue, *parodos* or entry song, epeisodion, *stasimon* or song sung by the choir standing at rest, epeisodion, *stasimon*, epeisodion, *stasimon* . . . epeisodion, *exodos* or departure song. The number of epeisodia in the classical period is not precisely fixed.

In the development of the action, the 'tying' and 'untying' (*dénouement*) of the knot are to be distinguished. The reversal of fortune or *peripeteia* in tragedy usually means a change from happiness to sorrow, although the reverse may be found.

Typical elements include: the solo prologue or dialogic exposition; a judgment scene; a deceptive speech; recognition; a messenger's speech reporting events which occurred offstage. Arguments are fought out both by contrasting speeches of some length or in a line-for-line interchange of single verses (stichomythia).

In the Hellenistic period, a scheme of five acts, made up of prologue and four episodes, became the rule. Portrayal of character sometimes

prevailed over action. The use of rhetoric, already well developed in Euripides and Agathon, became more frequent. Euripides and Agathon also introduced into drama the then modern music with its powerful appeal to the emotions. Afterwards, solo song and lyric antiphony broadened their claims. Pathos was heightened.

The professional actors limited the role of choric song. Since their advent and the greater prevalence of traveling ensembles, the chorus was no longer a *sine qua non.* The role of the leader of the chorus was expanded, and the chorus itself, if retained, was more involved in acting than singing. In its place, solo arias were multiplied.

Accordingly, the Romans limited choric song in favor of individual musical performance. Nevertheless in all Roman tragedies choruses are taken for granted, although in them the song of the chorus leader takes pride of place. For monodies or solo songs a practice is attested in which the actor used only gestures, while the actual singing was performed separately by a professional singer accompanied by 'flute'.

Ennius handled the chorus differently from the Greek tragedians. In the *Eumenides* the title alone proves that there must have been a chorus. In the *Iphigenia,* however, the chorus of women, whose effect was somewhat incongruous in a military camp, was replaced by a chorus of soldiers.

The *Medea* plays provide an opportunity to compare Ennius and Euripides. The Latin poet transposed lyrical choruses into recitative, replacing, for example, dochmiacs with long verses (like the septenarius), and lyrical with rhetorical effects. However, Medea's farewell to her children, which in Euripides had been a speech, was adapted by Ennius as a lyric monody. Thus the chorus, even under the spell of strong emotion, expressed itself in recitative, whereas the individual actor used song.

The literary technique of Old Comedy was different from that of tragedy. In the days of Middle Comedy, with the disappearance of direct political polemics, typical elements of Old Comedy such as agon and parabasis gradually became less important. (In the latter, the chorus had addressed the spectators either to discuss with them actual politics or to explain the poet's intentions). Traces of the technique of Old Comedy are seldom found in Plautus; he has Middle Comedy to thank for them. In the Greek New Comedy, the chorus generally did not participate in the action. It merely filled up the pauses between the five acts which had now become standard. Choric songs were no longer composed by the comic poets. In Roman com-

edy, act-division and chorus became even less important.[1]

In spite of its efforts to keep close to real life, New Comedy retained some elements of fantasy defying realism. The often grotesquely stylized masks are evidence of this. Entering to speak the prologue, deities often shattered the illusion. Monologues or asides made the spectator the confidant of the characters. In particular the action, albeit no longer imaginary, still remained rich in somewhat improbable coincidences. Like many tragedies, comedies often ended in a recognition (*anagnorismos*).

On the whole, however, the playwrights did their best not to go beyond the routine of daily experience. The line of action of New Comedy is to some degree fixed. The young people pursue their love affairs, while the old folk are intent on preserving the family property and social norms. Lacking money, the young try to deceive the old, often with the help of a cunning slave or parasite. This leads their elders to weave a counter intrigue. Ancient theory distinguished *comoediae motoriae, statariae*, and *mixtae*,[2] in accordance with the degree of liveliness in the action.

The plot in New Comedy recalls that of late Euripidean tragedy, which had developed into a sort of bourgeois drama. In the *Ion*, for example, the hero's mistakes result from his ignorance of his own identity. Human beings grope in the darkness, unaware of the power of Tyche. In Menander's *Perikeiromene*, Ignorance[3] (Ἄγνοια) is an important element of the action and is even personified. Thanks to the prologue, the spectator is better informed than the characters in the play; he is able to recognize their errors and to savor his superior knowledge.

Translating was not the primary concern of Roman comic poets. They were not writing for eternity, but for a particular performance.

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[1] Division into five acts was introduced in the Hellenistic period: *Comoedia quinque actus habet, hoc est, quinquies ducitur in scenam* (Ps. Ascon., *div. in Caec.* p. 119 Orelli-Baiter); cf. also Hor. *ars* 189–190 (referring generally to drama and to tragedy in particular). Act division in Plautus used to be ascribed to J. B. Pius in his edition of 1500. However, traces of such a division are already found in 15th-century manuscripts. In Terence, division into acts is perhaps due to Varro. But the discussion in Donatus and Evanthius indicates that they had no authentic tradition in this respect available to them: J. A. Barsby 1982, 78.

[2] Evanth. *de com.* 4. 4.

[3] Cf. H.-J. Mette, Gefährdung durch Nichtwissen in Tragödie und Komödie, in: U. Reinhardt, K. Sallmann, eds., Musa iocosa, FS A. Thierfelder, Hildesheim 1947, 42–61.

The Plautine *palliata* characteristically avoided Roman costume and exaggerated the elements of unreality. Both features kept the spectator at a distance and added to the comic effect. On the other hand, up to the period after Terence, comic actors at Rome seem to have worn not masks but only wigs (*galeri*). In this respect, 'realism' at first might have been greater than in the Greek theater.

The literary technique of the poets of the *palliata* can only be defined with caution. The playwrights placed more emphasis on the individual scene than on the design of the whole, a feature also observed in Roman epic.[1] In order to achieve a momentary effect, they employed less subtle and even popular devices, such as plays on words, riddles wrapped up in tales, and gross expressions. They cut out comparatively colorless scenes from the original and replaced them with lively episodes from other plays. In Plautus musical elements, and in particular solo songs (*cantica*), were much more prominent than in Menander. Plautus also conferred upon his plays a musically determined symmetry which is all his own. Terence showed a preference for double plots, and accordingly sometimes added new characters. He also liked to prepare the action by means of an introductory dialogue; the information given there could be supplemented gradually in the course of the play. The insertion of scenes from other plays (the so-called *contaminatio*) has to be judged in the context of these overarching aims.

Language and Style

In principle, the language of tragedy belongs to the high style. However, in Latin there is no strict distinction between the style of tragedy and that of comedy. The ratio of iambi to trochees is similar in both genres.[2] Although in Greek a basic metrical difference exists between the two genres, this is not the case in Latin. Apart from the usual iambics and trochees, both tragedy and comedy at Rome employ stichic anapaests, bacchii, and cretics.

On the other hand, there are differences of style within the plays, between, for example, prologue, messenger's speech and canticum.

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[1] E. Lefèvre, Versuch einer Typologie des römischen Dramas, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., Das römische Drama, Darmstadt 1978, 1–90; cf. F. Mehmel, Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius, Hamburg 1940.

[2] A telling feature is Accius' preference for spondees (Hor. *ars* 258–259; H. Cancik 1978, 341); it is connected with the ethos (*gravitas*) of the spondee.

Republican drama, whether tragedy or comedy, is distinguished by metrical variety. Long verses, such as septenarii, are more frequent than in the Greek originals, although substantial sections in tetrameters have recently come to light in Menander. In Plautus, the language of these long verses is more ornate and solemn than that of the senarii, while the style of the cantica is even more exalted. Characteristically, in the employment of these different levels of pathos, there is no basic difference between tragedy and comedy. Nevertheless, it is clear that *tragicus tumor* has less scope in comedy, and for this reason is often parodied.

In general, the language of comedy comes close to being colloquial, but there are differences between the authors. Plautus' Latin is more colorful, sometimes more pathetic, sometimes more coarse than that of Terence. Alliteration and rhyme, antithesis and sound play are not at all limited to tragedy. Rhetoric and lyric are not mutually exclusive but work together: *Haec omnia vidi inflammari,/Priamo vi vitam evitari,/Iovis aram sanguine turpari*, 'all this I saw with flame devoured, Priam's living force by force unlifed, Jupiter's altar with blood befouled' (Enn. *trag.* 92–94 J.). This archaic Latin style may only partly be subsumed under the notion of 'rhetoric'. A higher principle is '*psychagogia*', the quasi musical effort to play on the emotions. From this stately *gravitas*, still favored by Caecilius in comedy, Terence is the first to turn away to some degree with his trend-setting *levis scriptura*.

The language of tragedy in its philosophical passages prepares the ground for Lucretius,[1] while the concise diction of Terence's comedy points the way towards the elegant classical Latin of Caesar.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Understandably, reflections on literature are found in tragedy less frequently than in comedy. Even so, in the *Antiopa* Pacuvius treated the problem of a life dedicated to intellectual pursuits. The problem of authorship as a profession was indeed not directly addressed here, but was tackled at its root. Two totally different brothers, the huntsman Zethus and the singer Amphion, discussed music and ended by confronting the problem of wisdom. In Pacuvius, the representative of the active life won the day, but this does not alter the fact that

[1] H. Cancik 1978, 332–334.

tragedy became a port of entry not only for myth at Rome but also for Logos. Accius was at the same time tragic poet and essayist, writing about questions of the theater and of language. Unhappily, too little is known of this activity.

Occasionally, in his prologues, Plautus refers to some of his own poetic decisions, and discusses certain details with his audience. However, he develops no consistent literary polemics. In some plays, the cunning slave is regularly styled as master builder, general, and stage director. Thus, he appears as the mirror-image of the poet. When characters in the play expressly reject the ordinary clichés of comedy, they also serve to emphasize the sovereign will of the author.

Terence's prologues are particularly concerned with the difficulties of comic writing. The Terentian prologue is a new type of text on literary theory, in which the poet speaks for his own cause. In any case, it is evident that Roman comic poets are aware of their artistic aims and methods.

Ideas II

Tragedy played a decisive role in the assimilation and dissemination of myth at Rome. It used the world of heroic myth as a stage on which to give serious shape to human destiny. Productions, as in Greece, took place at public festivals, and superficially a link with public worship was preserved. In introducing his topics, the author had to take account of the meager knowledge of the general public. Authors and actors were obliged to avoid offending the influential families, from whose ranks the aediles were drawn, if they wanted to be hired again the following year. Consequently, no undue freedom of thought was to be expected.

However, we should not imagine censorship as exaggeratedly strict, nor should we seek the preaching of public virtues in every tragedy. Many tragic titles in fact indicate a special predilection for the Trojan cycle, in accordance with Roman national feeling. Even so, the poets were not, in spite of all, afraid to tackle thorny questions. For example, in the *Alexander*, Ennius touched upon important social themes. In the *Chryses*, Pacuvius raised questions of religion, and in his *Pentheus* hinted at the suppression of the Bacchanalia (186–181 B.C.). Ennius took over from Euripides his skeptical and critical remarks on the gods. Reflection and doubt made their way onto the stage.

Furthermore, dramas featuring female protagonists and treating

psychological problems enjoyed increasing popularity. The impact of republican tragedy on its public was enhanced by music, which helped it to stimulate thought and bring problems of human society to the stage. Tragedy showed the exposed and vulnerable nature of man, and often the triumph of wrongdoing, and virtuous self-sufficiency as the only escape. By its treatment of ethical, political, and theological themes, tragedy at Rome prepared the ground for the acceptance of philosophy. Later, in Seneca, philosophy and tragedy again parted company, or else complemented each other in a *concordia discors*.

Next to Varius' *Thyestes*, Ovid's *Medea* was the second significant tragedy of the Augustan period. It depicted its heroine as someone possessed. On the basis of the treatment of Medea in other works of Ovid, it may be plausibly supposed that his tragedy smoothed the way for Seneca's plays. There are points of contact between Seneca's tragedies and his philosophical writings. But his plays may not be considered without qualification as philosophical tracts, since they bring before our eyes the sufferings of an unredeemed world. They confront the spectator, not with philosophy, but with painful reality and so lead him to the threshold of self-knowledge and conversion to a life guided by reason. Imperial tragedy may be dissident in its tone. Its political stance is often republican.

Aristophanes' comedy was rooted in the democratic society of Athens. The chorus represented the community of citizens and was itself made up of citizens. This inner link to public life gradually dissolved with the loss of freedom, as can be seen from the progressive degradation of the chorus in Attic drama. Political criticism, which at the outset had been uninhibited, was gradually toned down over the course of Aristophanes' lifetime.

New Comedy was no longer particularly political in its scope, but still had a general social relevance. It treated problems of the kind which arise in a family[1] and a small community. In the Athens of those days, life centered around trade and economy. Men felt exposed to the power of Tyche, the queen of the world. Comedy enjoyed moralizing. Menander passed for a pupil of Theophrastus, and the influence of Peripatetic ethics should neither be dogmatically asserted nor denied. Attic comedy presupposed an open, generous norm of social behavior. Deviations, leading to the isolation of the

[1] M. Fuhrmann, Lizenzen und Tabus des Lachens. Zur sozialen Grammatik der hellenistisch-römischen Komödie, AU 29, 5, 1986, 20–43.

individual from the community, were brought into balance.

Greek New Comedy played against a background familiar to the spectator. In maintaining its Greek dress, the *palliata* was therefore more distant from its Roman audience. Consequently, the closeness to life,[1] for which New Comedy is praised, was—quite visibly—called into question in Rome. There, comedy was even less a reflection of contemporary society than it had been in Athens.

The degree of participation felt by the spectator was different as well. The players at Rome were of socially inferior position; and in spite of all the honors which prominent actors received, they labored under the legal stigma of *infamia*. Externally, comedy was based on public religion, but it was no longer an affair of the whole citizen body. It had become an artistic specialty, not an immediate expression of the audience's identity, but enjoyed simply as a culinary rarity.

To be sure, comedy's chief aim was not to stimulate philosophical thought. But in a society such as that of ancient Rome, drama was one of the few public media in which some degree of reflection was acceptable. The treatment of interpersonal relationships in comedy undoubtedly contributed to the spread of civilization in Roman society.

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[1] Aristophanes Byz. (d. about 180 B.C.) quoted by Syrian. *in Hermog.* 2, 23, 6 Rabe: ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμιμήσατο; Cicero quoted by Donat. *de com.* 5, 1 (the attribution to *rep.* 4, 13 is uncertain), perhaps from a Peripatetic source (R. Pfeiffer, Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie, München 2nd ed. 1978, 235, n. 132). Aristophanes is implicitly ranking Menander with Homer, whose *Odyssey* was praised as a 'mirror of human life' (Alcidamas, quoted by Aristotle *rhet.* 3, 3. 1406 b 13).

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LIVIUS ANDRONICUS

Life and Dates

Roman literature was made, not born; its beginning can be dated precisely. After Rome's victory over Carthage, during the Roman Games in 240 B.C.[1] (16–19 September), Livius produced the first Latin drama[2] at Rome. Our information concerning his life is self-contradictory and unreliable. He probably came to Rome as a prisoner of war from Tarentum in Magna Graecia, a city famous for its theater; and certainly he possessed stage experience as an actor (Fest. 446 L.; Livy 7. 2. 8). During the war the Romans had learnt to appreciate the theater of South Italy. Here was the appropriate figure to present them with their own dramatic literature. He may have been employed as a tutor in the family of the Livii, who gave him his freedom. In his lectures, he treated Greek texts and the Latin texts he had himself composed. During the second consulship of Marcus Livius Salinator (207), he was commissioned by the state to compose for a choir of virgins a processional song intended to avert evil omens (Livy 27. 37. 7 ff.).[3] After that, Rome's fate took a turn for the better; and as a token of thanks to the poet, the collegium of writers and actors was assigned the Temple of Minerva on the

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[1] Cicero (*Brut.* 72) accepts this date from Atticus and Varro. Accius, however, had dated Livius' first production to 197. In modern times, an effort has been made to rehabilitate Accius' dating: H. B. Mattingly, The Date of Livius Andronicus, CQ 51 n.s. 7, 1957, 159–163; G. Marconi, La cronologia di Livio Andronico, in: Atti Accad. dei Lincei No. 363, MAL 8. 12. 2, Roma 1966, 125–213; H. B. Mattingly, Gnomon 43, 1971, 680–687. This would make some dated plays of Plautus prior; Livius' role as pioneer, taken for granted by Horace and others, would be impossible; the development of Roman literature would have taken place with amazing speed in just a few years, and the stylistic awkwardness of Livius' fragments would not be in any way excused by their great antiquity. It would be quite unintelligible why they were transmitted. It is important to remember that Varro must certainly have studied historical documents. Accius' mistake, moreover, may be explained by his assumption that the Salinator given as the poet's patron was the victor of Sena, who had vowed games and celebrated them in 197 or 191. W. Suerbaum (1968, 1–12; 297–300) also rejects Accius' chronology.

[2] Cassiodorus (*chron.* p. 128 M. on 239 B.C.) is the first to speak of a tragedy and a comedy.

[3] The attempt to claim his authorship also for the carmen saeculare of 249, made most recently by R. Verdière (Horace et Livius Andronicus, Latomus 42, 1983, 383–387; cf. also U. Carratello 1979, 23–26), rests on hypotheses and is already treated critically by E. Fraenkel 1931, 600.

Aventine as a center for assembly and worship. In Rome, therefore, it was not Dionysus but Minerva who became the tutelary deity of actors. As goddess of arts and crafts, she was also the patroness of the very ancient *collegium tibicinum* and of other musical guilds. This meeting-place well suited the musical character of the old Roman art of the stage.[1]

Thus the founder of Roman literature also succeeded in winning for it public recognition. He must have died soon after. The fact that in 200 B.C. another poet[2] composed the expiatory hymn is not however a compelling proof of this.

Survey of Works

Epic: *Odusia.*

Tragedies: partly Trojan themes (*Equos Troianus, Achilles, Aegisthus, Aiax mastigophoros*), partly with women in leading roles (*Andromeda, Antiopa* [reported by Nonius 170. 12 M. = 250 L.; disputed by editors], *Danae, Hermiona, Ino,* as well as *Tereus* and *Achilles*).

Praetextae (?): cf. G. Marconi, Atilio Regolo tra Andronico ed Orazio, RCCM 9, 1967, 15–47 (free reconstruction).

Comedies: *Gladiolus, Ludius, Verpus*[3] (Latin titles).

Lyric: *Hymn of Atonement* (Livy 27. 37. 7).

Sources, Models, and Genres

As was to become the practice of the pioneers of Roman literature, Livius tried his hand at several genres: drama, epic, lyric.

The foundation of a Roman drama that followed the precedent set in Magna Graecia was not a *creatio ex nihilo.* As early as 364, Etruscan stage artists had been invited to Rome, and the technique and vocabulary of the Roman theater shows Etruscan influence. Livius Andronicus was the first to write Latin plays with a self-contained action, conforming to Greek requirements for the drama. He thereby transplanted Greek structures into a medium where Italian, Etruscan, and Hellenistic stage practices mingled. In his comedies, to which he already had given Latin titles, he followed Hellenistic originals. In tragedy some of his models may have been classical; he viewed

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[1] E. J. Jory, Associations of Actors in Rome, Hermes 98, 1970, 224–253.
[2] P. Licinius Tegula.
[3] The title of *Verpus* was conjectured by O. Ribbeck.

them, however, through the prism of the Hellenistic age.

In certain respects, Roman drama began by blurring differences between the Greek genres. In particular, there was no difference between the dialogue meter of tragedy and comedy; and even the rich musical adornment of comedy with solo songs is close to that of Hellenistic tragedy.[1]

For his epic, Livius' model was the *Odyssey*. This choice was determined partly by considerations of subject matter (the *Odyssey* was part of primitive Italian history), partly by the tradition of Hellenistic schools, where Homer was the basic author. Livius made this work accessible to the Latin public. His interpretation of the *Odyssey* also bears a Hellenistic stamp.

Literary Technique

It is impossible to decide whether Livius already had woven together different dramas (*'contaminatio'*),[2] nor do we know whether his *Odusia* had the same length as the original.

Language and Style

In harmony with precedents already available,[3] Livius Andronicus established much of the metrical forms of Roman literature. The decisions he made for drama were never challenged in principle during the republican period. He adapted the iambic senarius and the trochaic septenarius to the exigencies of the Latin language: to its richness in long syllables, its marked word accent, the greater autonomy of the individual word and the significance of word boundaries.

The style of the *Odusia* is perceptibly more solemn and archaizing than in the dramatic fragments.[4] While in Greece these generic differences developed historically, here they needed to be created by a conscious effort.

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[1] E. Fraenkel (Plautinisches im Plautus, Berlin 1922, 321–373, esp. 341 = Elementi plautini in Plauto, Firenze 1960, 307–353, esp. 324–325). This is accepted by J. H. Waszink 1972, 870; J. Blänsdorf 1978, 206.

[2] The theory of contamination is supported by E. Bickel, Die Skyrier des Euripides und der Achilles des Livius Andronicus, RhM 86, 1937, 1–22.

[3] E. Fraenkel, Die Vorgeschichte des *versus quadratus*, Hermes 62, 1927, 357–370; Fraenkel deduces for this meter a preliterary stage already subject to Greek influence.

[4] E. Fraenkel, 1931, 603–607.

In his choice of metaphors, Livius does not adhere timidly to his models. We see this when he compares the transitory nature of fame with the melting of ice in springtime[1] (Soph. *Ajax* 1266–1267; Liv. Andr. *trag.* 16–17 R.), or replaces the Homeric image 'his knees and heart were loosed' with the impressive phrase *cor frixit prae pavore*, 'his heart froze with fear' (*frg.* 16 M. = 30 Bü.). Here he is supplementing Homer from Homer (*Od.* 5. 297 and 23. 215–216). Livius therefore made an effort to combine fidelity both to Homer and to the Latin language. Elsewhere, he tried to avoid the 'mistakes' which learned Homeric criticism had condemned. A new analysis of his way of working in the light of modern theories of translation has shown that he did not indulge in arbitrary alterations, but was constantly guided by his original and by his public's mental horizon.[2] Hellenistic artistic judgment and Romanization here went hand in hand.

When choosing for his epic a 'native' meter, the saturnian,[3] Livius surely again had his readers in mind. Naevius would use the same meter, and it was left to Ennius to replace it with the hexameter. The old dispute over the accentual or quantitative nature of the saturnian may have been wrongly stated. Today it is more commonly believed that the saturnian, perhaps Celtic and Roman in origin,[4] developed into a quantitative meter in accordance with changes in the Latin word accent and the increasing prevalence of Greek influence. This can already be seen in Livius, who, after all, was Greek. At the same time, the Roman tendency towards clear verbal structure[5] was evident. Each saturnian consisted of a 'rising' and a 'falling' half, as indeed the Latin hexameter did later. Organization by means of alliteration and symmetrical correspondences is stricter in Livius than in his Homeric model: *Virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum* ('Tell me, o Muse, of the cunning man'). The first and last words belong together, a point emphasized by alliteration; so do the second and the second to last. The important proper name, *Camena*, stands in the middle, creating a symmetrically balanced structure.[6] Parallelism

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[1] With Ribbeck I read *verno*. An intermediate Hellenistic source may not of course be excluded. The attribution of the *Aiax mastigophorus* to Livius Andronicus is doubted by H. D. Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius, Cambridge 1967, 179–181.

[2] G. Broccia 1974.

[3] See above, 'Before Literature' pp. 43–44; G. Erasmi 1979, 125–149.

[4] A. W. de Groot, Le vers saturnien littéraire, REL 12, 1934, 284–312.

[5] T. Cole, The Saturnian Verse, in: Studies in Latin Poetry, YClS 21, 1969, 1–73.

[6] G. Erasmi 1979, 148.

and chiasmus also define the shape of the verse. Thus, at the very beginning of Roman literature, formal tendencies are prominent which later, and in other meters, will play a decisive part.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Livius Andronicus is a Hellenistic *poeta doctus*, whose poetic practice bears the stamp of literary reflection. We have already mentioned the linguistic and stylistic differentiation of genres. In calling the Muse *Monetas filia* ('daughter of Memory', i.e. of Mnemosyne), he has introduced into his translation a post-Homeric notion. Thus he viewed Homer in the light of the Hellenistic tradition of which he himself was a member.[1]

Ideas II

In one of those remarkable coincidences which occur when cultures are fertilized by other more advanced cultures, the dramas of Livius simultaneously transmitted to the Romans ancient myth and the contemporary philosophy which had taken its place. At first, myth was accepted as history. It is no accident, therefore, that in drama Trojan subjects prevailed, recalling the alleged origin of the Romans (*Achilles, Aegisthus, Equos Troianus*). For epic, the *Odyssey* was chosen because some episodes took place in Italy and Sicily. The necessity of adapting material to suit a new audience entailed therefore a process of Romanization. Although striving to be faithful to his text in principle, Livius transposed religious elements into Roman sacral language: *sancta puer Saturni filia regina* (*frg.* 14 M. = 12 Bü.). The ritual tone is so evident here that some have tried to assign this fragment to the choir of maidens. The names of Greek gods are Latinized. The Muse becomes *Camena*, the Greek goddess of fate Moira becomes *Morta*, Mnemosyne is *Moneta*. Roman religious feeling clashed with the Greek fashion of treating men as gods. So, the 'adviser equal to the gods' is simply in Livius called 'the excellent, distinguished man' (fr. 10 M. = 10 Bü.).

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[1] H. Fränkel, Griechische Bildung in altrömischen Epen, Hermes 67, 1932, 306; cf. also S. Mariotti 1952, 2nd ed. 1986, 20–23. G. Broccia (1974, 51–75) rejects the notion that Livius consulted the Homeric scholia.

Livius' poetry had more to do than affirm national greatness. It had the task of illuminating and encouraging reflection. He has numerous plays with women in leading roles (*Andromeda, Danaë, Hermiona, Ino*). The *Achilles*, whose protagonist was Deidamia, also belongs to this group, as does the *Tereus*, which had two strong feminine roles. The Sophoclean model contained a moving lament for the lot of women (Soph. *frg.* 524 N. 2nd ed.). So even the oldest Roman author has certain 'modern' features. In the *Ajax* we see some skepticism about the glory of valor (*virtus*, 16–17 R.). In his comedy *Gladiolus* a boastful soldier was probably ridiculed, and a fragment from an unknown context speaks a rather unheroic and good Epicurean language: 'I have eaten, drunk, played to my satisfaction' (*com.* 4–5 R.; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 1141–1142).

Influence

Even for Horace, who set no store by Livius, his name denoted the beginning of Roman literature (*epist.* 2. 1. 61–62). He was the creator of artistic translation as a valid literary form. It is not by accident that the achievement of a translator stands at the beginning of the first 'derived' literature. Just as Roman literature discovered its identity through Greek, so would European literature find its own way in the light of the Christian and ancient tradition.

In some respects Livius is the paradigm of an early Roman poet. He was not from the city itself. Indeed he was a foreigner, and owed his rise only to his intellectual achievement. Finally, he gained for literature, in a city which had been alien to such fancies, the right of domicile. Universality is the privilege of pioneers. Unlike most of his Greek colleagues, Livius could not afford to limit his literary activity to a single genre.

His establishment of dramatic meters and his differentiation of the linguistic levels of epic and drama remained definitive. His comedies were the first to be forgotten, since original talents like those of Naevius and Plautus left him behind. His tragedies were somewhat better known even later, although these, too, were overshadowed by those of Ennius, Accius, and Pacuvius. It was his *Odusia* that held its ground the longest. As a school textbook it was still beaten into the young Horace by the stern Orbilius (*epist.* 2. 1. 69–71). After the appearance of the *Aeneid* the *Odusia*, like all republican epic, gradually fell into oblivion. Fragments are preserved for us in Varro, Festus, Nonius,

Virgilian scholiasts and grammarians. Livius prepared the way for greater things. His success was that of the good teacher: to make himself dispensable.

Editions: R. et H. Stephanus (Estienne), Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum quorum opera non extant, Genevae 1564.* E. H. Warmington (TTr), ROL 2, 1–43. * *Odusia:* S. Mariotti (in his book, s. below); M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis (crit. T), Torino 1937; FPL 7–17 Morel, 9–18 Büchner, s. also FPL, ed. J. Blänsdorf, Stuttgart 1995 and E. Courtney (in our list of abbreviations). * *Scaen.:* O. Ribbeck, TRF 2nd ed., 1–6; TRF 3rd ed., 1–7; CRF 2nd ed., 3; CRF 3rd ed., 3–5. ** *Lexicon:* A. Cavazza, A. Resta Barrile, Lexicon Livianum et Naevianum, Hildesheim 1981. ** *Bibl.:* H. J. Mette, Die römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur griechischen Tragödie (esp. for 1945–1964), Lustrum 9, 1964, 5–211, esp. 13; 41–50. * G. Erasmi 1975 (s. below).

W. Beare, When Did Livius Andronicus Come to Rome?, CQ 34, 1940, 11–19. * J. Blänsdorf, Voraussetzungen und Entstehung der römischen Komödie, in: Das römische Drama, ed. by E. Lefèvre, Darmstadt 1978, 91–134, esp. 125–127. * G. Broccia, Ricerche su Livio Andronico epico, Padova 1974. * K. Büchner, Livius Andronicus und die erste künstlerische Übersetzung der europäischen Kultur, SO 54, 1979, 37–70. * U. Carratello, Livio Andronico, Roma 1979. * H. Dahlmann, Studien zu Varro *De poetis*, AAWM 1962, 10, Mainz 1963, 28–39; 43–57. * G. Erasmi, Studies on the Language of Livius Andronicus, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1975, repr. London 1982 (bibl.). * G. Erasmi, The Saturnian and Livius Andronicus, Glotta 57, 1979, 125–149. * E. Flores, Sull'interpretazione del *frg.* 18 M.[2] e le dimensioni dell'*Odusia* di Andronico, in: Filologia e forme letterarie, Studi offerti a F. Della Corte, Urbino 1987, 9–19. * E. Flores, L'*Odissea* di Omero e la traduzione di Livio Andronico, Lexis 4, 1989, 65–75. * E. Fraenkel, Livius 10a, RE suppl. 5, 1931, 598–607. * E. J. Jory, Associations of Actors in Rome, Hermes 98, 1970, 224–253. * U. Knoche, Über die Aneignung griechischer Poesie im älteren Rom, Gymnasium 65, 1958, 321–341, esp. 325–334. * J. Lanowski, Histoire des fragments des tragédies de Livius Andronicus, Eos 51, 1961, 65–77. * Leo, LG 55–75. * G. Marconi, Atilio Regolo tra Andronico ed Orazio, in: RCCM 9, 1967, 15–47. * S. Mariotti, Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica. Saggio critico ed edizione dei frammenti dell'*Odyssea*, Milano 1952, Urbino 2nd ed. 1986. * R. Perna, Livio Andronico, Bari 1978. * W. Schetter, Das römische Epos, Wiesbaden 1978, 15–18. * A. Seele, Römische Übersetzer. Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten. Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Darmstadt 1995. * W. Suerbaum, Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter. Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Hildesheim 1968, 1–12; 297–300. * W. Suerbaum, Zum Umfang

der Bücher in der archaischen lateinischen Dichtung, ZPE 92, 1992, esp. 168–173. * I. Tar, Über die Anfänge der römischen Lyrik, Szeged 1975, 31–50. * A. Traina, *Vortit barbare.* Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone, Roma 1970, 10–28. * J. H. Waszink, Tradition and Personal Achievement in Early Latin Literature, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 13, 1960, 16–33. * J. H. Waszink, Zum Anfangsstadium der römischen Literatur, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 869–927.

NAEVIUS

Life and Dates

Gnaeus Naevius came from Campania and fought on the Roman side in the First Punic War. His debut as a dramatist was not long after that of Livius Andronicus (235 or 231[1] B.C.), but with his comic talent he soon outdid his predecessor. His fearless ridicule did not draw a line even at Scipio, who had been caught by his father in a compromising situation and was marched home in some disarray (*com.* 108–110 R.). A bitter feud with the influential Metelli[2] is alleged to have been provoked by his line 'It is by fate [without personal merit] that men like Metellus become consuls at Rome'. As the consular *fasti* show, where for long only a few gentile names predominate, Naevius' keen glance had recognized a basic flaw of Roman politics. After such an outburst, it is not surprising to find the poet sitting meditatively in jail (cf. Plautus *Mil.* 210–212). Particular plays which contain placatory utterances do not of course for that reason need to have been composed in prison, in spite of Gellius (3. 3. 15). Naevius died at the end of the 3rd century in Utica. Perhaps things had become too dangerous for him in Rome.

The *Bellum Poenicum* was a significant epic in its day. Naevius composed it while looking back on his own earlier wartime experience, and it owed its origin to great historical events. The First Punic War

[1] In favor of 231: G. D'Anna, Contributo alla cronologia dei poeti latini arcaici, III. Quando esordì Cn. Nevio?, RIL 88, 1955, 301–310.

[2] Criticism of the biographical tradition is expressed by H. B. Mattingly, Naevius and the Metelli, Historia 9, 1960, 414–439 (with bibl.); see also T. Frank, Naevius and Free Speech, AJPh 48, 1927, 105–110; H. D. Jocelyn, The Poet Cn. Naevius, P. Cornelius Scipio, and Q. Caecilius Metellus, Antichthon 3, 1969, 32–47.

brought about the conquest of Sicily and established the unity of Italy. The new identity forged in this way found its artistic expression in Naevius' epic.

The birth of drama at Rome became possible, once its citizens felt the need for a cultural life of their own in the Greek manner. Greek works of art had reached Rome as part of the spoils from South Italy and Sicily, called forth new desires and interests, and created an atmosphere favorable to the rise of literature. In comedy Naevius, whose talent was also fed from ancient Italian sources, marks a first high point.

Survey of Works

Epic: *Bellum Poenicum.*

Tragedies: *Aesiona (Hesiona), Danaë, Equos Troianus, Hector proficiscens, Iphigenia, Lucurgus, Andromacha* (Serv. *georg.* 1. 266, conjecture).

Praetextae: *Clastidium, Lupus-Romulus* (perhaps two plays), *Veii* (not certain).[1]

Comedies: *Acontizomenos, Agitatoria, Agrypnuntes, Appella* (not certain), *Ariolus, Astiologa, Carbonaria, Chlamydaria, Colax, Commotria, Corollaria, Dementes, Demetrius, Dolus, Figulus, Glaucoma, Gymnasticus, Lampadio, Nagido, (Nautae), Nervolaria, Paelex, Personata, Proiectus, Quadrigeniti (Quadrigemini?), Stalagmus, Stigmatias, Tarentilla, Technicus, Testicularia, Tribacelus, Triphallus, Tunicularia.*

Other Works: *Satura* (not certain).

The Structure of the *Bellum Poenicum*

On the one hand, in the 1st book, an historical event of 263 B.C. is attested (*frg.* 32 M. = 28 Bü.). On the other, Naevius demonstrably spoke in the 1st and 3rd books of events connected with Aeneas. It would be adventurous to change the traditional book numbers, since such a 'method' undermines the only foundation on which alone we can proceed. If the traditional numbers, however, are to be preserved, it is almost inevitable to assume that Naevius introduced earlier history as an excursus. This is a regular procedure in epic (cf. the narratives of Ulysses) and also in the historical monograph, two types of tradition we are concerned with here. Furthermore, this assumption dispenses with the difficult problem of what happened to the half millennium lying between Romulus and Naevius' own time in a work by a writer allegedly following chronological order.

We do not know how the prehistory was introduced. The point of departure was probably furnished by the description of a work of art. It is likely that Naevius in a first section treated events down to 261 B.C., the year in

[1] L. Alfonsi, Una praetexta *Veii?*, RFIC 95, 1967, 165–168.

which Agrigentum was captured by the Romans. This event marked a significant break, in that it allowed for the first time a proper assessment of the conflict and so prompted a retrospective glance. The Giants mentioned by Naevius were to be seen on the temple of Zeus at Agrigentum, together with illustrations from the Trojan War;[1] a mention of these works of art was perfectly suitable to form a transition to prehistory. As early as the 1st book, Aeneas and his father left Troy, accompanied by their womenfolk and comrades (4 and 5 M. = 5 and 6 Bü.). As in the 1st book of the *Aeneid*, Venus conversed with Jupiter during a storm at sea (13 M. = 14 Bü.) and Aeneas comforted his companions (16 M. = 13 Bü.).

The 2nd book began with an assembly of the gods. The action probably included the encounter between Aeneas and Dido.[2] It is possible that Dido's curse (*Aen.* 4. 625) derives from Naevius. The prediction of a future avenger has no direct structural function in the *Aeneid*, whereas in Naevius it would form a bridge between a mythical episode and the historical framework (Hamilcar). In any case, the mythical past served as a basis for the understanding of the present. In principle, therefore, Naevius behaved in exactly the same way as later Roman historians who projected many a problem of their own time back into earlier periods.

The 3rd book dealt with the foundation of Rome. Romulus made his appearance as Aeneas' grandson (25 M. = 27 Bü.). The last four books were concerned with other events of the First Punic War, each one covering about five years. It was left to the scholar Octavius Lampadio to divide the *Bellum Poenicum* into seven books (2nd century B.C.). The overall length of approximately 4000 to 5000 verses recalls the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius and fulfills Aristotle's requirement that a modern epic should occupy the scope of a tragic trilogy (*poet.* 24, 1459 b 20).[3]

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[1] H. Fränkel 1935, 59–72, who, however, still proceeds without assuming that there was an inserted episode; W. Strzelecki 1935, 10; idem, ed. xxii; A. Klotz, Zu Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, RhM 87, 1938, 190–192; archaeological literature on the temple is found in H. T. Rowell, The Original Form of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*, AJPh 68, 1947, 21–46, esp. 34, note 33. By contrast W. Wimmel, Vergil und das Atlantenfragment des Naevius, WS 83, 1970, 84–100, believes that the motifs described in the Fragment may have been found on a gift made by Aeneas to Dido.

[2] Cf. 6 M. = 17 Bü.; 10 M. = 19 Bü.; 23 M. = 20 Bü. In favor of a Dido episode in Naevius, cf. R. Godel, Virgile, Naevius et les Aborigènes, MH 35, 1978, 273–282. Since Lipsius, Dido has been taken for the questioner in *frg.* 23 M. = 20 Bü.; so also E. Paratore, Ancora su Nevio, *Bellum Poenicum, frg.* 23 Morel, in: Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 224–243.

[3] S. Mariotti, La struttura del *Bellum Punicum* di Nevio, in: Studi in onore di G. Funaioli, Roma 1955, 221–238; on the subdivision into books: W. Suerbaum, ZPE 92, 1992, 153–173.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Just like Livius Andronicus, Naevius does not limit himself to a single genre.

In epic his historical subject alone shows that he stood in the Hellenistic tradition. At the same time he already held a dialogue with his Latin predecessor Livius Andronicus. He transcended myth with the aid of history, replacing Ulysses with Aeneas, and combining in a single poem a Roman 'Odyssey' with a Roman 'Iliad'.[1] He drew his subject matter from his own memory, but certainly also from Roman reports. His relationship to Fabius Pictor[2] is controversial; in addition, Philinos of Acragas, who favored the Carthaginians, may occasionally have provided material.[3] As a source for the legends of the origin of Rome, apart from oral tradition, Timaeus of Tauromenium[4] has also been suggested.

His comedies were highly esteemed. They were in the tradition of New and late Middle Comedy, but derived their comic power from native sources. The subject matter of his few tragedies is based partly on Aeschylus (*Hector proficiscens, Lycurgus*) and Euripides (*Iphigenia*). Some of them appear in rivalry with tragedies of Livius Andronicus (*Equos Troianus, Danaë*).

Naevius was not only the creator of the historical epic, but also of the historical drama at Rome. Corresponding to the official garb of the Roman magistrates, the *toga praetexta*, this genre was called *fabula praetexta* or *praetextata*. His *Clastidium* dealt with the victory of Marcellus over the Gallic chieftain Virdumarus (222 B.C.). Another play seems to have taken Romulus as its theme.[5]

Occasionally a *satyra* by Naevius is cited (*frg.* 62 M. = 61 Bü.), which it is now impossible to reconstruct. The record of this work looks suspicious, since in the quotation the word *Saturnium* is found, and therefore *in satura* may be the result of a dittography.[6] However, a *satura* would fit well with our picture of Naevius (cf. Ideas, below).

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[1] W. SCHETTER, Das römische Epos, Wiesbaden 1978, 18.

[2] F. BÖMER, Naevius und Fabius Pictor, SO 29, 1952, 34–53; F. ALTHEIM, Naevius und die Annalistik, FS J. FRIEDRICH, Heidelberg 1959, 1–34; R. HÄUSSLER, Das historische Epos... bis Vergil, Heidelberg 1976, 108, n. 53; 116; 120.

[3] F. JACOBY, FGrHist 2 D, Berlin 1930, 598 (commentary on no. 174).

[4] F. NOACK, Die erste *Aeneis* Vergils, Hermes 27, 1892, 407–445, esp. 437.

[5] V. TANDOI, Donato e la *Lupus* de Nevio, in: Poesia latina in frammenti, Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 263–273.

[6] The existence of a *Satyra* is supported by I. TAR, Über die Anfänge der römi-

Literary Technique

Naevius' independence in his treatment of his models is proved by Terence's testimony (*Andria* 15–19) that he contaminated (combined) plays. An important element in his literary technique was his use of Roman color. The titles of comedies were partly Latinized, as already found in Livius Andronicus. In doing this, Naevius liked to employ the suffix *-aria*, for example, *Corollaria* (garland comedy), *Tunicularia* (shirt comedy). The formation of these words resembles that found in the names of laws, such as *lex agraria*, although in the case of such a living suffix there need have been no conscious reference to Roman legal language.[1] The author speaks, without the slightest hesitation, of favorite Roman pork dishes (*com.* 65 R.), of Italian funeral mourners (*com.* 129 R.), and of the niggardly spirit at cities close to Rome like Praeneste and Lanuvium (*com.* 21–24 R.). This has led to the supposition that he was also the inventor of the comedy set at Rome, the *togata*. The argument is not compelling, however, since Plautus too, in spite of the Greek dress of his plays, alluded to Roman circumstances.

Another typically Roman feature is the lack of any fundamental metrical differences between the various types of drama.

Language and Style

His tragic and comic verses followed the same rules and displayed the same alliterations and repetitions of related words. The style of comedy known to us from Plautus had already been formed by Naevius.[2] Naevius' rhythms were more complex than in the New Comedy, and here we see a characteristic feature of the Roman stage which recurs in Plautus. The Roman habit of turning tragic recitatives into lyric had probably already begun with Livius.[3]

Naevius' handling of the language of epic and drama varies in the same way as that of Livius. Within the *Bellum Poenicum* it has become customary to distinguish two further stylistic levels. The mythological and sacral episodes are artistic and full of alliteration and assonance,

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schen Lyrik, Szeged 1975, 56–58; see now also E. Flintoff 1988 (appealing but conjectural).

[1] Contrary to E. Fraenkel 1935, 632.

[2] E. Fraenkel 1935, esp. 628–631.

[3] E. Fraenkel 1935, 632–634.

while the historical parts are unpretentiously written in the style of a chronicle. In the first case, we read *bicorpores Gigantes magnique Atlantes*, 'two-bodied Giants and mighty Altlases' (19 M. = 8 Bü.). In the second, *Manius Valerius consul partem exerciti in expeditionem ducit*, 'Manius Valerius the consul leads a part of his army on an expedition' (32 M. = 3 Bü.). However, this difference must not be exaggerated. It is precisely the language of the historical parts that recalls the simple dignity of Roman triumphal inscriptions.[1] This means that the notion of an 'elevated chronicle style'[2] requires revision. As in ancient Roman historical pictures and sculptures, reality as such seems so meaningful that adornment is superfluous (giving rise to what has been called the 'Roman factual manner'). Moreover, the artistic diction is not limited to the mythical sections, nor simple diction to the historical.[3] We cannot conclude, then, that a repeated change of style between episode and framing narrative was impossible. The style may have changed more often, and with less abruptness, than previously supposed.

Pioneering features of Roman epic in Naevius are his Latinization of Homeric compound adjectives, his preference for the present tense in narrative and his efforts towards a specific syntax of epic narrative.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

It has been conjectured that Naevius dealt with literary theory in his comic prologues, which would make him in this regard the predecessor of Terence.[4] The fragment of the *Bellum Poenicum* concerned with the Muses might also suggest that Naevius spoke of his poetic mission.[5] His epitaph, which may be authentic, illustrates his pride in his poetry, particularly his linguistic achievement. In an autobiographical remark in the *Bellum Poenicum*, Naevius presents himself as a

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[1] E. Fraenkel 1935, 639; see on this also Fraenkel's Plautinisches im Plautus, Berlin 1922, 236–240; Elementi plautini in Plauto, Firenze 1960, 228–231 and 428–429.

[2] Leo, LG 80.

[3] Excellent remarks by U. Hübner, Zu Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, Philologus 116, 1972, 261–276.

[4] Suerbaum, Unters. 28–29 and 8; I. Tar, Über die Anfänge der römischen Lyrik, Szeged 1975, 54–56 argues against the genuineness of Naevius' epitaph.

[5] J. Latacz, Zum 'Musenfragment' des Naevius, WJA NF 2, 1976, 119–134.

Roman soldier and eyewitness, thus conferring legitimacy on himself as a writer of history.[1]

Ideas II

Naevius emphasizes the links of the individual both with the community (cf. 42 M. = 50 Bü.) and insists on the importance of public religious ceremonies (24 and 31 M. = 26 and 35 Bü.). For example, he underlines the role of Anchises as a prophet (3 M. = 25 Bü.). In his epic as in his drama, myth forms the background for a Roman sense of mission. It is no coincidence that many of the titles of his plays are taken from the Trojan cycle. In the *Bellum Poenicum* the Aeneas theme forms the beginning of Roman history, and it is in it that the foundation is laid for the subsequent historical conflicts. This appeal to primitive history did not stem from a mere striving for completeness in the manner of a chronicle, since elsewhere he had enough courage to countenance omissions. In any case, he could not treat the time between Romulus and the beginning of the First Punic War.

Along with such efforts to support morals and official religion with 'Greek' features such as myth and poetry, we also find more modern tones. In his epic Naevius showed a psychological interest which also extended to his female characters (4 M. = 5 Bü.). Many of his plays have as their titles the names of heroines: *Andromacha, Danaë, Hesiona, Iphigenia.* In particular, it is difficult to discover old Roman values in his comedies.[2] The play about which we know the most is the *Tarentilla.* Two young gentlemen squander their property abroad, and notably with 'the lady of Tarentum'. This means that the setting cannot have been in Tarentum, since there the description 'Tarentilla' would have had no particular distinctive value. When the fathers arrive unexpectedly, the talented young lady succeeds in enchanting all four gentlemen. There is a noticeable absence of any victory of morality; a moral lesson must have occurred at the end, directed however, contrary to Roman convention, not at the young men, but at their fathers.[3]

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[1] Suerbaum, Unters. 26.

[2] W. Hofmann 1981, 228–235 notes the Roman element in Naevius' comedy especially in its preference for moral ideas.

[3] Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 1206–1210; *Merc.* 983–986 and 1015–1016; J. Wright, Naevius, *Tarentilla* Frg. 1, RhM 115, 1972, 239–242 (but *hic* cannot mean 'in Tarentum');

Among the tragedies, the *Lycurgus* deserves particular attention, since here the opponents of the worship of Dionysus were assailed.[1] The god Liber came with his followers into the land of the Thracians. King Lycurgus ordered that the Bacchants should be taken prisoner by the use of cunning. In spite of all warnings, the king determined to arrest Bacchus himself, whereupon the god revealed himself in all his glory, freed his worshipers and punished the rebel, bringing about the conversion of the Thracians.[2] It required courage to produce such a play in a city in which even some decades later official measures were taken against the Bacchanalia. Thanks to the use of the old Latin name Liber, the official presentation of a play about Dionysus was rendered possible at Rome. The acknowledgment of Liber, a Latin and plebeian god, was something dear to Naevius' heart: *Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus* ('We shall speak with a free tongue at the festival of Liber', *com.* 112 R.). This is one further proof of the intellectual unity in the work of a man who disliked tyrants of every kind. It also fits the theory that Naevius excelled in the typically Roman genre of satire.[3]

Influence

Naevius' epitaph states that after his death men at Rome had forgotten to speak Latin, and this indicates how highly his contemporaries esteemed his linguistic achievement. Cicero compared Naevius' art with that of the sculptor Myron (*Brut.* 75). In the *Brutus*, one of the speakers says that, in listening to this or that Roman lady of the older generation, he thought he was overhearing Plautus or Naevius

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M. von Albrecht, Zur Tarentilla des Naevius, MH 32, 1975, 230–239; essential discussion in M. Barchiesi 1978.

[1] A. Pastorino, *Tropaeum Liberi.* Saggio sul *Lycurgus* di Nevio e sui motivi dionisiaci nella tragedia latina arcaica, Arona 1955; H.-J. Mette, Die römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur griechischen Tragödie (esp. for 1945–1964), Lustrum 9, 1964, esp. 51–54; S. Mariotti, Una similitudine omerica nel *Lycurgus* di Nevio, in: Poesia latina in frammenti. Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 29–34.

[2] The theme recalls the *Bacchae* of Euripides. It had already been treated by Aeschylus, a tragic poet who may have served as a model also for the Danaë of Livius Andronicus and who in Italy received attention because of his links with Sicily; cf. J. H. Waszink 1972, 925 and 894–895. An argument in favor of a Hellenistic source is found in G. Morelli, Il modello greco della *Danae* di Nevio, in: Poesia latina in frammenti. Miscellanea Filologica, Genova 1974, 85–101.

[3] E. Flintoff 1988.

(*de orat.* 3. 45). This is meant to show the greater linguistic conservatism and purism of women. It also proves that the language of Naevius passed as a model of pure, although somewhat old-fashioned, Latin.

Plautus and Virgil outdid Naevius, and so his works became dispensable and disappeared. There was an edition of the *Bellum Poenicum* which was not divided into books. Another edition, divided into seven books, goes back to the republican grammarian Lampadio, though whether he made a critical version of the text is unknown. We owe quotations, for example, to the commentary on Virgil ascribed to Probus. The fragments in Macrobius and in Servius Danielis, valuable for their content, had been probably preserved by the famous grammarian Aelius Donatus. Lexicographers such as Nonius and grammarians like Priscian no longer had the whole work available. Their knowledge was limited to individual lines whose interconnection is often mysterious.

Virgil was still familiar with the Republican tragedians. His *Aeneid* certainly owed some stimuli to the *Equos Troianus* of Naevius. Above all, Virgil reversed the plan of the *Bellum Poenicum.* There, history formed the main action, and myth its background. The *Aeneid* takes place in mythical time, while history appears as prophecy. Virgil owes to Naevius particular scenes and in general the idea of linking a Roman 'Odyssey' with an 'Iliad', and perhaps even the mythological motivation of the primeval enmity of Rome and Carthage.[1] After the oppressive linguistic abundance of Ennius, Virgil rediscovered at a new level a way to approach the elegant dignity of language which had been a distinguishing mark of Naevius.

Our knowledge of Naevius' comedies depends in the last analysis on Varro, on Remmius Palaemon, who was active under Tiberius and Claudius, and on the archaizers of the 2nd century A.D. To the Middle Ages, Naevius seems to have been known only as a writer of comedies. The humanists assembled Naevius' fragments, though for a long time he was obscured by Ennius. The interest of the romantic period in the 'primitive' Naevius, by contrast with the 'Greek' Ennius, gave a fresh impetus to scholarship. Today the effort should be made to measure Naevius by the standards of his own time, and to evaluate his conscious artistry and the aspects of his achievement which prepared the way for the future.

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[1] B. G. Niebuhr, Vorträge über römische Geschichte, ed. by M. Isler, vol. 1, Berlin 1846, 17; G. Luck, Naevius and Vergil, ICS 8, 1983, 267–275.

With Naevius, for the first time a poet of strong individual character entered Roman literature. From his own contemporary experience, he founded Roman historical epic and the *praetexta*. One achievement of Naevius was to put Homeric compound adjectives into Latin, though it would be left to Ennius to master the hexameter. The linguistic creativity of his comedies points ahead to Plautus.

Editions: R. and H. STEPHANUS (ESTIENNE), Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum, quorum opera non extant, Genevae 1564, 214–237. * E. V. MARMORALE, Naevius poeta. Introd. bibliogr., testo dei frammenti e commento, Firenze (1945), 3rd ed. 1953. * E. H. WARMINGTON (TTr), ROL 2, London 5th ed. 1961, 46–155. * *Scaen.*: TRF 2nd ed., 6–14; TRF 3rd ed., 7–17; CRF 2nd ed., 5–31; CRF 3rd ed., 6–35. * *Bellum Poenicum*: W. MOREL, FPL, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1927, 17–29. * K. BÜCHNER, FPL, Leipzig 1982, 20–40; s. now J. BLÄNSDORF, FPL, Stuttgart 1995 and E. COURTNEY (s. our list of abbreviations). * S. MARIOTTI, Il *Bellum Poenicum* e l'arte di Nevio. Saggio con edizione dei frammenti del *Bellum Poenicum*, Roma 1955. * M. BARCHIESI, Nevio epico. Storia, interpretazione, edizione critica dei frammenti, Padova 1962. * L. (= W.) STRZELECKI, Lipsiae 1964. * *Praetextae*: L. PEDROLI, Fabularum praetextarum quae extant, Genova 1954, 67–68 (T); 113 (C). * G. DE DURANTE, Le Fabulae praetextae, Roma 1966, 11–18; 48–51. * *Separate edition*: L. DI SALVO, Naevianae *Danaës* fragmenta, in: Studi noniani 2, Genova 1972, 61–66. ** *Lexicon*: A. CAVAZZA, A. RESTA BARRILE, Lexicon Livianum et Naevianum, Hildesheim 1981. ** *Bibl.*: H. J. METTE, Die römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur griechischen Tragödie (esp. for 1945–1964), Lustrum 9, 1964, 13–14; 50–54.

M. VON ALBRECHT, Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, in: E. BURCK, ed., Das römische Epos, Darmstadt 1979, 15–32. * M. BARCHIESI 1962, s. editions. * M. BARCHIESI, La *Tarentilla* rivisitata. Studi su Nevio comico, Pisa 1978. * V. BUCHHEIT, Vergil über die Sendung Roms. Untersuchungen zum *Bellum Poenicum* und zur *Aeneis*, Heidelberg 1963. * K. BÜCHNER, Der Anfang des *Bellum Poenicum* des Naevius, in: K.B., Humanitas Romana. Studien über Werke und Wesen der Römer, Heidelberg 1957, 13–34. * K. BÜCHNER, Das Naeviusproblem. Mythos und Geschichte, in: K.B., Resultate römischen Lebens in römischen Schriftwerken (= Studien zur römischen Literatur, vol. 6), Wiesbaden 1967, 9–25. * K. BÜCHNER, Römische Geschichte und Geschichte der römischen Literatur, in: K.B., Römische Prosa (= Studien zur römischen Literatur, vol. 9), Wiesbaden 1978, 1–26, on Naevius pp. 1–3 (first in ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 759–780). * H. CANCIK, Die republikanische Tragödie, in: E. LEFÈVRE, ed., Das römische Drama, Darmstadt 1978, 308–347. * E. FLINTOFF, Naevius and Roman Satire, Latomus 47, 1988, 593–603. * E. FRAENKEL, Naevius, RE suppl. 6, 1935, 622–640. * H. FRÄNKEL, Griechische Bildung in altrömischen Epen, 2, Hermes 70, 1935, 59–72.

* R. HÄUSSLER, Das historische Epos der Griechen und Römer bis Vergil, Studien zum historischen Epos der Antike, 1.Teil: Von Homer bis Vergil, Heidelberg 1976, 92–120. * W. HOFMANN, Die Volkstümlichkeit in der frühen römischen Komödie, Philologus 125, 1981, 228–235. * A. MAZZARINO, Appunti sul *Bellum Poenicum* di Nevio, Helikon 5, 1965, 157–158; 6, 1966, 232–236; 639–644. * O. RIBBECK, Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik, Leipzig 1875, repr. 1968. * W. RICHTER, Das Epos des Gnaeus Naevius. Probleme der dichterischen Form, NAWG 1, 1960, 3. * W. SCHETTER, Das römische Epos, Wiesbaden 1978, 18. * L. STRZELECKI, De Naeviano *Belli Punici* carmine quaestiones selectae, Kraków 1935. * Suerbaum, Unters. 13–42. * A. TRAINA, De Naevio et Philemone, in: id., *Vortit barbare.* Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone, Roma 1970, 37–40. * G. VILLA, Problemi dell'epos neviano. Passaggio dall'archeologia mitica alla narrazione storica, RAIB 64, 1977–1978, 1, 119–152. * J. H. WASZINK, Zum Anfangsstadium der römischen Literatur, in: ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 869–927.

ENNIUS

Life and Dates

Quintus Ennius was born in Rudiae, in southern Italy, in 239 B.C, one year after the first production of a Latin play at Rome. In him several cultural strands crossed. Ennius declared that he had three hearts, since he could speak three languages, Oscan, Greek, and Latin (Gellius 17. 17. 1). From birth he was destined to become both a mediator among old cultures and also an architect of the new. He descended from a distinguished Messapian family and undoubtedly received a careful training, especially in rhetoric and philosophy. In the theatrical city of Tarentum he became acquainted with Greek drama. He served as a mercenary in a south Italian unit of the Roman army; during his service, on Sardinia, he met Cato the Elder, who in 204 took him to Rome.[1] It was therefore the champion of old Roman ways who personally transmitted to Rome the virus of Greek culture. But it would be wrong to see this remarkable constellation as an irony of fate; rather, it should be considered a reason to revise the stereotype of Cato as a hater of things Greek.

[1] Perhaps wrongly doubted by E. BADIAN, Ennius and his Friends, in: Ennius. Sept exposés..., 1972, 156.

At Rome, Ennius, like Livius Andronicus before him, was active as a teacher. He commented on Greek and his own Latin works (Suet. *gramm.* 1), although treatises on letters and syllables, on meter and the augural discipline, which circulated under his name, were regarded as forgeries already in antiquity.[1] Ennius lived on the Aventine in modest circumstances, with only a servant woman to look after his needs. At the same time, he was on friendly terms with many representatives of the Roman nobility, including enemies of Cato, such as Scipio Nasica and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior. In the capacity of Hellenistic 'court poet', he followed the latter to Aetolia. Fulvius dedicated a temple to *Hercules Musarum*.[2] His son Quintus Nobilior, from whom Ennius in all probability took his praenomen, obtained for the poet Roman citizenship (Cic. *Brut.* 79).[3] Ennius celebrated the exploits of Scipio Africanus, probably after the expedition against Antiochus, in his *Scipio* and later in the *Annales*. Both his *Annales* and his historical dramas reflect contemporary history.

From a witty joke in the *Saturae* it has been concluded that Ennius suffered from gout (*sat.* 64 V.). However, there is no justification for believing that this illness was the cause of his death (Jerome, *chron.* 1849).[4] Ennius died in 169, after the production of his tragedy *Thyestes*. His ashes were taken back to his homeland and a memorial to him was placed in the tomb of the Scipios.[5]

After the First Punic War, Livius Andronicus had fathered Roman literature. A generation later, towards the end of the Second Punic War, Ennius arrived in Rome. Like his predecessor, on the basis of his artistic achievement alone, he won for himself and for poetry a right of residence and citizenship at Rome.

Survey of Works

Epic: *Annales*.

Tragedies: *Achilles (Achilles Aristarchi), Aiax, Alc(u)meo, Alexander, Andromacha*

[1] Their authenticity is defended by: F. Nagy, Der Dichter und Grammatiker Ennius, EPhK 61, 1938, 88–99.

[2] Cic. *Arch.* 27; CIL 6, 1307 = Dessau 16; Paneg. 4 (= Eumenius, *pro restaur. scholis*), 7, Baehrens 121, 25–122, 5; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1. 8; Groag, RE 7. 1. 1910, 266. The *Ambracia* was intended for Fulvius' triumphal games.

[3] A different account in E. Badian (cited above), 185.

[4] So rightly A. Grilli, *Ennius podager*, RFIC 106, 1978, 34–38.

[5] The year of death is certain; on Ennius' statue: T. Dohrn, Der vatikanische

(Andromacha aechmalotis), Andromeda, Athamas, Cresphontes, Erectheus, Eumenides, Hectoris lytra, Hecuba, Iphigenia, Medea, Medea exul (=Medea?), Melanippa, Nemea, Phoenix, Telamo, Telephus, Thyestes.

Praetextae: *Ambracia, Sabinae.*

Comedies: *Cupiuncula, Pancratiastes.*

Miscellaneous: *Epicharmus, Epigrammata, Euhemerus (sacra historia), Hedyphagetica, Protrepticus (praecepta), Satura(e), Scipio* (epic?), *Sota.*

Structure and Genesis of the *Annales*

Ennius' historical epic, which went under the title *Annales*, was published in successive groups of books, although not necessarily in triads or hexads.[1] Notably, books 16 to 18 were published later than the rest. The sixteenth is quoted much more frequently than the neighboring books,[2] and this suggests that it was the first of a separate edition.

Ennius wrote the *Annales* in his maturity, and later than the *Hedyphagetica*, which was composed after 189 B.C.[3] According to his own evidence, in 173–172 B.C. he was working on the 12th book. The last six books were therefore composed in the remaining three to four years of his life. This means that he must have started the 1st book at the latest in about 179 B.C.

Unlike Naevius, Ennius himself divided his work into books, following Hellenistic precedent. As the title indicates, Ennius' account was chronologically arranged. Only the First Punic War was omitted, since it had already been treated by Naevius (Cic. *Brut.* 76).[4] It is not necessary to believe in a division planned strictly into triads, although the *Annales* do in fact fall into groups of three books each.

The first triad dealt with early history (1) and the period of the kings (2–3). It thus depicted the creation of the Roman commonwealth. The second group (4–6) treated the early republic, that is, the conquest of Italy down to the confrontation with Carthage.[5] Books 7–9 described this struggle. Just like the 7th, the 10th book opened with an appeal to the Muses and a prooemium. The Macedonian War against Philip V occupied books 10 and 11. Book 12 formed a temporary conclusion. Vahlen (on *Ann.* 374–377; cf. praef. cxcvii) suspected that a self portrait occurred there by way of

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Ennius und der *poeta laureatus*, MDAI (R) 69, 1962, 76–95; K. Schefold, Griechische Dichterbildnisse, Zürich 1965, Plate 24a.

[1] Hexads are postulated by A. Grilli 1965, 34–36.

[2] O. Skutsch 1968, 20.

[3] O. Skutsch 1968, 39.

[4] Cicero's evidence excludes even a cursory treatment, although that is considered by Vahlen, ed. p. clxxix and Leo, LG 168. On the problem, cf. G. Annibaldis, Ennio e la prima guerra punica, Klio 64, 1982, 407–412.

[5] The precise contents of the 6th book are disputed: O. Skutsch 1987, 512–514 and T. J. Cornell, Ennius, *Annals VI.* A Reply, CQ n.s. 37, 1987, 514–516.

a 'sphragis'.[1] But this might also have stood at the end of the 15th book. The last but one triad described the war against Antiochus (13–14) and the successful campaign of Fulvius against the Aetolians (15).

The 16th book formed a new beginning and was dedicated to the exploits of Titus Caecilius Teucer and his brother. The last two books are hardly known. A supposed continuation down to the victory of Paullus at Pydna (168 B.C.)[2] is contradicted by the reliably attested date of death (169) found in Cicero, who knew his Ennius well.

Sources, Models, and Genres

While the Greek tragedians each took up only a single literary genre, Ennius embraced many of them in his œuvre; as a pioneer he had to strike out in many new directions. Alongside his epic parody *Hedyphagetica* ('Delicatessen'), from which a few verses survive about fishes and precious fruits of the sea, there is the Pythagorean *Epicharmus*. The rationalist *Euhemerus* was the first example of artistic Latin prose, used even by an author as late as the Church father Lactantius. Among the lesser genres, Ennius found *satura* more congenial than comedy, of which we know only two examples. The preponderance of tragedies among his dramatic pieces corresponds to both the inclination of his own talent and the situation of the contemporary Roman theater. On the comic stage, the genius of Plautus was triumphant, while tragedy, now that Livius Andronicus and Naevius had fallen silent, had no representative. A glance at the titles of Ennius' tragedies indicates his preference for Euripides,[3] the 'most tragic' of all tragic poets (Arist. *poet.* 13. 1453a 28–30). This preference was to have important consequences for Roman literature. Reflection and doubt prevailed on the stage, and the language of poetry was adapted to rhetorical argument. The poet looked into the depths of the soul, including the soul of women. Guilt and crime were intended both to arouse a shudder and to awake human sympathy.

Aeschylus was certainly the model for the *Eumenides*, and in gen-

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[1] W. Kranz, Sphragis, Ichform und Namensiegel als Eingangs- und Schlußmotiv antiker Dichtung, RhM 104, 1961, 3–46 and 97–124.

[2] So G. D'Anna, Ancora sull'argomento degli ultimi due libri degli *Annales* enniani, RFIC 107, 1979, 243–251; R. Rebuffat, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*, REL 60, 1982, 153–165, argues that Ennius died in 167.

[3] Euripidean are: *Alexander, Andromeda, Erectheus, Hecuba, Iphigenia,* both *Medea* plays, *Melanippa, Phoenix, Telephus, Thyestes* and perhaps also *Athamas, Alcmeo* and *Cresphontes.*

eral Ennius' weighty, pathetic style recalls that of Aeschylus.[1] There seems to be no trace of Sophocles: the classical representative of tragedy was the most remote from Ennius.[2] Our poet owed a single play, the *Achilles*, to an older contemporary of Euripides, Aristarchus of Tegea. It is to this play that Plautus alluded at the start of the *Poenulus*. Ennius also made use of commentaries on the plays that he imitated.[3]

As an epic poet, Ennius claimed to be a reincarnation of Homer, and in the famous story of his dream he made Homer himself tell him of this (cf. Reflections on Literature below). Nevertheless, Ennius remained far more of a Hellenistic poet[4] than he would like to admit. This is shown by his historical subject matter, by the philosophical and scholarly observations with which he interspersed his poem, and the loose, open structure of his epic and its lack of unity of action and hero. His personal intervention at the beginning and end is un-Homeric. Even if his Homeric dream shows perhaps Callimachean features,[5] in general Ennius is part of an un-Callimachean tradition of Hellenistic imitation of Homer.[6]

In search for the sources of his epic we must resort to conjectures. The *Annales Pontificum*, if Ennius did consult them systematically, could hardly have furnished interesting material for the early period. For the regal period, there was a rich Greek literature,[7] and the traditions of the Roman families may also have given the poet inspiration. He put the foundation of Rome about 1100 B.C., a date corresponding to Eratosthenes' date for the destruction of Troy in 1184 B.C. As Eratosthenes had done, Ennius makes Romulus the grandson of Aeneas. But in Ennius he is a son of Ilia, whereas in Eratosthenes he is the son of Ascanius.[8] The sources of his *praetextae* (the *Sabine*

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[1] L. Gualandri, Problemi di stile enniano, Helikon 5, 1965, 390–410.

[2] G. Cerri, Ennio e l'*Antigone* di Sofocle, QUCC 29, 1978, 81–82 considers the possibility that there had been an *Antigone* by Ennius, influenced by Sophocles.

[3] Leo, LG 192; somewhat more cautious: H. D. Jocelyn, ed., 1967, 46.

[4] K. Ziegler, 1935, reissued 1966; P. Wülfing-von Martitz, Ennius als hellenistischer Dichter, in: Ennius. Sept exposés . . . 1972, 253–289.

[5] H. D. Jocelyn 1972, 1015; however, the argument about Helicon and Parnassus is misleading: s. below.

[6] C. O. Brink, 1972; see also P. Magno, I modelli greci negli *Annales* di Ennio, Latomus 41, 1982, 477–491.

[7] E. Gabba, Considerazioni sulla tradizione letteraria sulle origini della repubblica, in: Les origines de la république romaine, Entretiens Fondation Hardt 13 (1966) 1967, 133–174.

[8] H. D. Jocelyn 1972, 1013.

Women and probably also *Ambracia*) are likewise unknown.

In both epic and tragedy, Ennius felt the need to confront his Roman predecessors. The Latin tradition of the saturnian exercised an indirect influence even on the verbal structure of the Ennian hexameter. Continuity prevails, especially in the bipartite structure of the verse, and in particular schemes of alliteration (abba; aabcc, etc.).[1]

The *satura*[2] must be cited as one of his most characteristic creations. The title may have been taken from *lanx satura*, the sacrificial offering of a mélange of fruits. This was a poetic miscellany, whose principal feature was variety. Satire in the modern sense is not totally absent (*sat.* 1; 12–13; 14–19; 59–62; 69–70 V.), but it does not at the outset define the essence of the genre. This work contained a wide array of disparate poems. Besides Hellenistic influences there is also a possible impact of Plautine comedy.[3] The question whether Ennius needed the model of Callimachus' *Iamboi* to inspire the inclusion of fables in his *satura*, such as the pretty story of the crested lark[4] (*sat.* 21–58 V.), must remain open, given that the employment of the *versus quadratus* in fables is not Greek. With his *Contest between Death and Life* (*sat.* 20 V.) Ennius introduced allegorical poetry to Rome, where it was destined to enjoy a long history. The weight of literary reflection in his *satura* reminds the reader of Callimachus.[5]

In his remaining minor works, no longer today considered sections of his *satura*, Ennius followed Hellenistic inspiration quite unambiguously, as for example in his *Euhemerus*, *Sota*, *Hedyphagetica* and in his *Epigrams*. He must have introduced the elegiac couplet to Rome. It is important to note that the authors imitated in these works came from Sicily: Epicharmus from Syracuse, Euhemerus from Messene and Archestratus from Gela. This fact illustrates the intellectual and literary significance of the conquest of Sicily by the Romans in the First Punic War.

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[1] A. Bartalucci, La sperimentazione enniana dell'esametro e la tecnica del saturnio, SCO 17, 1968, 99–122.

[2] Each individual book may have been called a *satura*, and the whole collection *saturae*: C. W. Müller, Ennius und Äsop, MH 33, 1976, 193–218 (with bibl.).

[3] J. H. Waszink, Problems concerning the *Satura* of Ennius, in: Ennius. Sept exposés... 1972, 99–147.

[4] C. W. Müller, cited above, penultimate note; F. Menna, La ricerca dell'adiuvante. Sulla favoletta esopica dell' allodola (Enn. *sat.* 21–58 V. 2nd ed.; Babr. 88; Avian. 21), MD 10, 11, 1983, 105–132.

[5] J. H. Waszink, cited above, penultimate note, esp. 121–130.

Literary Technique

Ennius was not in a position to create a large epic, artistically self-contained, as demanded by Aristotelian and Hellenistic criticism of Homer. This was an achievement reserved for Virgil. Nevertheless, the structure of the poem shows that he did not behave like a simple chronicler, reciting one detail after another, but on the contrary treated military campaigns as individual poetic units. Of course, we find all the features of Homeric technique: speeches, dream narratives, similes. In his use of the epic simile,[1] Ennius suppressed superfluous elements, and was guided more strictly by the *tertium comparationis.* His aim was to effect a clearer sentence structure and an energetic, antithetical division. In this he agreed with Hellenistic Homeric criticism[2] and showed himself as a *poeta doctus.*

The influence of rhetoric was stronger in his drama than in his epic,[3] a fact indicative of Ennius' sense of generic differences. His recasting of Greek tragedy, however, was inspired by more than a need to obey rules of rhetoric. His free adaptation took into account the peculiarities of the model as well as the idiosyncrasies of the Latin language (e.g. participial constructions were little developed in his time) and the mentality of his public.

How Ennius structured his plots, we can trace only occasionally. An analysis of Priscian's manner of quoting has established the sequence of our fragments of Ennius in the introductory scene of the *Medea.* The result agrees with what had to be expected from Euripides.[4] Ennius followed in part rational and even rationalist principles. In the prologue to the *Medea,* by contrast to Euripides, he presented the events in chronological sequence. Perhaps he was acquainted with scholia which criticized Euripides for the offense he had committed against chronology.[5]

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[1] H. von Kameke 1926; W. Röser 1939; M. von Albrecht, Ein Pferdegleichnis bei Ennius, Hermes 97, 1969, 333–345; id., Poesie 26–31.

[2] A. Clausing, Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse im Altertum, diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1913.

[3] O. Skutsch 1968, 181–190.

[4] H. D. Jocelyn, The Quotations of Republican Drama in Priscian's Treatise *De metris fabularum Terentii,* Antichthon 1, 1967, 60–69.

[5] He emphasizes the factual side of events and sets it off against the religious tone of his model: G. G. Biondi, Mito o Mitopoiesi?, MD 5, 1980, 125–144, esp. 125–132.

Language and Style

Homer's adjectives normally describe permanent qualities even when (as often happens) they contradict the immediate situation. Ennius, in his use of adjectives, defined momentary observations and moods in terms which often seem to approach expressionism ('blue meadows', *ann.* 516 V. 2nd ed. = 537 Sk.; 'yellow sea', *ann.* 384 V. 2nd ed. = 377 Sk.). He also aimed at atmospheric effects, showing the sensibility of an impressionist ('flickering light', *ann.* 35 V. 2nd ed. = 34 Sk.; 'the foaming nostrils of a horse', *ann.* 518 V. 2nd ed. = 539 Sk.).

His coinages continue his assimilation of Homeric adjectives, as when he speaks of 'high-thundering' Jupiter (*altitonans, ann.* 541 V. 2nd ed. = 554 Sk.). Ennius invented a compound adjective like *omnipotens* (*ann.* 458 V. 2nd ed. = 447 Sk.), which would become an integral part of the language of later theology and philosophy. He replaced other compounds by constructions such as *Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto*, 'Tiber, with your hallowed stream' (*ann.* 54 V. 2nd ed. = 26 Sk.).[1] As the first virtuoso of the Latin language, he even indulged in onomatopoetic word play. Thus he described the sound of a trumpet naturalistically with *taratantara* (*ann.* 140 V. 2nd ed. = 451 Sk.), and he expanded the alliteration so typical of older Latin to seven words within a single verse, to produce a real tongue twister (*ann.* 109 V. 2nd ed. = 104 Sk.). At times he violently abbreviated words (*do* for *domus, ann.* 576 V. 2nd ed. = 587 Sk.; apocope), or indeed divided them in two (*cere- comminuit -brum*, 'he smashed the brains', *ann.* 609 V. 2nd = *spuria* 5 Sk.: tmesis). Here, to our way of thinking, Ennius transgressed the bounds of the Latin language and of good taste. Our poet, however, could appeal to the Hellenistic practice of employing unusual aspects of Homeric usage to justify novel experiments.[2] Lyrical features might also be recognized in the partly personal perspectives of the *Annales* which are quite different from the usual impersonal and timeless character of epic, and may be a further aspect of Ennian *contaminatio*, drawing even epic into the 'crossing of the genres' developing in Hellenistic usage.[3]

Ennius left a lasting mark on the Latin hexameter.[4] Although in

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[1] H. B. Rosén, Die Grammatik des Unbelegten, Lingua 21, 1968, 359–381.

[2] J. E. G. Zetzel, Ennian Experiments, AJPh 95, 1974, 137–140.

[3] G. Sheets, Ennius Lyricus, ICS 8, 1983, 22–32.

[4] J. Hellegouarc'h, Les structures verbales de l'hexamètre dans les *Annales* d'Ennius et la création du vers épique latin, Latomus 41, 1982, 743–765.

the Greek hexameter the penthemimeres and the caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον are almost equally frequent, in its Latin counterpart already Ennius prefers the former, which occurs in 86.9% of all his hexameters. At the end of the line there is a preference for words of two or three syllables. The later development of the hexameter is simply a matter of refinements such as the increase in dactyls, especially in the first foot; the systematic avoidance of monosyllables and polysyllables at the line end; and the use of final '*-s*' to make position. The symmetrical positioning of words is not yet so well-established in Ennius as it will be in the Augustans, although even in this respect our poet exerts lasting influence (cf. *ann.* 570 V. 2nd ed. = 582 Sk. with Ovid, *met.* 14. 301). The artistic interchange of words belonging together also points to the future: *reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt, / aedificant nomen, summa nituntur opum vi, ann.* 411–413 V. 2nd ed. = 404–405 Sk.: 'kings aspire by their authority to statues and tombs, they build up their fame, they strive for this with might and main' (double enallage).[1] What the hexameter would later gain in smoothness would often mean a loss of colorfulness and power of expression. Thus Ennius was still able to catch the mood of inner uncertainty in a purely dactylic verse lacking the usual caesuras: *corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat* (*ann.* 43 V. 2nd ed. = 42 Sk.). In accordance with the difference of genre, the hexameters of the *Annales* are subject to stricter rules than those in the *Hedyphagetica.*[2]

Ennius uses different language in epic and drama. There are more archaisms in the *Annales* than in the tragedies.[3] Strikingly enough, our poet even avoids the oblique cases of *is/ea/id* in the epic fragments,[4] or replaces them with forms of great antiquity, a practice alien to the tragedies and the prose *Euhemerus.* In this latter work, the usual forms of the pronoun were used to connect sentences in a way that would become customary in older Latin narrative prose. In this respect, too, Ennius set the trend. All later epic poets followed his distaste for the oblique forms of *is/ea/id,* while the prose writers made free use of them. This is only an example—if a particularly telling one—of the stylistic authority of the founders of Roman poetic traditions, and of that partly touching, partly amusing fidelity even

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[1] O. Skutsch 1975.

[2] O. Skutsch 1968, 39. The difference is explained with reference to chronology by Timpanaro, AAHG 5, 1952, 198.

[3] Genitive in *-ai,* infinitive in *-ier,* gen. plural in *-um* rather than *-orum.*

[4] J. D. Mikalson, Ennius' Usage of *is, ea, id,* HSPh 80, 1976, 171–177.

in petty matters which seems to be one of the fundamentals of cultural continuity.

For his tragedies, Ennius adopts a simpler language throughout than he does for his epic, something which is also true for Greek literature. Within tragedy, again, there are differences of style between senarii and long verses, yet even the sung parts are distanced from the loftiness of epic language. Cicero (*orat.* 36) cites a reader who took pleasure in reading Ennius' plays because they did not depart too far from normal linguistic usage. This marks a difference from the artificial language adopted by his successor Pacuvius.

Ennius largely exploited the rhetorical and musical features of Hellenistic and Roman tragedy: the recasting of dialogue verses (trimeters) into long verses of recitative such as septenarii and octonarii and even into lyrical monodies; the luxuriance of alliteration; the aphoristic play of antitheses (e.g. in the soldiers' chorus of the *Iphigenia, trag.* 195–202 J.); the heaping up of synonyms; and assonance as in Andromache's lament (*trag.* 80–94 J.).

Ennius raised features of Roman life to the level of poetic pictures (e.g. *ann.* 484–486 V. 2nd ed. = 463–465 Sk..; 84–88 V. 2nd ed. = 79–83 Sk.). He did not shrink even from bold metaphors, such as 'the shield of heaven' (*trag.* 189 J.). With *templa caeli* (*ann.* 49 V. 2nd ed. = 48 Sk. and elsewhere) he adopted for poetry a phrase from the language of the augurs. Close observation may be linked to effects of color and sound bordering on expressionism. Indeed, the power of Ennius' linguistic creations[1] opened vast perspectives for Roman literature.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Ennius' respect for Homer was part of a specific Hellenistic tradition which was not, however, Callimachean, even though his dream narrative may in fact contain Callimachean features. His self-identification with Homer finds a parallel which points towards Magna Graecia. Antipater of Sidon (2nd–1st century B.C.) said (AP 775) that Stesichorus was a reincarnation of Homer. Since Stesichorus, a citizen of Sicilian Himera, had already been mentioned along with Homer by

[1] I. Gualandri, Le componenti dello stile tragico di Ennio, SCO 14, 1965, 100–119; id., Problemi di stile Enniano, Helikon 5, 1965, 390–410.

Simonides, who died in Acragas in 468/67, it is probable that Antipater and Ennius were influenced by a common model.

The question of where the poet's dream of Homer took place has now been settled in favor of Helicon, about which all of Ennius' early imitators speak. Parnassus, mentioned in connection with Ennius' dream only by Persius and the relevant scholium, was not yet the mountain of poets in the 2nd century B.C.[1] At the start of the *Annales*, Ennius invoked the Muses and then went[2] to Helicon. There he dreamed of Homer, awoke and perhaps also encountered the Muses.[3] Homer, Hesiod, and later traditions come together in Ennius' literary world.

Ennius supported his identification with Homer by scholarly allusion to the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls; hence, philosophy was but a vehicle for him, not an end in itself. Between these two poetic existences there had been an incarnation as a peacock. The form of a bird, according to Plato (*Timaeus* 91D), is adequate to the character of the poet, who is free from malice, weightless and concerned with heavenly things, although naively addicted to external appearances.[4] Ennius clearly claimed to produce at Rome something analogous to the work of Homer in Greece.[5]

'Ennius, poet, hail...' (*sat.* 6 V.). Recent studies have rightly shown that this passage from the *Satura* is not an address by the poet to himself, but part of a symposium.[6] At the same time, the comparison of poetry to drinking is in harmony with the widespread metaphorical identification of Homer with a spring. The special 'candor' deduced from *medullitus* belongs on the other hand especially to the realm of *satura*.

The intended universality of Ennius reflects the Hellenistic notion of Homer's fruitful influence on every literary genre. On the relief by Archelaus of Priene (the 'Apotheosis of Homer') there appear the

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[1] LATTE, Religionsgeschichte 224, note 3.

[2] Callimachus by contrast *dreams* of the Muses' mountain.

[3] J. H. WASZINK, Retractatio Enniana, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 15, 1962, 113–132.

[4] The peacock is chosen not only for its beauty, but also because of its connection with Samos, Pythagoras' homeland.

[5] Did Ennius really need to emphasize here that, in speaking to him in Latin hexameters, Homer expressly sanctioned the use of this meter in Roman epic? A. SETAIOLI, Ennio e gli esametri latini di Omero. Una nuova testimonianza sul proemio degli *Annali*?, WS 97, 1984, 137–142.

[6] H. D. JOCELYN, Ennius, *sat.* 6–7 V., RFIC 105, 1977, 131–151.

personified figures of Myth, History, Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy. Ennius turned to good effect this Hellenistic image of Homer, and sought to realize it in a new linguistic medium.[1]

In calling himself *dicti studiosus* (φιλόλογος), thus stressing the union of literary man, scholar and poet in one person, Ennius is already professing an Alexandrianism hallowed by the Muses. Being both a creative intellectual and a reflective poet, he became a symbolic figure for the literature of Rome and Europe.

The poet sketched an unforgettable portrait of a typically Roman symbiosis of power and intellect (*ann.* 234–251 V. 2nd ed. = 268–285 Sk.), defining his own social role as a modest, tactful, and learned friend, worthy of the confidences of a mighty general at the end of the day.

Ideas II

Ennius' works embody both Roman and Hellenistic values. Roman reflections on the pernicious effects of idleness and the blessings of work are heard in the soldiers' chorus of the *Iphigenia*:[2] 'He who does not know how to make use of leisure has more work than the man who during work has much to do.' But the same text may also be read as a eulogy, in the Greek manner, of *otium*.[3]

Ennius follows Hellenistic patterns even when praising Roman heroes and trying to secure eternal fame for them by his poetry.[4] His contribution to the Scipio-legend was perhaps quite considerable,[5] mingled as it was with motifs of apotheosis deriving from an 'un-Roman' cult of personality.

Such developing individualism was not enough for Ennius; he went a step further in expressing his dislike for the 'rough soldier', and preferring in the Greek manner *sapientia* and purely verbal confrontation (*doctis dictis*) to the use of force. 'Foolish swine like to use force in their struggles' (*ann.* 105 V. 2nd ed. = 96 Sk.). This is the

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[1] C. O. Brink, 1972.

[2] K. Büchner, Der Soldatenchor in Ennius' *Iphigenia*, GB 1, 1973, 51–67.

[3] O. Skutsch 1968, 157–165.

[4] O. Zwierlein, Der Ruhm der Dichtung bei Ennius und seinen Nachfolgern, Hermes 110, 1982, 85–102.

[5] U. W. Scholz, Der *Scipio* des Ennius, Hermes 112, 1984, 183–199, sets this eulogy of the general and soldier in the Roman tradition of the *carmen triumphale*. He interprets the few surviving lines as trochaic septenarii.

voice not only of Greek wisdom[1] but also of Roman common sense. In Rome's national epic there was no romantic exaltation of war; instead, rational values occupied central place.[2] Ennius also emphasized the noble and chivalrous qualities in an enemy such as Pyrrhus. In spite of all his high esteem for *virtus* (*trag.* 254–257 J.), the poet says that law is superior to courage: *melius est virtute ius* (*trag.* 155 J.).[3] This notion of law also contains that of fairness (*aequum*: cf. Cicero, *off.* 1. 62–65). This is a clear statement of a Roman principle of social behavior.

As for character portrayal, the poet felt less attracted to Medea's magic than to her human drama, although he by no means belittled her defects. The intensity of life, the feeling for the pathos and tragedy of the moment in Ennius are a match for the 'comedy of the moment' in his contemporary Plautus.[4]

In his tragedy *Phoenix*, probably based on the similarly titled play by Euripides, a conflict develops between father and son (*trag.* 254–257 J.). In Ennius, as in Euripides, Phoenix is innocent. In the Latin poet Stoic and Roman ethics converge. But while Phoenix has Stoic features, in the *Telamo*[5] the ethical interaction is more subtle. Here too a conflict arises between father and son, and once again there is false accusation and unjust condemnation. While in the rest of the tradition the son, Teucer, plays the leading role, in Ennius that falls to the father, Telamo. Teucer, half-brother of Ajax, after the return from the Trojan War, is held by his father Telamo to be partially to blame for Ajax' death. The father's character shows deep moral awareness. He accepts in the end the death of his son, since he knows that his children are mortal, and he concedes even to Teucer the right to self-defence. To this extent he is a Roman *pater familias.* At the same time, however, he gives expression to genuine Euripidean pessimism. He does not believe in the skill of soothsayers. In almost Epicurean style he declares that there are gods, but that they are

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[1] H. Fuchs, Zu den *Annalen* des Ennius, 2. Ennius und der Krieg, MH 12, 1955, 202–205.

[2] E. Tiffou, La Discorde chez Ennius, REL 45, 1967, 231–251; R. Häussler, 1976, 151–210.

[3] B. Riposati, A proposito di un frammento dell' *Hectoris lytra* di Ennio, in: FS L. Castiglioni, Firenze 1960, 2, 789–800.

[4] A. Traina, Pathos ed ethos nelle traduzioni tragiche di Ennio, Maia 16, 1964, 112–142 and 276–277.

[5] F. Caviglia, Il *Telamo* di Ennio, ASNP 39, 1970, 469–488.

unconcerned with us (*trag.* 270 J.). Otherwise the good would have a good life and the wicked a bad one (265 J.). The brusque attack on soothsayers (266–271 J.) is not expressly directed against institutions such as the colleges of Augurs, haruspices or *decemviri*[1] *sacris faciundis*, but against private soothsayers; it was left to Cato to attack even the *haruspices*. But Ennius presents a philosophical argument, in spite of the fact that at that time, probably in 173 B.C. (Athenaeus 12. 547a), two Epicureans were expelled from Rome. This was followed shortly by the dismissal of the embassy of philosophers and later (139 B.C.) of *Chaldaei*. Ennius' lines touch the roots of official religion and anticipate the criticism made by Lucretius.

Ennius must not be too quickly turned into a political dissident. It should be remembered that the views of dramatic characters need not necessarily coincide with those of their author, especially in the case of translations, and that plays commissioned by Roman magistrates essentially reflected the views of the Roman establishment.[2] Yet we should not imagine that all the Roman nobility of that period was conservative. There have been many cultures with a tiny upper class and without a self-assured middle class, for example, that of eighteenth-century Russia. Here the nobility is both the ruling and the educated class. It fulfills therefore two basically opposed functions, one conservative and the other progressive. In this sense, we may associate Ennius with the intellectual climate of his Roman environment. In his work antagonistic forces are seen striving for predominance in a young nation's mind. Moreover, Ennius did not merely reflect the opinion of the nobility in a passive way, but actively joined in shaping it. We may admit therefore, if not political bias, but certainly a strong interaction between the atmosphere of his works and that of his surroundings.

Influence

In the late republican period, the *Annales* became a school textbook. They were studied by scholars and imitated by poets until the *Aeneid*, itself strongly influenced by Ennius, displaced them. Except for some new fragments on papyrus,[3] Ennius is attested only indirectly. For

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[1] Only later they would become *quindecimviri*.
[2] H. D. Jocelyn, 1972, 996.
[3] K. Kleve 1991; W. Suerbaum, ZPE 92, 1992, 165–167.

Lucretius, Ennius furnished more than a linguistic model; numerous thematic links also exist between the two poets.[1] Ovid still knew Ennius.[2] Our author's influence on imperial poets, however, in particular on Silius Italicus, is disputed.[3] While his comedies were no longer performed by the 1st century B.C., his tragedies continued to be shown, although there was a preference for Pacuvius and Accius. The *satura* seems to have attracted little attention, the *Epicharmus* and *Euhemerus* were consulted by philosophical readers.

Following a decline in the 1st century A.D., interest in Ennius revived in the 2nd century among the so-called archaists, and the Emperor Hadrian esteemed Ennius more highly than Virgil. The *Annales*, the tragedies, the *satura*, and other minor works were read and copied. At the beginning of the 4th century, the African grammarian Nonius Marcellus still had access to Ennius' *Hectoris Lytra* and *Telephus*, though not to other plays or even the *Annales*. In the 5th and 6th centuries there are only scattered traces of direct reading of the *Annales* and the *Medea*. Old Latin authors are quoted, often at second hand, for the light they throw on rare words, non-classical meanings, inflections and constructions, and the evidence they supply of imitations (e.g. in Virgil) or deviations (e.g. by Virgil) from current versions of legend. For this purpose, those readers partially used scholarly secondary sources dating from the time of Claudius or Nero.[4] Ennius' works did not survive the fall of the Roman world.

Critical evaluation of Ennius varies. Lucilius and, later on, Ovid found fault with him, while Cicero, for example, and Hadrian expressed admiration. In spite of their dislike for Ennius, both the neoterics and the elegists were in debt to him. Catullus used him as foil for his own interpretation of myths.[5] And in contrast to his attitude as literary critic, Horace as poet shows the influence of Ennius, especially in those odes which have a Roman content.[6] As a living legacy

[1] O. Gigon, Lukrez und Ennius, in: Lucrèce. Huit exposés. Entretiens Fondation Hardt 24, (1977) 1978, 167–191 (discussion continued to p. 196).

[2] H. Jacobson, Ennian Influence in *Heroides* 16 and 17, Phoenix 22, 1968, 299–303.

[3] See also H. D. Jocelyn, Valerius Flaccus and Ennius, LCM 13, 1, 1988, 10–11.

[4] Cf. H. D. Jocelyn, Ancient Scholarship and Virgil's Use of Republican Latin Poetry, CQ n.s. 14 (58), 1964, 280–295; n.s. 15 (59), 1965, 126–144.

[5] J. E. G. Zetzel, Catullus, Ennius and the Poetics of Allusion, ICS 8, 1983, 251–266; cf. also J. F. Miller, Ennius and the Elegists, ICS 8, 1983, 277–295.

[6] A. Traglia, Ennio nella critica oraziana, in: Filologia e forme letterarie, FS F. Della Corte, vol. 3, Urbino 1987, 89–108.

to Roman literature he established, once and for all, a Latin poetic language, the hexameter, the difference between genres and especially the Roman notion of the poet. This last point was elaborated in connection with Scipio's triumph: Claudian (*Stil.* 3 = *carm.* 23) and Petrarch, author of the Latin epic *Africa*, are important stages in this process. Petrarch links Ennius to the theme of the poet's crowning, and recognizes him as the equal of the triumphant general.[1] This legend graphically illustrates the correct observation that Ennius had fought successfully to establish poetry in Rome and to integrate it into Roman culture.

Maxims drawn from Ennius also enjoyed a long life, as for example his verse originally directed against astrologers: 'No one sees what is before his eyes, but directs his attention to the expanse of heaven' (*trag.* 187 J.). Seneca employed this quotation against the Emperor Claudius, who wanted to become a god. In Minucius Felix a pagan uses it as an objection against Christians. For their part, the Christians turned the verse against the 'astral physics' of pagan cosmic religion and countered it with the Christian demand for self knowledge.[2] A happy formulation may thus outlast centuries, continually receiving fresh life. The same is true for some individual words of great significance coined by Ennius, such as *omnipotens*.

Editions: R. and H. Estienne (Stephanus), Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum, quorum opera non extant, Genevae 1564. * G. Colonna, Q. Ennii poetae vetustissimi quae supersunt fragmenta, Neapoli 1590, repr. Amsterdam 1707 (TN, ind.). * J. Vahlen, Ennianae poesis reliquiae, Lipsiae 1854; 2nd ed. 1903 (quoted ed., except for *trag.*; with *Index sermonis*; repr. 1967). * E. H. Warmington (TTrN), ROL 1, 1935, 2nd ed. 1956 (rev.), repr. 1967. * J. Heurgon (TC), vol. 1: *ann.*, vol. 2: *trag.*, Paris 1958. * *Annales*: P. Merula (van Merle) (TC), Lugduni Batavorum 1595. * L. Valmaggi (TC), Torino 1900. * E. M. Steuart (TN), Cambridge 1925. * M. Bandiera (*ann. book 1*, TC), Firenze 1978. * O. Skutsch (TC, fundamental), Oxford 1985. * *trag.*: O. Ribbeck, TRF Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1871, repr. 1962, 15–75 (with an index of the *sermo tragicus*); Lipsiae 3rd ed. 1897, 17–85. * H. D. Jocelyn (*trag.*: TC, ind.), Cambridge 1967 (quoted ed.). * *Praetextae*: L. Pedroli (TC), Fabularum praetextarum quae extant, Genova

[1] W. Suerbaum, *Poeta laureatus et triumphans.* Die Dichterkrönung Petrarcas und sein Ennius-Bild, Poetica 5, 1972, 293–328.

[2] P. Courcelle, Le retentissement profane et chrétien d'un vers d'Ennius, REL 48, 1970, 107–112.

1954, 68–69; 113–114. * G. De Durante, Le Fabulae praetextae, Roma 1966, 19–25; 52–53. * *sat.* etc.: E. Bolisani (C), Ennio minore, Padova 1935. * E. Courtney, The Fragmentary Latin Poets, Oxford 1993. * Translation of the fragments of the *satura* in: Lucilius, Satiren, ed. by W. Krenkel, vol. 1, Berlin and Leiden 1970, 14–16. ** *Ind.*: see editions. ** *Bibl.*: S. Timpanaro, Ennius, AAHG 5, 1952, 195–212. * H. J. Mette, Die römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur griechischen Tragödie (esp. for 1945–1964), Lustrum 9, 1964, 14–16 and 55–78. * H. D. Jocelyn, The Fragments of Ennius' Scenic Scripts, AC 38, 1969, 181–217. * See also H. D. Jocelyn 1972.

M. von Albrecht, Ennius' *Annales*, in: Das römische Epos, ed. by E. Burck, Darmstadt 1979, 33–44. * M. Bettini, Studi e note su Ennio, Pisa 1979. * C. O. Brink, Ennius and Hellenistic Worship of Homer, AJPh 93, 1972, 547–567. * R. A. Brooks, Ennius and the Roman Tragedy (1949), repr. New York 1981. * C. J. Classen, Ennius: Ein Fremder in Rom, Gymnasium 99, 1992, 121–145. * A. Cordier, Les débuts de l'hexamètre latin. Ennius, Paris 1947. * Ennius. Sept exposés par O. Skutsch (and others), Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 17 (Vandœuvres 1971), Genève 1972. * E. Fraenkel, Additional Note on the Prose of Ennius, Eranos 49, 1951, 50–56. * A. Grilli, Studi enniani, Brescia 1965. * R. Häussler, Das historische Epos der Griechen und Römer bis Vergil = Studien zum historischen Epos der Antike, 1: Von Homer zu Vergil, Heidelberg 1976. * H. D. Jocelyn, The Poems of Quintus Ennius, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 987–1026. * H. von Kameke, Ennius und Homer, diss. Leipzig 1926. * K. Kleve, Phoenix from the Ashes: Lucretius and Ennius in Herculaneum, in: Ø. Andersen, H. Whittaker, eds., The Norvegian Institute of Athens: The First Five Lectures, Athens 1991, 57–64. * E. Laughton, The Prose of Ennius, Eranos 49, 1951, 35–49. * A. Lunelli, Postille inedite di Vahlen alla seconda edizione di Ennio, RFIC 108, 1980, 55–84; 174–217 (repr. with corr. and ind. 1988). * P. Magno, Quinto Ennio, Fasano di Puglia 1979. * S. Mariotti, Lezioni su Ennio (1951), repr. Torino 1963. * K. O. Matier, The Influence of Ennius on Silius Italicus, Akroterion 36, 1991, 153–158. * J. K. Newman, *Memini me fiere pavum.* Ennius and the Quality of Roman Aesthetic Imagination, ICS 8, 1983, 173–193. * E. Norden, Ennius und Vergilius, Leipzig 1915. * L. M. Oostenbroek, Eris—Discordia. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der ennianischen Zwietracht, Pijnacker 1977 (with bibl.). * G. Pasquali, Ennio e Virgilio, GGA 1915, 593–610, repr. in: G.P., Vecchie e nuove pagine stravaganti di un filologo, Firenze 1952, 285–307. * R. Reggiani, I proemi degli *Annales* di Ennio. Programma letterario e polemica, Roma 1979. * W. Röser, Ennius, Euripides und Homer, diss. Würzburg 1939. * U. W. Scholz, Die *Satura* des Quintus Ennius, in: J. Adamietz, ed., Die römische Satire, Darmstadt 1986, 25–53. * A. Selem, Note all'*Iphigenia* di Ennio (*Scen.* 213–221 V.[2]; 357 a Kl.), Udine 1965. * F. Skutsch, Ennius, RE 5, 1905,

2589–2628. * O. SKUTSCH, Studia Enniana, London 1968. * O. SKUTSCH, Doppelte Enallage, Gymnasium 82, 1975, 339. * O. SKUTSCH, Book VI of Ennius' *Annals*, CQ 81 n.s. 37, 1987, 512–514. * SUERBAUM, Untersuchungen (s. general list of abbreviations) * W. SUERBAUM, Ennius als Dramatiker, in: Orchestra. Drama, Mythos, Bühne. FS. H. FLASHAR, Stuttgart 1994, 346–362. * I. TAR, Über die Anfänge der römischen Lyrik, Szeged 1975, esp. 59–66. * S. WIEMER, Ennianischer Einfluß in Vergils *Aeneis VII–XII*. Beitrag zu einem Vergil-Kommentar, diss. Greifswald 1933. * G. WILLIAMS, Tradition and Originality in Roman Literature, Oxford 1968, 359–363. * K. ZIEGLER, Das hellenistische Epos. Ein vergessenes Kapitel griechischer Dichtung, Leipzig and Berlin 1934; 2nd ed. with an appendix: Ennius als hellenistischer Epiker, Leipzig 1966. * O. ZWIERLEIN, Der Ruhm der Dichtung bei Ennius und seinen Nachfolgern, Hermes 110, 1982, 85–102.

PACUVIUS

Life and Dates

Marcus Pacuvius was born in 220 B.C. at Brundisium and died shortly before 130 at Tarentum. He had an Oscan gentile name and was a nephew of Ennius. A different, universally rejected tradition (Jerome, *chron.* 1864) relates that Pacuvius was Ennius' grandson and lived later than Terence (cf. also Gellius 17. 21. 49 and Velleius 2. 9. 3). Pacuvius was active from about 200 B.C. at Rome as a painter (Plin. *nat.* 35. 19) and poet, the first instance of such a double career known in Rome. On the other hand, he limited his literary work to tragedy and the *praetexta*. We have no certain information about his satires. *Paullus*, his *praetexta*, shows that he had some connection with the victor of Pydna. From Cicero (*Lael.* 24) the conclusion has been drawn that he had links with the Scipionic Circle.[1] In his old age considerations of health forced Pacuvius to withdraw to Tarentum, where his artistic successor Accius, according to a somewhat doubtful tradition, is said to have visited him (Gellius 13. 2). The epitaph which Gellius (1. 24. 4) ascribes to Pacuvius himself[2] shows commendable simplicity

[1] A critical view is found in H. STRASBURGER, Der 'Scipionenkreis', Hermes 94, 1966, 60–72.

[2] See however H. DAHLMANN, Studien zu Varro *De Poetis*, AAWM 1962, 10 (publ. 1963), 65–124.

and modesty,[1] and may justify the conclusion that by this time the social position of the poet was less precarious and taken more for granted than in the days of the early pioneers. Pacuvius enjoyed recognition both in his own lifetime and in later generations. It is possible that his kinship with Ennius smoothed the beginnings of his career.

Survey of Works

Tragedies: *Antiopa, Armorum iudicium, Atalanta, Chryses, Dulorestes, Hermiona, Iliona, Medus, Niptra, Orestes,*[2] *Pentheus, Periboea, Protesilaus* (?), *Teucer, Thyestes* (Fulg. *serm. ant.* 57 = Helm p. 125, etc.).

Praetexta: *Paullus.*

Other: *Saturae.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

Unlike his Roman predecessors, Pacuvius exercised a prudent restraint, both in the scale of his literary activity (only 13 titles are known with certainty), and also in his choice of genres. This specialization brought Roman tragedy in his hands to one of its first high points. He was regarded as a student of Ennius,[3] and the story has this truth about it, that as an author he considered himself a part of a Latin tradition. He took up again themes treated by earlier Roman poets, and entered into competition with Livius Andronicus (*Hermiona, Teucer,* cf. also the *Armorum Iudicium*) and Ennius (cf. the subjects of the *Armorum Iudicium, Orestes* and *Teucer*). On the other hand, he consciously abandoned trodden paths, on the look-out for new themes. It is true that he continued to emphasize Trojan myths, but in this area he was often concerned with the echo of great events in a later generation (*Chryses, Hermiona, Dulorestes, Orestes, Iliona*). In the same way Pacuvius presented Medea from the perspective of her son Medus. But he also used myths drawn from other cycles (*Antiopa, Pentheus, Atalanta, Periboea*). In his choice of models, Pacuvius was no less independent. Unlike Ennius, he did not prefer Euripides, although he did follow him in the *Antiopa.* He also imitated Aeschylus (*Armorum Iudicium*), Sophocles (*Chryses, Hermiona, Niptra*), and even models now quite unknown (*Iliona* and *Medus*). The influence of post-Euripidean tragedy

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1 It was not however very original, cf. CIL 1, 2, 1209–1210; CE 848; 53.

2 G. D'Anna, Precisazioni pacuviane, RCCM 16, 1974, 311–319.

3 Pompilius in Varro *Men.* 356 Buecheler, p. 42 Morel.

must be taken into account. In his broad selection of models, while keeping to his self-imposed generic limits, Pacuvius was striving for universality.

Literary Technique

The Greek parallels available to us show that Pacuvius adopted a free hand. This attitude is not surprising in an author who, even in his choice of subjects, shows a liking for the unusual. It is probable that he expanded his tragedies with scenes taken from other plays.[1] In the *Antiopa* the chorus consisted of *Attici*. At this point Pacuvius diverged from Euripides, and followed a Hellenistic poet.[2] In the *Pentheus* he outdid Euripides by allowing the mad hero to see the Eumenides.[3] Pacuvius viewed the world with the eyes of a painter[4] and was a master at shaping effective scenes. On Cicero's testimony (*Tusc.* 1. 106), the apparition of the dead son in Pacuvius' *Iliona* was especially harrowing.

The plot of the *Medus* showed particular subtlety of intrigue. Medus, son of Aegeus and Medea, arrived at Colchis in his search for his mother. He was seized and brought before King Perses, who had received an oracle warning him against the descendants of Aeetes. This led Medus to pass himself off as the son of Creon, King of Corinth. But, likewise unrecognized, Medea also arrived in Colchis and offered to end the drought prevailing there by a human sacrifce. Her choice fell upon the stranger, whom she took to be the son of her enemy Creon. But unwittingly she told the truth, in declaring that he was really the son of the Medea so hated at Colchis. (The motif by which a lie unconsciously speaks the truth is reminiscent of Plautus, *Poen.* 1099). It was only when the two met that they recognized each other, and subsequently slew King Perses.

A cunning scheme thus brought about the very danger that it was meant to prevent. The recognition was mutual. Pacuvius certainly

[1] G. D'Anna, Fabellae Latinae ad verbum e Graecis expressae, RCCM 7, 1965, 364–383 (*contaminatio* in the *Niptra* and *Chryses*).

[2] G. D'Anna, Alcune osservazioni sull' *Antiopa* di Pacuvio, Athenaeum 43, 1965, 81–94.

[3] H. Haffter, Zum *Pentheus* des Pacuvius, WS 79, 1966, 290–293.

[4] Cf. *trag.* 38–39: 'A dog hit by a stone does not attack the one who threw it, but the stone that hit him.' This is a fable in miniature.

did not invent such a complex plot, but his assimilation of this refined, certainly Hellenistic art, allied with its accompanying paradoxes and ironic undertones, shows us old Roman drama in a rather unexpected light, taking us back to the roots of the Greek comedy of intrigue. On the other hand, given the specific family connections and other important features of the action, such as revenge on a father's brother, a Roman public could not but recall Romulus.[1]

Language and Style

Pacuvius' careful attention to his art extended also to his treatment of language. In his effort to create a 'lofty' tragic style he explored the very boundaries of the Latin language. On the one hand, he took up archaic elements of a type normally avoided by Ennius in his tragedies: pronoun forms such as *ques sunt es?* (*trag.* 221 R.); genitives in *-um* instead of *-orum*. On the other, Pacuvius adopted Greek words such as *camterem* and *thiasantem*, and moreover formed bold adjectives in the Greek manner: *repandirostrum*, 'with snout bent back', *incurvicervicum*, 'with curved neck' (*trag.* 408 R.). He also introduced adjectives in *-gena* and *-genus* into literature, and in this was followed by Accius and others. In the same way Accius inherited his liking for the suffix *-tudo*.[2] The general motley effect produced by the language of the fragments, which look somewhat adventurous at first glance, must be modified by two considerations. The first is that the frequency of deviations from the norm in our fragments is determined by the interests of the grammarians who quote them. The second is that in Pacuvius' day many suffixes were more productive than later, and many inflexions and formations had not yet been normalized. Even so, the language of Pacuvius must have produced a considerably stranger effect than, for example, that of Plautus, whom no one could accuse of writing bad Latin.

It would however be a crude misunderstanding to explain these features by Pacuvius' 'foreign' origin. He was a specialist in tragedy, the author of only a few plays, and in his language, too, conscious choice was at work. As in his selection of models, Pacuvius sought

[1] A. Della Casa, Il *Medus* di Pacuvio, in: Poesia latina in frammenti, Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 287–296.

[2] R. Lazzeroni, Per la storia dei composti latini in *-cola* e *-gena*, SSL 6, 1966, 116–148.

here also to exhaust all possibilities. He set the language of his art on the broadest possible base in order to ensure for it a wide range of tones.

It is perhaps more than coincidence that the two especially bold formations previously cited come from a play which aimed to outdo two Latin predecessors. In some respects, Pacuvius took to an extreme his uncle's passion for linguistic innovation.

A comparison with Euripides (*frg.* 839 N.) allows us to recognize clearly the independence of Pacuvius' (*trag.* 86–93 R.) stylistic choices. The anapaests have been replaced by trochaic septenarii. The heaping up of verbs to evoke the creative power of the aether (*omnia animat format alit auget creat* 'it quickens, shapes, nourishes, increases, and creates everything') is also a new feature. Asymmetry is another mark of baroque style. The antonym is expressed by only two verbs (*sepelit recipitque,* 'buries and takes back again'). On the other hand, even here there are symmetrically constructed antitheses within a single verse.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

We have no direct knowledge of any remark shedding light on Pacuvius' understanding of literature. A scene from one of his plays, however, does contribute to the discussion at Rome of intellectual pursuits as a valid way of life. In the *Antiopa* the twins Amphion and Zethus represent opposed points of view. Amphion, the musician, favors a contemplative lifestyle, while Zethus as a huntsman favors a practical one. Amphion transforms his plea for music into one for wisdom. He does not win the day, and is compelled to follow Zethus to the hunt. Even so, the scene marks a milestone in Roman confrontation with the problem of a life dedicated to brainwork.

Ideas II

The gentle Amphion would like to give Antiopa the help she is asking for. Zethus, however, denies her refuge on the grounds that she is a runaway slave. Unawares, therefore, the sons surrender their own mother to the cruel queen Dirce. They recognize their descent only at the last moment, rescue their mother and punish Dirce. Apart from its concern with intellectual questions, this play also emphasized the philosophical truth that a runaway slave in reality may be

a human being close to us, to whom we are obliged to give respect and help. Similar situations are found in comedy and elegy.[1] The intellectual background of this Euripidean was conditioned by the Greek Enlightenment, but that did not hinder its success at Rome, a fact that speaks highly for the Roman audience.

In the *Armorum Iudicium*, the brave Ajax and the eloquent Ulysses contended for the arms of Achilles, a contrast similar to that between Amphion and Zethus. In this Aeschylean play, however, Ajax, the man of action, attracted more sympathy. One of the most tragic lines of Roman literature is his remark: 'Should I have rescued him so there might be someone who would destroy me?' (*trag.* 40 R.). This passage would still be sung at Caesar's funeral to win the people over against his assassins. There were other debates in the *Atalanta* and the *Hermiona*, in these cases between rivals. In the *Chryses* we find speculations about the aether and the earth as creative forces, and about the coming-to-be and perishing of living creatures. These are Euripidean thoughts (*frg.* 839 N.), here obviously introduced into a Sophoclean play. The intrusion shows that the Roman society for which Pacuvius was writing took an interest even in scientific questions.

The relation between parents and children is treated in several dramas. In the *Antiopa*, the sons almost bring about their mother's destruction, while in the *Medus* a mother brings her son into danger. In the *Niptra*, an oracle had foretold to Ulysses that his son would kill him. Accordingly he stood in fear of Telemachus, until the time when his other son Telegonus gave him a mortal wound. There followed a recognition between father and son and the correct explanation of the oracle. Again, Pentheus was killed by his own mother; Orestes, who gave his name to two plays, was a matricide. Finally in the *Teucer* the son was called to account by his father, Telamon, for not avenging his brother Ajax. At the center stood the father's passionate words on his loss of son and grandson (Cic. *de orat.* 2. 193 after having seen the play). The conflict of generations seems to have been a matter of pressing concern to the nephew of the famous Ennius, and it is remarkable that the older generation does not have the advantage in every play. The conflicts are often life-threatening for both sides, but are resolved in the spirit of humanity. The characters experience their inner drama. Cicero informs us that, in Pacuvius,

[1] J. C. YARDLEY, Propertius' Lycinna, TAPhA 104, 1974, 429–434.

Ulysses lamented less and bore his suffering more manfully than in Sophocles (*Tusc.* 2. 21. 48 f.).

Transmission

Pacuvius' plays continued to be produced into the 1st century B.C. and were mentioned even after that. The authors who quote him are essentially the same as those to whom we owe fragments from Ennius' dramas. The fact that we know even less of Pacuvius than of Ennius is determined by external circumstances. He belonged to a transitional generation and therefore did not possess the privileges of his great predecessors Ennius and Plautus, and his Latin was particularly unsuitable for imitation.

Influence

Cicero called Pacuvius the most significant Roman tragedian (*opt. gen.* 2) and allowed one of his characters to praise his artistic verses (*orat.* 36). He believed that Pacuvius' *Antiopa* could rival that of Euripides (*fin.* 1. 4). Gellius emphasized in Pacuvius his *elegantissima gravitas* (1. 24. 4) and admired the charm of the verses with which the nurse addressed Ulysses (2. 26. 13). Following older critics (cf. Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 56) Quintilian (10. 1. 97) called Accius more 'powerful', but Pacuvius more 'artful' or 'learned' (*doctior*). Indeed, the poet showed these qualities both in his choice of unusual models and in the elaborate style of his verse. Thanks to them, he did not become a mere epigone of his famous uncle. Quintilian's juxtaposition of Pacuvius with the 'powerful' Accius forms the basis of the disputed story concerning the meeting of both authors. In his old age Pacuvius is said to have judged the *Atreus* of the young Accius, which its author had read to him, to be full of sound and grandeur, but rather too harsh and stern (Gell. 13. 2). This judgment both illuminates and obscures our picture of Pacuvius. It illuminates his artistry, which won for him in those early days a classical rank. But the story obscures his striving for sublimity and universality, and his struggle for a colorful poetic language. These aspects are better emphasized in the negative verdicts we hear about him. In contrast to his contemporaries Scipio and Laelius, in Cicero's eyes Pacuvius wrote bad Latin (*Brutus* 258), and his compound words looked funny to as early a reader as Lucilius. The same satirist rejected mythological tragedy as something too removed from reality. Persius called the *Antiopa* 'warty' (1. 77). Such utterances are conditioned partly by the later development of Latin

literary language, in which, thanks to the influence of schools, creativity often yielded to selective and purist tendencies. Partly they depended on Pacuvius' situation: in the shadow of the pioneering accomplishment of Ennius, he tried artistically and often artificially to widen the linguistic area which his predecessor had mastered. Varro, quoted by Gellius (6. 14. 6), called him accurately enough the master of 'richness' (*ubertas*).

Pacuvius is a reflective poet, one who for the first time at Rome limited himself to tragedy, and yet within the framework of a single genre strove for universality. In a national literature less concerned with classicism, this completely unclassical classic would have been as little overlooked as Shakespeare is in England. Nevertheless, Accius, Cicero, Virgil, and even Ovid[1] and Seneca,[2] to name only these, still nourished their imagination on the enthralling scenes of Pacuvius' tragedies. The powerful effect of these dramas, of their words but also of their music which a judicious public recognized from the first note, must not be underestimated simply because they have not been transmitted to us.

Editions: R. and H. Stephanus, Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum, quorum opera non extant, Genevae 1564. * O. Ribbeck, TRF (T, ind. of *sermo tragicus*), Leipzig 2nd ed. 1871, repr. 1962, 75–136 (ed. quoted here); 3rd ed. 1897, 86–157. * E. H. Warmington (TTrN), ROL, vol. 2, London 1936, 158–323. * A. Klotz, O. Seel, L. Voit, ScRF, vol. 1, Oldenburg 1953 (cf. O. Skutsch, Gnomon 26, 1954, 465–470). * R. Argenio (TTrC), Torino 1959 (with bibl.). * G. D'Anna (TTrC), Roma 1967 (best ed.). * P. Magno (TTr), Milano 1977. * *Teucer*: P. Magno (poetic reconstruction), Milano 1976. * *Praetextae*: L. Pedroli, Fabularum praetextarum quae extant, Genova 1954, 69–70 (T); 114–115 (C). * G. De Durante, Le Fabulae praetextae, Roma 1966, 26–29; 54–55. ** *Indices*: s. above Ribbeck, Warmington. ** *Bibl.*: H. J. Mette, Die Römische Tragödie und die Neufunde zur Griechischen Tragödie (esp. for 1945–1964), Lustrum 9, 1964, 5–211, esp. 78–107.

[1] G. D'Anna, La tragedia latina arcaica nelle *Metamorfosi*, in: Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano (Sulmona 1958), vol. 2, Roma 1959, 217. The Pacuvian authorship of the story of Acoetes is disputed: P. Frassinetti, Pacuviana, in: Antidoron, FS E. Paoli, Genova 1956, 96–123.

[2] J. Łanowski, La tempête des Nostoi dans la tragédie romaine, in: Tragica 1, Wroclaw 1952, 131–151; R. Giomini, ed., Seneca, *Phaedra*, Roma 1955, and Seneca, *Agamemnon*, Roma 1956.

W. Beare, The Roman Stage, London 3rd ed. 1964, 79–84. * B. Biliński, Contrastanti ideali di cultura sulla scena di Pacuvio, Wrocław 1962. * E. Flintoff, The *Satires* of Marcus Pacuvius, Latomus 49, 1990, 575–590. * R. Helm, RE 18, 1942, 2159–2174. * A. La Penna, Poche note a Pacuvio e Accio (*Armorum iudicium, Atreus*), in: Poesia latina in frammenti, Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 297–304. * Leo, LG 226–232. * F. Leo, De tragoedia Romana (1910), in: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften, vol. 1, Roma 1960, 191–212, on Pacuvius: 198; 206–210. * I. Mariotti, Introduzione a Pacuvio, Urbino 1960. * R. Reggiani, Rileggendo alcuni frammenti tragici di Ennio, Pacuvio e Accio, in: G. Aricò, ed., Atti del I seminario di studi sulla tragedia romana, Quaderni di cultura e di tradizione classica 4–5, Palermo, Fac. di magistero, Ist. di filologia latina 1987, 31–88. * O. Ribbeck, Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik, Leipzig 1875, repr. (with an introd. by W.-H. Friedrich) Hildesheim 1968, 216–339. * M. Valsa, Marcus Pacuvius, poète tragique, Paris 1957.

ACCIUS

Life, Dates

L. Accius was born in 170 B.C. at Pisaurum, the son of a freedman (Jerome, *chron.* 1879). He came to Rome at a time when, thanks to the stimulus imparted by Crates of Mallos, grammatical studies were beginning to flourish. So he received a scholarly education, and combined in one person the roles of poet and scholar. He took little interest in the Forum and its law-courts, because there, as he later explained jokingly, quite differently from the theater, his opponents would not say what he wanted (Quint. *inst.* 5. 13. 43). In 140, at the age of 30, he entered into dramatic competition with the eighty-year-old Pacuvius (Cic. *Brut.* 229); and after Pacuvius had withdrawn to Tarentum, it was Accius who dominated the tragic stage. His opinion of his own talents did not fail to match his achievement. Although short of stature, he is said to have erected for himself in the temple of the Camenae a particularly large statue (Pliny *nat.* 34. 19). Even in daily life, he displayed a sense of the theatrical, refusing to rise in the College of Poets in acknowledgment of the distinguished Julius Caesar Strabo because, as a poet, he felt superior to him (Val. Max. 3. 7. 11). He brought suit against a mime actor who had ridiculed him on the stage, and secured his conviction (*rhet. Her.* 1. 24 and 2. 19). The evidence of such lack of humor completes the pic-

ture he gives of the born tragedian. The satirist Lucilius indeed was involved in critical confrontation with him. Accius was close neither to Ennius' successors nor to the Scipios. His patron was D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus, whose monumental buildings he furnished with inscriptions in saturnians, a meter illustrating the conservatism of official texts; and whose family he honored by dedicating a *praetexta* to Brutus, the founder of the Republic. He retained his creative powers to advanced age, and lived to meet the young Cicero. Accius must have died about 84 B.C. His long life, which spans the gap between the Elder Cato (d. 149) and the Younger (b. 95), almost filled out the century separating the death of Ennius in 169 and the birth of Virgil in 70. His creative activity therefore, which marked the culmination of Roman tragedy, fell in the period following the destruction of Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia. It coincided with the serious domestic conflicts provoked by the Gracchan efforts at reform, which continued down to the Social War. He also experienced the reign of terror conducted by Marius and Cinna, although not that of Sulla. The powerful and even strained effect, detected by ancient critics in Accius by comparison with Pacuvius, corresponds not only to the personality and different social origin of the poets, but also to the altered aspect of the period.

Survey of Works

Tragedies: *Achilles, Aegisthus, Agamemnonidae, Alcestis, Alcimeo, Alphesiboea, Amphitruo, Andromeda, Antenoridae, Antigona, Argonautae(?), Armorum iudicium, Astyanax, Athamas, Atreus, Bacchae, Chrysippus, Clutemestra, Deiphobus, Diomedes, Epigoni, Epinausimache, Erigona, Eriphyla, Eurysaces, Hecuba, Hellenes, Io, Medea (Argonautae), Melanippus, Meleager, Minos, Myrmidones, Neoptolemus, Nyctegresia, Oenomaus, Pelopidae, Persidae, Philocteta, Phinidae, Phoenissae, Prometheus, Stasiastae vel Tropaeum, Telephus, Tereus, Thebais, Troades.*

Doubtful: *Heraclidae, Theseus, Automatia, Andromacha.*

Praetextae: *Aeneadae aut Decius, Brutus,* (*Tullia*).

Other works: *Didascalica, Pragmatica, Annales, Parerga, Sotadica.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

Like Pacuvius, in his dramatic work Accius limited himself essentially to tragedy, although his literary œuvre as a whole was much wider. More than forty titles of plays are known. He differed from Pacuvius

in preferring among his Greek models Euripides. With Euripides went Sophocles. Aeschylus was less well represented. The influence of later Greek tragedies must also have been considerable, since Accius was by no means backward-looking in his choice of models. His selection of subjects from myth was also broad. Along with the prevalent Trojan stories he used Theban and also quite different legends, as in his *Andromeda, Athamas, Medea, Meleager, Tereus*. Rarely are direct Greek originals preserved or attested, but, where comparison is possible, Accius shows great independence, for example, in treating the themes found in Euripides' *Bacchae* and *Phoenissae*, Sophocles' *Antigone* and Aeschylus' *Prometheus*.[1] He avoids his Latin predecessors. His *Medea* treats a different theme from that of Ennius, nor is his *Telephus* also that of Ennius and Euripides. In his *Clutemestra* it is the wife and not Agamemnon who occupies the central role. In the case of his *praetextae* on Brutus, the expeller of the Tarquins, and on the sacrificial death of P. Decius Mus the Younger at Sentinum in 295, he may have used annalistic sources, perhaps Ennius.

The title and meter of his *Annales* lead us to expect an historical epic, but the fragments concern myth and theology. Was Accius' aim to match Ennius' warlike epic with 'a kind of history of culture and religion',[2] just as, in his plays, he cleverly avoided the danger of conflict with his Roman predecessors? Even so, the title of his *Sotadica* is reminiscent of Ennius' *Sota*.

Along with this, Accius concerned himself, like his contemporaries Porcius Licinus and Valerius Aedituus, with literary discussion of a type then coming into vogue, which, to some extent, still made use of verse form. The *Didascalica* filled at least nine books, in which prose and verse in different meters alternated. In form, this work was a predecessor of the Menippean satire, and treated in an elaborate manner aimed at a popular audience (perhaps using dialogue) questions of literary history: epic, drama, poetic genres, chronology, problems of authenticity in Plautus (*frg.* 17 Morel = *frg.* 17 Büchner). This is a literary form which may also be regarded as a predecessor of Cicero's *Brutus*. From his *Parerga* we possess a fragment concerning plowing. Does this mean that Hesiod was his model? It has been

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[1] F. Leo, De tragoedia Romana, Progr. acad. Göttingen 1910, 3–6 and 18–19; repr. in: Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften, ed. E. Fraenkel, vol. 1, Roma 1960, 191–194 and 207–209.

[2] Ribbeck, Tragödie 342.

doubted whether the poet was the author of the astrological *Praxidicus.*[1] His contributions to grammar will be treated later.

Literary Technique

In the structure of his plays, Accius mainly followed his originals, although he seems in the *Antigone* to have brought onto the stage a scene that in his model had been merely narrated,[2] and in the *Armorum iudicium* he may have combined two plays: the similarly named work of Aeschylus and a tragedy about Ajax which need not necessarily be that of Sophocles.[3] This means that he ventured to accept creative challenges of plot construction. When, in his praetexta *Brutus*, he offended against the rules of unity, he could explain this as Hellenistic practice in the historical play, as is shown by Ezechiel's drama about Moses.[4]

Accius' literary technique is often less vivid than that of Euripides, although he is capable of catching moods, as, for example, the spell of virgin woodlands (*trag.* 237 R.). In describing the approach of the mighty Argo through the eyes of a panic-stricken shepherd who had never yet seen a ship (391 R.), he showed a poetic sensitivity to the power of first impressions. In this, as a Roman, he was less concerned with visual detail than with evocative sound. He is one of the most musical poets before Virgil. Yet Tarquin's dream from the *Brutus* (*praet.* 17–28 R.) is visually compelling. It is a symbolic prefiguring of the king's fall, which, thanks to its subsequent precise interpretation (*praet.* 29–38 R.), is revealed as an allegorical invention. This is early evidence for the poetic significance of allegory at Rome.

Language and Style

The beginning of the *Phoenissae* is instructive for both Accius' language and style: *Sol qui micantem candido curru atque equis/flammam citatis fervido*

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[1] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Lesefrüchte, Hermes 34, 1899, 601–639, esp. 637–638.

[2] S. Sconocchia, L'*Antigona* di Accio e l'*Antigone* di Sofocle, RFIC 100, 1972, 273–282.

[3] G. Puccioni suggests Karkinos (Note ai frammenti di Accio, 581–584 Klotz, Lucilio, 18 M. e trag. inc. 61–63 Klotz, in: Poesia latina in frammenti, Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 305–313).

[4] B. Snell, Ezechiels *Moses*-Drama, A&A 13, 1967, 150–164, esp. 153.

ardore explicas,/quianam tam adverso augurio et inimico omine/Thebis radiatum lumen ostentas tuum?, 'O Sun, who on your white-hot chariot and rushing horses twinkling flames unfurl in glowing heat, why come with augury ill-boding thus, with omen so unfriendly the beams of light which you display to Thebes?' (*frg.* 581–584 R.). ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν/καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβὼς δίφροις/Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα/ὡς δυστυχῆ Θήβαισιν τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ/ἀκτῖν' ἐφῆκας.

In comparison with Euripides (*Phoen.* 1–6), the Roman poet aims at greater intelligibility. He sets the address to the Sun at the beginning, while, in the original, two verses precede its mention; these lines are already said to have been criticized by Sophocles (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1) as superfluous. However, Accius was less concerned here with the scholarly tradition than with his audience, which he did not wish to confuse by unexplained imagery. He compensates for the Latin deficiency in readily available participles and compound adjectives by an increase in pathos. The expansion *fervido ardore*[1] is telling. On the other hand he abandons picturesque effect. In Euripides, Helios stands on his chariot with legs apart. The combination of different levels of significance, evident in Euripides' 'ill-starred ray', is split up by the Roman, who, for his part, sharpens his contrasts. He develops the evil augury at length, and makes it the dark background of the streaming light in the following verse. His artistic hyperbata form a refined verbal structure, of the type later developed by the classical writers.

The 'power' for which Accius was famous was found not least in his striking phraseology. Gorgias (VS 82 B 5a D.) had referred to 'vultures, living graves', with which Ennius *ann.* 138 V. may be compared; Accius echoes this motif in the following passage from the *Atreus*: 'For the sons the father himself serves as grave' (*trag.* 226–227 R.). Such 'tragic epigrams' had belonged to the style of the genre since the days of Euripides and Agathon, and here Accius acts as a link between the Hellenistic manner and that of Silver Latin. Accius also shows epigrammatic point in his distinction between *animus* and *anima* (*trag.* 296 R.). This is especially true of the saying coined by him and destined for long life: *oderint dum metuant* (*trag.* 203–204 R.).

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[1] For example also *Nyctegresia frg.* II: *scindit oras, laterum texta flamma Vulcani vorax*; *Atreus frg.* XVI: *ipsus hortatur me frater, ut meos malis miser/manderem natos*; *Atreus frg.* III: *maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum.*

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In combining as author both practice and theory, Accius was to some extent the product of his times. Some of his contemporaries had written poetic essays on questions of literature: Lucilius, Valerius Aedituus and others. In the case of Accius, his efforts at theory and also his observations on poetic technique and on literary history stand in the closest relationship to the theater to which he had devoted his life. His deviations from the Greek classics rested on reflection, not chance. In judging his scholarship, we must keep in mind that the old critics described Pacuvius, not him, as 'learned'. Even so, the move towards explicit literary criticism and theoretical challenge, though still in a half-poetic form, was significant enough.

Apart from his concern with theatrical history and questions of dating[1] (treated unreliably), Accius seems to have discussed further aspects of theory. An author aiming at impressive symbolic pictures and their explanations could not altogether overlook the Stoic theory of allegorical interpretation, as practiced in the school of the already mentioned Crates of Mallos. Accius reflected on the meaning and function of myth and symbol, and in part turned the Stoic methods of interpretation into methods of poetic production. An example is Tarquin's dream, in which Accius prepares the way for Virgil's deliberate creation of myth. On the other hand, he is too much a man of the theater to accept uncritically the Stoic ideal of *brevitas* (*didasc.* 2. 10 Büchner, from Nonius, p. 243 L.). Theory therefore played a subordinate role, and it had to obey to a natural poetic gift. If Accius' poetic authority is unchallenged, his authority as a scholar is open to question.

As a grammarian, Accius was influenced by the Pergamene School. In regarding Hesiod as older than Homer (*frg.* 6 Büchner), he was not yet aware of Aristarchus' researches. In textual criticism and interpretation too, which were the achievements of the Alexandrians, he has no lessons to offer. It was left to Aelius Stilo to introduce these methods. Some trochaic septenarii survive from the *Pragmatica*, a work related to the *Didascalica*. In one place, the poet made the public responsible for poets' failings (*frg.* 24 Büchner).

His knowledge of the two languages stimulated Accius to reflect on Latin and compare it with Greek. He even treated questions of

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[1] See above on Livius Andronicus.

orthography. He avoided the foreign letters *y* and *z* but represented the sound *ng* in the Greek fashion by *gg*. He indicated long vowels partly by imitating Greek orthography (*ei* for long *i*), and partly in the manner of the Italian dialects and contemporary inscriptions, by doubling them.

Ideas II

All appearances suggest that Accius paid special attention to the ethos of his characters. In his play, Telephus was actually banished, not just apparently, as had been the case in Euripides and Ennius, and showed magnanimity: 'Fortune could rob me of my royal dignity and riches, but not of my courage (virtue)' (*trag.* 619–620 R.). In Accius, Ismene, unlike her Sophoclean counterpart, adopts the superior tone of an older sister (*Antigone, trag.* 135–137 R.). In the *Phoenissae*, Eteocles is exonerated. He has not concluded an agreement with his brother and therefore does not break his word in refusing to give place to Polynices after a year. Accius thus approaches the interpretation given by Aeschylus, who had laid the guilt at Polynices' door. This explains why the famous passage from Euripides' *Phoenissae* (524) is missing in Accius, which Schiller paraphrased as follows: 'If there is to be wrongdoing, let it be for the sake of a crown. In every other way a man must be virtuous.' Caesar who loved these lines had to quote them from the Greek original and Cicero, when criticizing such a way of thinking, had to make his own Latin translation. The words were evidently not to be found in Accius. Did the Roman tragic poet, by suppressing our passage, deliberately deny this charter to the tyrants who enslaved Rome during his old age?

A courageous effect is also created by the intervention on behalf of a banished character in the *Eurysaces* (*trag.* 357–365 R.). Accius displayed the frankness and independence to be expected from a contemporary of the critical Lucilius. It is no surprise then that he allowed Antigone to doubt divine providence in quite modern terms (*trag.* 142–143 R.). In the same way, the poet seems to have eliminated an archaic feature in the *Phoenissae*. There is no longer an hereditary, ineluctable curse.[1] The Roman tragic poet placed the free and morally responsible human on center stage.

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[1] G. Paduano, Sul prologo delle *Fenicie* di Accio (581–584 R.), ASNP ser. 3, 3, 3, 1973, 827–835.

Transmission

Accius' plays were repeatedly performed in the 1st century B.C. It is not useful to speak of the disappearance of Roman tragedy after Accius, but quite relevant to comment on the unfortunate loss of texts. To this, several factors may have contributed: the rejection of older Latin by the modernists of the 1st century A.D.; the classicism of the schools in late antiquity; and the excommunication of the theater by Christians, which was all the more exacerbated by the fact that tragedy, as opposed to comedy, was a mythological performance, and therefore a celebration of pagan religion. A particularly fatal influence, however, must be attributed to the decline in Roman theatrical taste after the end of the Republic. In the provinces the study of older literature persisted longer than in the capital. Marcus Valerius Probus, educated in Beirut, came close to arousing laughter in Nero's Rome (Jerome *chron.* 2072) by basing his lectures on older Latin texts (Suet. *gramm.* 24). Yet he trained students who in the 2nd century would bring 'archaism' into fashion. Fragments which are later cited at secondhand are assumed to have been transmitted by Caper (2nd century) and Julius Romanus (3rd century). In 4th century Africa, Nonius Marcellus excerpted many texts of the Republican period. Priscian (6th century), or his not much older source, may still have read four plays of Accius in the original.

Influence

New tragedies of importance first appeared again under Augustus (Varius, Ovid) and in the 1st century A.D. (Seneca). All of them remained within the bounds of subject matter found in Republican tragedy. Accius therefore at first left no successor to match him. Like Euripides, Shakespeare, and Racine he marked a final point. But his influence spread beyond the bounds of his genre, as may be seen, for example, in the dramatic shape taken by Virgil's and Ovid's epics. According to Horace, who certainly was no friend of older Latin literature, the Romans had a natural gift for tragedy (*epist.* 2. 1. 166). In Accius, perhaps this found its purest expression.

Accius' influence is as significant as it is hard to verify, but is still traceable in one particular instance. Accius' Roman drama *Brutus* is our oldest evidence for Brutus' feigned foolishness. The poet may well have shaped the story which passed to Livy and Valerius Maximus and then influenced Saxo Grammaticus (*History of Hamlet*) and Belleforest (*Tragic Tales*), which were Shakespeare's sources.[1]

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[1] I. Gollancz, The Sources of *Hamlet*, Shakespeare Library ser. 2, vol. 12, 1926,

In spite of his broad education, Accius may no longer be regarded as an instance of the pioneer who tests his skill in many fields. Here, the comparison with Ennius falls short. As a tragedian, Accius was of an uncompromising nature. It is true that he was also a scholar but in his case, as in the earliest Hellenistic authors, reflection stood completely in the service of creativity. He is regarded as the greatest Roman tragedian. Even the scope of his works is impressive. A born poet, he fashioned striking pictures and set them before the eyes of his audience in all their symbolic power. His language successfully deployed flamboyant contrasts, but also verses full of quietly effective euphony and maxims which lent extreme density to his thought. He could conjure up an atmosphere without impairing clarity. In employing myth in all its richness and, in giving it artistic form, he prepared the ground for essential features of Augustan and Imperial poetry. Only against the background of Republican tragedy is it possible to understand Virgil's Roman interpretation of myth in the *Aeneid* and Ovid's universally human approach to myth in the *Metamorphoses*.

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esp. 27–33; V. Brøndal, Hamlet, principe al Danemarcei. Istorie unei legende, Revista Fundaţilor Regale 10, 1936, 1–15.

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PLAUTUS

Life, Dates

Titus Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria. It is not quite certain whether he bore the gentile name Maccius, also attested at Pompeii. He calls himself Maccus (*Asin.* 11), something like 'Jack Pudding', after a character from the popular Atellane farce. This may be a joke, or it may be that both here and in the *Mercator* (*prol.* 9–10) he was still conscious of his past as an Atellane actor.[1] Since all three names echo the farce, we may be dealing with pseudonyms.[2] He died in 184 B.C. (Cic. *Brut.* 60) at Rome (Jerome *chron.* 1817). Since he attained old age (Cic. *Cato* 50) he may have been born before 250. He is said to have earned money as a worker in the theater, to

[1] K. H. E. SCHUTTER, Quibus annis comoediae Plautinae primum actae sint quaeritur, diss. Groningen 1952, pp. i–v.

[2] A. S. GRATWICK, Titus Maccius Plautus, CQ 67 n.s. 23, 1973, 78–84.

have lost it in business dealings and then to have taken service with a miller. Allegedly three of his plays were composed in the mill (Varro *apud* Gell. 3. 3. 14). Whatever the truth of this, there is no doubt about his varied experience of life and his theatrical talent, nor about his Greek education. He must have acquired this for himself, perhaps under the influence of Livius Andronicus or Naevius.

About 130 plays were ascribed to Plautus. Of these the grammarian Lucius Aelius Stilo regarded 25 as undoubtedly genuine, while his pupil Varro accepted 21 (*apud* Gell. 3. 3. 3). These are the plays transmitted to us. On the basis of ancient notices preserved in the Codex Ambrosianus (A), about the dates[1] of first production (*didascaliae*), the *Stichus* may be dated to 200 B.C. and the *Pseudolus* to 191.[2] Cicero (*Cato* 50) attests that not only the *Pseudolus*, but also the *Truculentus*, was composed by the poet in his old age. The *Miles* falls, as v. 211 shows, into the later period of the life of Naevius who was a generation older,[3] and therefore may be dated 206–201 B.C. Perhaps it was a 'draw' at the *Ludi plebei* of 205[4] which had to be staged seven times. The *Cistellaria* was written before the end of the Second Punic War (Prologue 201–202), the *Trinummus* (v. 990) at the earliest in 194.[5] The *Epidicus* is mentioned in the *Bacchides* (v. 214), and therefore must be older. Parodies reminiscent of the original production of Pacuvius' *Antiopa* prove the late date of the *Persa*, *Pseudolus*, and *Casina*. That poet's career was beginning in Plautus' last years.[6]

The dating of the *Mostellaria* teaches an interesting lesson about method. The play speaks (v. 941) of 'newly elected magistrates'. In those days they entered office on March 15. The only possible occasion therefore for Plautus' play is at the *Ludi Megalenses* in April, a festival which included dramatic presentations only since 194 (Livy 34. 54. 3). Accordingly this year is the earliest date for the *Mostellaria*[7]—

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[1] Schutter's dissertation is basic: s. the note before the last.

[2] Doubts are raised by H. B. Mattingly, The Plautine Didascaliae, Athenaeum n.s. 35, 1957, 78–88.

[3] L. Schaaf, Die Todesjahre des Naevius und des Plautus, RhM 122, 1979, 24–33.

[4] C. Buck, A Chronology of the Plays of Plautus, Baltimore 1940, 84.

[5] F. Ritschl, De actae *Trinummi* tempore, Ind. lect. Bonn 1843, repr. in: Parerga 1, Leipzig 1845, 339–354, esp. 348; for 187 B.C.: T. Frank, Some Political Allusions in Plautus' *Trinummus*, AJPh 53, 1932, 152–156.

[6] A. Thierfelder, Plautus und die römische Tragödie, Hermes 74, 1939, 155–166.

[7] K. H. E. Schutter, De *Mostellariae* Plautinae actae tempore, in: *Ut pictura poesis*, FS P. J. Enk, Leiden 1955, 174–183.

provided that v. 941 is genuine and may be referred to Roman conditions.

Other evidence is less secure. Parallel passages in particular often allow different interpretations.[1] Stylistic criteria have an even smaller degree of certainty, since such differences may be influenced by outward circumstances, by change of models and by the whims of the author. With this proviso the following criteria may be mentioned: the increase in lyrical parts;[2] the spread of intrusive subordinate clauses;[3] the decline in the use of recitative (long verses);[4] the more sophisticated conduct of the plot;[5] the more prominent role assigned to the cunning slave; the cumulative development of thematic references into a coherent imagery; the increase in Roman elements. Even if the chronological reliability of such studies may be doubted, they do have the merit of directing our attention to Plautus' artistic achievement.[6]

Survey of Works

The *Amphitruo*, as the poet himself explains in his prologue, is a *tragicomoedia*, dealing with kings and gods. The subject is mythical. Jupiter courts Alcmene, while her husband Amphitruo is kept far from Thebes by his military duties. Since Jupiter appears in the form of Amphitruo, and Mercury as a double of the slave Sosia, after Amphitruo's return a whole series of confusions develops. Plautus exploits all the possibilities of presentation, ranging from amusing comedy to the most poignant tragedy, especially in the lyric roles of Sosia and Alcmene. It is this crossing of generic boundaries which creates the special charm of this favorite play.

The *Asinaria* is a prank, dominated by situation comedy and ready wit. The young lover Argyrippus cannot find the money which the *lena* Cleareta

[1] F. W. Hall, Repetitions and Obsessions in Plautus, CQ 20, 1926, 20–26.

[2] W. B. Sedgwick, The Cantica of Plautus, CR 39–40, 1925–1926, 55–58.

[3] J. Schneider, De enuntiatis secundariis interpositis quaestiones Plautinae, diss. Leipzig 1937; W. B. Sedgwick, The Dating of Plautus' Plays, CQ 24, 1930, 102–106; id., Plautine Chronology, AJPh 70, 1949, 376–383; A. De Lorenzi, Cronologia ed evoluzione Plautina, Napoli 1952.

[4] V. Püttner, Zur Chronologie der Plautinischen Komödien, Progr. Ried 1905/06.

[5] J. N. Hough, The Development of Plautus' Art, CPh 30, 1935, 43–57.

[6] P. A. Johnston follows a cultural-historical approach (*Poenulus* 1. 2 and Roman Women, TAPhA 110, 1980, 143–159); she dates the *Poenulus* to 191 B.C. or later; see however now G. Maurach's Commentary on the *Poenulus* 1988, p. 33 (between 195 and 189). On the *Curculio* and *Trinummus* N. W. Slater, The Dates of Plautus' *Curculio* and *Trinummus* Reconsidered, AJPh 108, 1987, 264–269.

is demanding for her daughter Philaenium. Slaves finally hand him the money which in fact is owed to his father for an ass he has sold (thus *Asinaria*). Even so, a rival steals a march on the young lover; and there is a second rival who turns out to be the young man's own father.

The *Aulularia*, in spite of its basic tone of cheerful burlesque, at times verging almost on the grotesque, is nevertheless a comedy of character. Old Euclio has inherited not only a treasure from his grandfather and father, but also the obsessive fear of losing it. This makes him more of a 'mistrustful' character than a regular miser. It is from this pot of gold that the comedy takes its name. His rich neighbor Megadorus meanwhile is seeking his daughter Phaedria in marriage. Euclio scents danger: does his intended son-in-law know anything about the pot of gold, and does he therefore want to filch the treasure? Eventually he gives permission, but makes extremely parsimonious wedding preparations. To protect his treasure during the celebrations he takes it to the temple of Fides, watched by the slave Strobilus. But he will not even trust Trust personified. He seeks a better hiding place, and once again Strobilus is secretly on his track. Meanwhile, Megadorus' nephew Lyconides has confessed to his uncle that he has already won Phaedria's love. Now Euclio comes on stage, full of despair. His treasure has been stolen! Lyconides thinks that Euclio is talking about his daughter and accuses himself, but of course Euclio is talking about his pot of gold. There is a classic scene of misunderstanding. Finally the thievish slave is unmasked, and the gold is given to the happy couple.

The *Bacchides* has a double plot of intrigue, telling of two young fellows with their servants, two fathers and two hetaerae (the Bacchides). During the course of the play, fathers and sons become rivals. The brilliant director of the action is the slave Chrysalus with his unmatched cleverness, one of Plautus' most subtly drawn slave characters.

Already the prologue of the *Captivi* proclaims (57–58) that the typical figures of comedy are not to appear, and there are no women's roles at all. Old Hegio keeps buying prisoners of war in the hope of securing the freedom of his son, who is held captive by the enemy. When rich Philocrates falls into his hands he decides to send off Philocrates' slave to redeem his (Hegio's) son and send him home with a ransom. However master and slave have exchanged clothes. Philocrates is free. But on that very day he returns with Hegio's son Philopolemus. The slave who has stayed behind in Philocrates' place is revealed as Hegio's long-vanished second son, and this scene of recognition marks the culmination. The parasite Ergasilus is an hilarious ingredient in the play. In some respects its composition appears slack, lacking in thoroughness, and exaggerated. Even so, the portrait of human weaknesses and good qualities is prominent, while the farcical element is replaced by subtle irony.

The *Casina* is a comedy of intrigue, full of complications and grotesque

situations. Father and son are in love with the same girl, the slave Casina. The struggle between the two rivals is fought on two 'battlefields': father and son each send a slave who pretends he wishes to marry Casina. It goes without saying that the one chosen will yield to his master the right of the first night. Old Lysidamus' slave Olympio manages to prevail, but the jealous wife succeeds in frustrating the scheme and allows Chalinus, her son's slave, to take Casina's place. Thus what was supposed to be a bridal night actually became a scene of battery. Now Lysidamus comes repentantly back to his wife, and the way is left open for the young people. The scenes and characters of the comedy are, in certain respects, pushed to the point of caricature, and overdrawn.

In spite of its fragmentary transmission, we are still in a position to reconstruct the *Cistellaria*, the 'box comedy'. It is focused on an unhappy couple: Alcesimarchus is supposed to marry a girl whom he does not love; his beloved Selenium is a hetaera, who will not be given up by the *lena*, her mother Nelaenis. At the last moment, Selenium prevents Alcesimarchus from committing suicide. At this point, the married couple Demipho and Phanostrata identify the girl as their child who was once exposed. A box of toys serves as the token of recognition. With this, Selenium takes her place in society and may marry Alcesimarchus. The characters in this comedy are treated as types without becoming stereotypical. In spite of all, the effect they create is realistic. In this play, too, character portrayal is more important than the plot.

In the *Curculio*, the basic situation is the same as in the *Cistellaria*. An ill-starred pair of lovers at first find their way to happiness barred. The heroine Planesium is of free birth, but has been purchased and confined by a *leno*. Finally, her legitimate status is proved by a token of recognition, and the marriage can take place. The parasite Curculio ('corn weevil') matches slyness with greed. He saves, though not without selfish motives, Planesium from being sold to a soldier. The latter turns out to be, as Planesium suddenly discovers, her long-lost brother, and so from rival he becomes the witness to her free birth. The *Curculio* is a charming blend of elements, combining satirical realism with the romantic idyll (for example, the scene at night with its serenade and rendezvous, vv. 147–216). The Janus-faced character of Curculio lends a special piquancy to a comic dialectic which lives on in harlequin and in Shakespeare's fools.

The *Epidicus*, in spite of its brevity, is a play of complex intrigue. Its hero, the wily slave Epidicus, enjoys free scope as director of the action. He buys off the lyre player Acropolistis for the young Stratippocles, while telling the father Periphanes that she is his long vanished daughter Telestis. However, the young fellow then brings another girl back from campaign. It is she whom Epidicus must now purchase, while disposing of Acropolistis. But this other girl is Telestis. The intrigue is successful, until Telestis' mother appears

and recognizes her. The action is brilliantly calculated to produce the greatest possible complexity. The individual characters are drawn with perfect sympathy; there is no caricature. In spite of the intrigue that takes center stage, this is a play of humane ideas in which the comic principle is represented by Epidicus who gave the play its name.

The *Menaechmi*, like the *Amphitruo*, rests on the theme of doubles. Twin brothers, both called Menaechmus, have been separated since childhood, and suddenly find themselves unawares in the same town. This produces endless complications and misunderstandings. Finally the cunning slave Messenio brings the two together. This comedy of mistaken identity is distinguished by rapid action and abstention from grotesque features and exaggerations.

In its action, the *Mercator* is reminiscent of the *Casina*. Charinus and his father Demipho are both in love with Pasicompsa. Frightened of his wife, Demipho hands the girl over to his neighbor Lysimachus, whose wife Dorippa has left for the countryside. She however returns earlier than expected, and lets fly a broadside of abuse against her husband. Eutychus, their son, has been sent out by Charinus to look for his missing beloved. He now arrives on the scene and explains everything. Demipho surrenders Pasicompsa on condition that Charinus says nothing to his mother. More than other Plautine comedies, this play is focused on subtle character portrayal and on the conflict between father and son.

The *Miles gloriosus* owes its life to its central character, the vainglorious braggart, although the other figures are also well-drawn. Pyrgopolynices, the soldier, has abducted Philocomasium. Her beloved Pleusicles discovers her whereabouts, thanks to his cunning slave Palaestrio, and moves into the near-by house of a friend. He then knocks a hole in the dividing wall so that the happy couple may meet undisturbed. However, they are discovered by the watchman Sceledrus. Palaestrio attempts to unravel the difficulties by claiming that Philocomasium is her own twin sister, only to create new problems. Palaestrio convinces his master's friend and host (Periplectomenus) to invite two hetaerae to pass themselves off as his wife and her maid in order to allure Pyrgopolynices, who swallows the bait and lets Philocomasium go. But at his rendezvous with his neighbor's 'wife' the entire household assails him with clubs.

The *Mostellaria* is a comedy of ghosts, full of intrigues and complications whose threads are again controlled by the cunning slave, Tranio. When Theopropides arrives home after a long absence, he almost stumbles into a wild party thrown by his son Philolaches for his girlfriend, his friends and various hetaerae. On the spur of the moment, Tranio invents a ghost which will prevent Theopropides from entering the house. At first the trick wins Theopropides' credence, but then everything collapses. Philolaches' friend, Callidamates, persuades Theopropides to relent. The *Mostellaria* is one of

Plautus' most amusing plays, with a particularly colorful central character.

The *Persa* is a somewhat crude play of intrigue. It is notable for centering around a love affair among slaves and depicting the courageous, independent demeanor of a *virgo*.

Intrigue also occupies center stage in the *Poenulus*. A young lady and her sister are in the grasp of a *leno*, and must be rescued from their intended destiny as hetaerae. This comes about by a trick. Then it is revealed that both sisters are free-born girls from Carthage. The Carthaginian traveller Hanno is discovered to be a friend of the now-dead adoptive father of the young lover, and at the same time the real father of the two girls. Occasional passages in 'Punic' are intriguing for linguists, while the friend of literature takes delight in the characters drawn with a subtlety and a humanity worthy of Menander.

The *Pseudolus* is a fresh and lively play of intrigue. Pseudolus, a slave of genius but also something of a braggart, is unique even among Plautus' slaves for his tongue and his impudence. Once again the beloved of the young master (Calidorus) must be filched from a *leno* and rescued from her fate with a soldier. In spite of its rapid action, this mature play of Plautus is rich in ornament provided by cantica and monologues. The characters act their roles in full awareness. The *leno* knows that he must be very wicked (360–369), Calidorus that he has to be in love (238–240), the slave Pseudolus that he must be very cunning (905–907). Plautus is said to have been particularly fond of this comedy (Cic. *Cato* 50).

In the *Rudens*, the *leno* Labrax and two girls, Palaestra and Ampelisca, are shipwrecked by a storm on the coast of Africa near Cyrene. The shrine of Venus there coincidentally happens to be the agreed rendezvous of Palaestra and her lover, Plesidippus. The girls take refuge from the *leno* at the shrine, and use the slave Trachalio to establish contact with Plesidippus. With the aid of a distinguished citizen, Daemones, they are rescued from the *leno*. Meanwhile, Gripus, the fisherman, has discovered a chest in the shipwreck holding toys from Palaestra's childhood, which leads Daemones to recognize her as his daughter. The lack of action is compensated for by the liveliness of the slaves' repartee and of the chorus of fishermen.

The *Stichus*, short on intrigue, owes its comedy chiefly to the part of Gelasimus, the parasite. Two brothers, after a long absence brought about by bankruptcy, return to their wives, whose father had long been planning to marry them off again. But he now changes his mind because of the newly-won riches of his sons-in-law. A banquet follows, but the parasite may not take part because in his time, thanks to his greed, he has been partly to blame for the bankruptcy. Accompanying this, there is a celebration by the servants to which the slave Stichus extends invitations. The comedy is cheerful and ironic. Its atmosphere and characters are sympathetically drawn in accordance with the original by Menander.

Trinummus is a family drama with a moralizing background. Lesbonicus lives a life of debauchery until his father returns. The truth that house and property have been squandered must be suppressed. However the innocent deception which he spins along with his friend collapses. He is forgiven on condition that he marries immediately (1185). In this wholly masculine play, subtle irony dominates, and there is less comedy. Character portrayal is close to life; the development of the action particularly clear and self-contained.

The *Truculentus* is a wild and coarse play of intrigue centering around an avaricious hetaera, Phronesium. Through her low machinations she tries to fleece three lovers simultaneously. The play takes its name from the slave Truculentus, a crude fellow in every sense of the term. He becomes involved in a refreshingly unrefined affair with Astaphium, Phronesium's maid.

The *Vidularia*, which has come down to us in mutilated form must have been similar to the *Rudens*. Young Nicodemus is shipwrecked and rescued by an old fisherman. He works for his neighbor Dinia as a day laborer. Another fisherman rescues Nicodemus' chest from the sea, and so the hero is restored to prosperity. By the contents of the chest, Dinia recognizes him as his long-lost son.

Only fragments survive from the following plays: *Acharistio, Addictus, Agroecus, Artemo, Astraba, Bacaria, Boeotia, Caecus vel Praedones, Calceolus, Carbonaria, +Cesistio+, Colax, Commorientes, Condalium, Cornicula, Dyscolus, Faeneratrix, Fretum, Frivolaria, Fugitivi, Hortulus, Lenones gemini, Lipargus, Nervolaria, Phago, Parasitus medicus, Parasitus piger, Plocinus, Saturio, Schematicus, Sitellitergus, Trigemini.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

As already indicated, Plautus was likely to choose his models not from the Old Comedy, but from the less mordant New. Other sources, if we discount the Italian theatrical tradition, are less noteworthy.[1] Within the genre, the range is quite broad. It stretches from Menandrean comedy with its subtle character drawing (*Aulularia* perhaps taken from Menander's *Apistos*; Stichus from the *Adelphoi*; Cistellaria from the *Synaristosai; Bacchides* from the *Dis exapaton*) to a more typical comedy of mistaken identities (*Menaechmi*); from the simple prank (*Asinaria*, based on the *Onagos* [rather than *Onagros*] of Demophilos) all

[1] Other possible models are suggested by H. Lucas, Die Scherbenkomödien des Epicharm und Plautus, WS 56, 1938, 111–117; B. Veneroni, Allacciamenti tematici tra la commedia greco-latina e il mimo di Eroda, RIL 107, 1973, 760–772; W. F. Hansen, An Oral Source for the *Menaechmi*, CW 70, 1977, 385–390.

the way to the serious drama of moral dilemma (*Captivi*). The tragicomic *Amphitruo* is unique; its source has been sought in the *hilarotragoedia* of Rhinthon of Tarentum.[1] Already among these predecessors there were substantial differences, even if we look no further than the work of a single poet. In Menander, ethos and subtle art of characterization coexist with more agitated scenes. The original of the *Stichus*, now that the recovery of the *Dyskolos* seems to confirm the genuineness of its lively conclusion, may be set in the Greek poet's early period. Diphilos wrote such varied works as the romantic *Rudens*, reminiscent of Euripides, and the somewhat coarser *Casina*. From Philemon comes a tranquil family play, rich in maxims, such as the *Trinummus*, and on the other hand the *Mercator*, in which one highly charged scene follows quickly on the heels of another. The running slave who, completely out of breath, has difficulty in delivering his important news; exaggerated fears of eavesdroppers raising eager expectation; excuses improvised on the spur of the moment; moralizing maxims; excess of pride on the part of the young hero; reconciliation mediated by a friend: these are some common features of Philemon's otherwise so different plays, which were already favorites with his Attic audience. Such are the often crowd-pleasing methods which Plautus takes up, fashions for himself and bequeaths to European comedy. From Menander he takes the immortal scene of mutual misunderstanding, e.g. in the *Aulularia* the young hero is talking of his beloved, while the old miser is speaking of his pot of gold. In the *Mostellaria*, whose original is unknown,[2] even three characters in turn give different meanings to their words. The plays Plautus takes from Diphilus on the one hand provide inspiration for romantic plays of a later period (Shakespeare), while on the other they exhibit 'archaic' features such as agon, chorus, the natural scenery of the satyr play. This means that the *Rudens* may simultaneously be regarded as one of the most 'old-fashioned' and yet most 'modern' plays. Comedies showing many of the merits of Menander's art without his inimitable gift for characterization, are ascribed to his successors: this is the case with the effective, but somewhat overdrawn, *Miles*[3] and the sharp

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[1] F. Dupont, Signification théâtrale du double dans l'*Amphitryon* de Plaute, REL 54, 1976, 129–141.

[2] For Philemon: M. Knorr, Das griechische Vorbild der *Mostellaria* des Plautus, diss. München, Coburg 1934.

[3] See however K. Gaiser, Zum *Miles gloriosus* des Plautus: Eine neuerschlossene

caricatures, satiric detachment and loose structure of the *Truculentus*.[1]

In different plays, the influence of the Middle Comedy has been assumed.[2] The *Persa* is an example, although such influence there is not universally accepted.[3] Features of Middle Comedy, of which we know hardly anything, have been sought in the already mentioned plays adapted from Diphilus and in the *Poenulus*, although the latter as we now know goes back not to Menander but to his uncle Alexis.[4] The *Curculio* cannot be definitely traced to an original. It is assigned to the early period of New Comedy and even to Menander himself.[5] The quite extraordinary 'parabasis'[6] in it produces an archaic effect. The *Amphitruo* is also associated by some scholars with the Middle Comedy. In fact, because of its mythological plot, it is an exception to the genre of New Comedy, although precisely because of its burlesque of the gods it is also regarded as the work of an ironic latecomer. Since on the one hand we possess only Euripides, and on the other a few plays of Menander, too much leeway is left for the critic wishing to construct the history of Greek drama from Euripides to Plautus. It is not always possible, in the case of plays of coarser texture, to decide whether they are 'still' primitive[7] or 'already' trite. Conversely, in a period where Euripides is an early author, irony cannot be a criterion for late dating.

The first difficulty for the interpretation of Plautus therefore is our defective knowledge of his models. The only sure ground is furnished by comparison with Menander. The task of separating what is 'Plautine' from what is 'Attic'[8] is easiest in the *Bacchides* to which we possess,

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Menander-Komödie und ihre literaturgeschichtliche Stellung (1967), repr. in: Die römische Komödie: Plautus und Terenz, ed. by E. Lefèvre, Darmstadt 1973, 205–248.

[1] For a Menandrean origin P. J. Enk, Plautus' *Truculentus*, in: FS B. L. Ullman, Rome 1964, vol. 1, 49–65; more correctly (in the school of Menander): the same author in his edition of the *Truculentus*, Leiden 1953.

[2] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, De tribus carminibus Latinis commentatio (1893); repr. in: Kleine Schriften 2, 1941, 260–274.

[3] G. L. Müller, Das Original des plautinischen *Persa*, diss. Frankfurt 1957 (bibl.).

[4] W. G. Arnott, The Author of the Greek Original of the *Poenulus*, RhM 102, 1959, 252–262; see earlier H. Lucas, Der *Karchedonios* des Alexis als Vorbild des plautinischen *Poenulus*, RhM 88, 1939, 189–190. On Diphilos' place in the tradition: W. T. MacCary, The Comic Tradition and Comic Structure in Diphilos' *Kleroumenoi*, Hermes 101, 1973, 194–208.

[5] T. B. L. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Manchester 1953, 189–202.

[6] H. Jordan, Die Parabase im *Curculio* bei Plautus, Hermes 15, 1880, 116–136.

[7] F. Della Corte, La commedia dell'asinaio, RFIC 79, 1951, 289–306 (influence of Doric comedy).

[8] G. Jachmann, Plautinisches und Attisches, Berlin 1931.

thanks to a papyrus, a lengthy parallel text in Greek.[1] This new evidence proves that those scholars were right who had attributed to the Roman a good deal of independence in his reworking. Plautus removed two scenes which served more to sketch character than to forward the plot. He allowed the hero to be ironic at his own expense in his monologue, when in the middle of his sentence his decisiveness ebbs away and his thought swings round to its opposite: 'I punish her in every way so that a beggar's staff is all that is left—for my father' (*Bacchides* 507a–508). We will come back to the particularly striking expression given to the reproach uttered to the friend. The circumstance that a section full of 'Athenian *humanitas*' is now shown to be an addition by Plautus, and that two scenes have been omitted which no one had previously missed, gives pause for thought.

With this in mind, some of the chief criteria determining the analysis of Plautus may be mentioned. Besides the comparison with original texts there is another criterion: the critic should ask himself, whether certain crucial concepts may be translated back into Greek. The methods of the Latin scholar for establishing what is 'Plautine in Plautus' are of more consequence. Starting with obvious points, such as the mention of Roman topics and affairs, this method of interpretation leads on to the establishment of Plautus' mental processes, for example, that of the conundrum as an interplay of transformation and identification ('my father is a fly: we can't keep anything away from him', *Merc.* 361). Here may be categorized the use of comparisons to introduce speeches (e.g. *Cas.* 759–779), personification of inanimate objects, extension of monologues, introduction of features which do not forward the action, elaboration of the role of the slave especially by the use of military terminology, and in particular of course the independent fashioning of the recitative and the sung parts (cantica), meaning that the comedy of dialogue in fact approximates a musical comedy. E. Fraenkel's observations[2] on language and style,

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[1] Plaut. *Bacch.* 494–562; Men. *Dis exap.* 11–112 (ed. Sandbach). On this E. Handley, Menander and Plautus. A Study in Comparison, University College London, Inaugural Lecture, 1968; C. Questa, Alcune strutture sceniche di Plauto e Menandro, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 16, 1970, 183–228; K. Gaiser, Die plautinischen *Bacchides* und Menanders *Dis exapaton*, Philologus 114, 1970, 51–87; V. Pöschl, Die neuen Menanderpapyri und die Originalität des Plautus, SHAW 1973.

[2] E. Fraenkel, Plautinisches im Plautus, Berlin 1922; Elementi plautini in Plauto, Firenze 1960 (enlarged); an instructive example: E. Fantham, The *Curculio* of Plautus. An Illustration of Plautine Methods of Adaptation, CQ 59, 1965, 84–100.

especially his studies concerning the role of the slave, point the way to a descriptive structural analysis of imagery, which reveals our poet's creativity, both aural and visual.

More dated is the research into the question of so-called *contaminatio*.[1] It starts from the presupposition that Plautus in many plays interwove two or even three Greek comedies. However, a 'large-scale' *contaminatio* of this type has not so far been proved conclusively. An example is the *Miles*. Because it contains two consecutive intrigues, it was traced back to two Greek originals. But it may be objected that the theme, which half resembles a fairy-tale, is found elsewhere in world literature connecting two elements considered heterogeneous; that even elsewhere New Comedy displays two intrigues (cf. titles such as Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν); and that finally, if we read the text closely, the second intrigue is implied in the first and is merely an 'expanded stage' of it.[2]

Even so, studies on *contaminatio* are justified. Their point of departure is the existence of undeniable inconsistencies and contradictions found in Plautus.[3] The cogency of their premise, that in the Greek original all must have proceeded logically, without contradiction or hiatus, was overestimated for a long time. Once however it is conceded that many inconsistencies may be traced back to the original,[4] the prospects for successful analysis become gloomy. Nevertheless even in this area Plautine scholarship has attained secure results, although only where 'small-scale' *contaminatio* is concerned, such as the insertion by the poet of individual scenes, mostly from one other Greek play.

With every new discovery of Menander papyri, we are forced to rethink. In one respect, our admiration for Plautus' originality rises; in another, it becomes clear that Menander could employ final scenes of uproar, as in the *Dyskolos*; introduce a slave planning an intrigue, as in the *Aspis*; and that he even did not shrink back from exchanges

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[1] On the word: J. B. Hofmann, *Contaminare*, IF 53, 1935, 187–195; W. Beare, CR 73, 1959, 7–11; on the question of *contaminatio* M. Barchiesi, Problematica e poesia in Plauto, Maia 9, 1957, 163–203, esp. 185–186 with bibl.; a broad treatment in Schaaf (see the following note); G. Guastella, La contaminazione e il parassita. Due studi su teatro e cultura romana, Pisa 1988.

[2] L. Schaaf, Der *Miles gloriosus* des Plautus und sein griechisches Original. Ein Beitrag zur Kontaminationsfrage, München 1977, 300.

[3] For example, in the *Captivi* the unexpected appearance of the old slave and the swift return of Philocrates, in the *Amphitruo* the birth immediately after the 'long night'.

[4] W. H. Friedrich, Euripides und Diphilos, München 1953.

of abuse between domestic wits, again in the *Aspis*. Furthermore, our knowledge of Plautus has greatly profited from research into fragments of comedy by authors other than Menander.[1]

A further working hypothesis is also found to be of limited application: the notion that Plautus destroyed the symmetry of his models. In the previously mentioned *Bacchides*, it is true that the removal of two of Menander's scenes produced a small scale change in proportion. But on a large scale, the play's symmetry was actually made more perfect.[2] In the *Mostellaria*,[3] the musical arrangement of the scenes before the exposition of the plot (1. 4) and before the dénouement (4. 1 and 2), produces clear points of reference, between which the central part of the play is artistically constructed.

The role of music in the general structure of the plays is reflected in the regular alternation of spoken parts (senarii), recitative (long verses), and sung, lyrical scenes.

Our regret that there are still relatively few interpretations of Plautus is tempered by the knowledge that the interpreter here is confronted with unusual difficulties. The question of what is Plautine and what is Attic is already complex. But it is made more so by the problem of double versions and interpolations. In the text as transmitted, often double and even triple versions have been left. In the ancient edition lying behind our tradition, these were indicated by critical signs, which disappeared in the course of time. In our oldest manuscript A, portions of text are missing which are preserved in the medieval tradition P. Sometimes P has maintained the 'scholarly' character of its model better than A. Apart from double versions, interpolations[4] are also intrusive. Many prologues read now as they were delivered when the plays were produced again in the middle of the 2nd century.

In these conditions the interpreter must steer a course between the Scylla of hypercritical fault-finding and the Charybdis of uncritical failure to see any problem. The rewarding course is to accept the challenge.

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[1] H. W. Prescott, Criteria of Originality in Plautus, TAPhA 63, 1932, 103–125.

[2] J. R. Clark, Structure and Symmetry in the *Bacchides* of Plautus, TAPhA 106, 1976, 85–96; see also W. Steidle, Probleme des Bühnenspiels in der Neuen Komödie, GB 3, 1975, 341–386.

[3] I. Weide, Der Aufbau der *Mostellaria* des Plautus, Hermes 89, 1961, 191–207.

[4] A. Thierfelder, De rationibus interpolationum Plautinarum, Leipzig 1929; H. D. Jocelyn, Chrysalus and the Fall of Troy, HSPh 73, 1969, 134–152 (Interpolations in the *Bacchides*).

As well as elements of comedy, traces of tragic poetry are also found in Plautus. These were probably transmitted in part by Greek comedy or *hilarotragoedia*. However, there are certainly also imitations of Latin tragedies.[1]

Among other representatives of the Latin tradition, we see that Naevius was Plautus' most important predecessor, especially in regard to powerful, vivid language. In trying to pinpoint the origin of the cantica we are left in the dark. Their polymetry may be compared with Euripidean choral songs and Hellenistic lyric such as *The Maiden's Lament*, though, unlike Euripides, Plautus is hardly writing choral lyric. Plautus' closeness to Roman tragedy is certainly significant; although there choral lyric played a greater role, and meters were less complex. It is a probable assumption that Plautus took up native musical traditions, which must, however, be thought of as sharing a living link with Hellenistic music.

In calling himself Maccus, Plautus identified himself with a character from the Atellane. It is plausible that his original *vis comica* is rooted in this native type of drama, which was played by free citizens. Quite apart from this, scholars searched for other popular sources, such as fables.[2] At any rate, it is a mistake to regard Plautus merely as a 'translator' of plays of New Comedy. He is rather the

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[1] See below: Language and Style (also on the cantica).

[2] P. Brind'Amour, Des ânes et des bœufs dans l'*Aululaire*. Commentaire des vers 226–235, Maia 28, 1976, 25–27; on the relationship of Plautus to his sources and models: A. Blanchard, Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre, Paris 1983, ch. V: Les adaptations de Plaute; on individual plays: W. Steidle, Plautus' *Amphitruo* und sein griechisches Original, RhM 122, 1979, 34–48; P. Harvey, Historical Allusions and the Date of the *Amphitruo*, Athenaeum 59, 1981, 480–489 (line 193: 201 B.C.); H. Tränkle, *Amphitruo* und kein Ende, MH 40, 1983, 217–238 (mingling of comic and tragic elements); E. Staerk, Die Geschichte des *Amphitruo*stoffes vor Plautus, RhM 125, 1982, 275–303 (model allegedly a tragedy); R. L. Hunter, The *Aulularia* and its Greek Original, PCPhS 27, 1981, 37–49; L. Finette, Le *Dis exapaton* et les *Bacchides*. Deux ou trois fourberies, CEA 15, 1983, 47–60; E. Lefèvre, Neue und alte Erkenntnisse zur Originalität der römischen Komödie, Plautus und Menander, Freiburger Universitätsblätter 18, fasc. 65, 1979, 13–22 (on the *Bacchides*); M. Waltenberger, Plautus' *Casina* und die Methode der Analyse, Hermes 109, 1981, 440–447 (influence of the *Kleroumenoi* of Diphilos); E. Lefèvre, Plautus-Studien 4. Die Umformung des Ἀλαζών zu der Doppelkomödie des *Miles gloriosus*, Hermes 112, 1984, 30–53 (a philosophical piece is turned into a farce by elimination of the theological features); on this K. Dér, *Duplex argumentum*, Homonoia 5, 1983, 129–160; E. Lefèvre, Diphilos und Plautus. Der *Rudens* und sein Original, AAWM 1984, 10; W. S. Anderson, Plautus' *Trinummus*. The Absurdity of Officious Morality, Traditio 35, 1979, 333–345; R. Hunter, Philemon, Plautus and the *Trinummus*, MH 37, 1980, 216–230.

creator of specifically Roman comedies with the musical structure of Roman tragedy and stylized humorous additions from rustic farce.[1]

Literary Technique

In the last analysis, according to Aristotle (*poet.* 1450a 15–23) plot takes precedence over character portrayal. In what follows, minor modifications must be made, and in general, before passing a judgement on Plautus' art we should not forget that Aristotle's view of drama is only one of several approaches.

The papyri of Menander's comedies exhibit a division into five acts; the plays are four times interrupted by the remark XOPOY. While the Greek plays mark four definite places for musical and choreographic interludes, in Plautus regular and explicit indications of this kind are missing. It is therefore assumed that the plays were acted at one go,[2] perhaps not only in order to prevent the audience from leaving the theater in favor of other attractions (cf. Ter. *Hec. prol.* 33–36; Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 185–186). Traces of the Greek conclusion of an act are seen in the reference to the entry of a drunken crowd of nightly revellers (*komos*).[3] The division into acts found in our plays goes back to the Renaissance,[4] and therefore has no authority for us. A more illuminating principle in the structure of Plautine comedy is a division into 'exposition', 'tying' of the knot ('complication') of intrigue and 'release' (unraveling, 'dénouement'). Such terms spring from the very nature of the plot. The avoidance of musical entr'actes has more than an external explanation. It is connected with the profound transformation of comedy into a musical performance. Music was no longer an adventitious extra irrelevant to the text. In sung scenes, it became a fixed element of the action on the stage. A structural analysis of the *Mostellaria* has shown that Plautus used such scenes to mark the introduction of the main action and the point before the dénouement. This means that the previously mentioned division of

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[1] G. A. Sheets, Plautus and Early Roman Comedy, ICS 8, 1983, 195–209.

[2] A different theory in G. Maurach, Preface to his edition of the *Poenulus*; see now J. A. Barsby, Actors and Act Divisions. Some Questions of Adaptation in Roman Comedy, Antichthon 16, 1982, 77–87.

[3] *Bacch.* 107. At *Pseud.* 573 it is announced that the *tibicen* will fill the interlude with his playing.

[4] C. Questa, Plauto diviso in atti prima di G. B. Pio (Codd. Vatt. Latt. 3304 e 2711), RCCM 4, 1962, 209–230.

the play into three parts was clearly accentuated by musical means. The recitatives and dialogues grouped between sung scenes reveal a significant order. This proves that Plautus did not abandon the five acts of his model without replacement, but that he substituted a musical and poetic structure arising from the very fabric of the plot.

Along with the formative principle indicated here, there are others for which the analysis is more difficult. For example, the *Stichus* may be divided into three stages: expectation, arrival and celebration of reunion. The plot comes to an early end in the second of these divisions, and the third makes a boisterous finale. The *Truculentus* is a loose sequence of scenes of a satiric rather than dramatic nature, and for this reason cannot be entirely derived from dramatic rules.

The parts of the Plautine comedy may now be noted in detail. The exposition is not necessarily moulded into scenes of dialogue such as are known from Terence. Plautus prefers to make use of the traditional form of the prologue, also familiar from Euripides and Menander. Its speaker may be a character from the play, but the characters' necessarily limited knowledge of events is often insufficient to give a satisfactory outline of the coming action to the spectator. This difficulty may be overcome in various ways. The simplest, if not the most elegant, solution is to give the character more knowledge in the prologue than it has in the actual play (*Mil.* 147–153). In order to avoid this contradiction, in addition to the human speaker, a second, divine character may be introduced (*Cist.*). He fills in the gaps of knowledge left by the previous speaker. It is also possible, following an old tragic and comic tradition, to have the entire prologue spoken by a god (*Aul.*) or an allegorical figure (*Trin.*), closely related to the action. As a last and artistically least attractive option there remains finally the anonymous, omniscient prologue speaker. Plautus most often employs prologues, and where they are missing they may have been subsequently lost. We may not however exclude the possibility that in individual cases the poet did without a prologue and tried a technique of 'suspense-filled' presentation, a method which would become more frequent in Terence.

The surviving prologues were partly revised and expanded in the course of later productions about the middle of the 2nd century. As a rule, the prologue informs us on the scene of the action, and on the Greek and Latin title; moreover, it often contains the name of the Greek playwright and of Plautus. The announcement of the title is a detail not known from Menander. We may surmise, therefore,

that the Roman audience did often not know previously what exactly was the title of the piece. The prologue furthermore presents the principal character and narrates the previous part of the story so far as it is relevant to understanding the plot. Occasionally it even goes further, as in the *Mercator*, where the description of the father's rise to wealth is somewhat long-winded (61–72). For the continuation and conclusion of the action, the prologue is usually satisfied with hints, allowing the spectator to recognize or guess the play's happy end. Allusions to future details of the plot or confusion of identity are generally only given when the action is complex. This is the case in the mistaken identities of the *Amphitruo* (140–147) and in the *Miles gloriosus* (147–153). To help his audience, Plautus distinguished his Jupiter from his human double even by an external mark of recognition. After this additional effort to avoid any possible confusion, the poet can later afford the joke of having Jupiter maintain that he is Amphitruo, of course with the important addition that we are dealing with an Amphitruo who can turn himself into Jupiter. In this instance the audience has in some sense too much information, and this permits a new sort of play with the artistic instrument of 'prologue' or 'intermediate prologue'. In general, the prologue has the task of taking the spectator up to a vantage point and giving him a bird's eye view of the play. One element of the pleasure taken by the spectator in the comedy lies in the awareness that he can see through the mistakes of the characters. This requires above all a knowledge of the real identities of the characters concerned. We can now see why gods are particularly appropriate in delivering prologues. Their vantage point from the very outset is that of superior knowledge. It cannot however be maintained that this prologue technique destroys all dramatic suspense. The poet is merely telling the spectator what might assure him the requisite superiority. After the 'what' is more or less established, the spectator can take undisturbed satisfaction in noting the 'how'. But when it comes to the details, there is still quite a lot concealed from him. He can still go wrong, and then, when he discovers his mistake, laugh in relief.

Excessive information was already mentioned. But there is also the reverse. In the *Stichus*, we learn facts essential to our understanding only after the lapse of several hundred verses. This makes the assumption especially probable that there must have been a prologue. In other plays, the expectations of the public are sometimes sent off in a wrong direction. In ancient comedy too, there is not merely the

error of the characters, but also that of the audience; and the poets play with it. In comedies of mistaken identity, we observe a particular regularity in the sequence of scenes, for example, in the change-off between Amphitruo I and Amphitruo II or Menaechmus I and II. This rational structure makes a fascinating contrast with the irrational confusions, and moreover, by its inner logic, helps the spectator understand the plot.[1]

The prologue may stand first, but it may also follow an introductory scene which explains in dialogue the nature of the principal characters. This form of introduction is found, for example, in the *Miles gloriosus* and in the *Cistellaria*. It is livelier and more exciting than the traditional introductory prologue, since it immediately leads *in medias res*. But even this was already known before Plautus (in Menander's *Aspis*, for instance).

One or more expository scenes may be found near the prologue. Occasionally, the prologue positively refuses to give an exposition: 'Don't expect me to say anything to you about the content of the play. The old people who are just about to come on stage will let you know what is happening' (*Trin.* 16–17). The description of the principal characters is also part of the exposition, whether direct or indirect. A typically Plautine touch in the prologue is the jesting and familiar quasi-dialogue with the audience, including witty address to unnamed individuals (*Men.* 51–55).[2]

An introductory scene in dialogue requires a second speaker who sometimes in the later course of the play has either a small or no role. Such figures are called πρόσωπα προτατικά. This technique is occasionally used by Plautus; it will be favored and expressly emphasized (cf. *Trin.* 16–17) by Terence. Five plays have no prologue, and nine a prologue which explains nothing of the plot. The prologue of the *Bacchides* is lost, as may also be the case elsewhere.[3] In comedies of deception like the *Curculio* and the *Epidicus*, the prologue may have been intentionally omitted in order to increase dramatic suspense, and this would be an anticipation of Terence's method.

[1] A. Goldbacher, Über die symmetrische Verteilung des Stoffes in den *Menaechmen*, FS J. Vahlen, Berlin 1900, 203–218.

[2] R. Crahay and M. Delcourt, Les ruptures d'illusion dans les comédies antiques, AIPhO 12 (= Mélanges H. Grégoire 4), 1952, 83–92.

[3] F. Leo, 2nd ed. 1912, 188–247, thinks that originally all of Plautus' plays had prologues, some of which were lost; but it is possible that Plautus employed different techniques on different occasions (G. B. Duckworth 1952, 211–218).

Characterization may go no further than types. Such types, formed at the latest in the course of the Middle Comedy, are the young lover, the stern father,[1] the bickering matron,[2] the boastful soldier,[3] the greedy hetaera, the unscrupulous *leno*, the *lena*,[4] the cunning slave,[5] the parasite, the moneylender, the cook,[6] the doctor.

A more sophisticated method is the presentation of two opposite characters: the cunning and the stupid slave, the authoritarian, and the liberal old gentleman. A significant sidelight is thrown on cultural history by the absence of the adulteress among comic characters. This was an offence which could not be taken lightly. In the *Amphitruo*, as still in Kleist, Alcmene accordingly appears as anything but a comic character.

Subtle deviation from traditional types is particularly frequent in Menander's masterly character portrayal. In contrast to the cliché-ridden stereotype, he presents the high-minded hetaera and the morally superior foreign slave who gives his Greek master a lesson in humanity. This is Menander's gentle protest against conventions and established opinions. Even more delicate are the shades which distinguish, for example, pairs of sisters from each other, as in the *Cistellaria*[7] and the *Stichus*.[8] In the latter comedy, one sister is ready for compro-

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[1] H.-W. Rissom, Vater- und Sohnmotive in der römischen Komödie, diss. Kiel 1971; J. M. Cody, The *senex amator* in Plautus *Casina*, Hermes 104, 1976, 453–476.

[2] Different nuances are emphasized by E. Schuhmann, Der Typ der *uxor dotata* in den Komödien des Plautus, Philologus 121, 1977, 45–65.

[3] Probably rarer than previously assumed: G. Wartenberg, Der *miles gloriosus* in der griechisch-hellenistischen Komödie, in: Die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des antiken Dramas für seine und für unsere Zeit. Protokoll der Karl-Marx-Städter Fachtagung (1969), ed. by W. Hofmann and H. Kuch, Berlin 1973, 197–205; W. Hofmann and G. Wartenberg, Der Bramarbas in der antiken Komödie, Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. der DDR 1973, 2, Berlin 1973.

[4] G. Horstmeyer, Die Kupplerin. Studien zur Typologie im dramatischen Schrifttum Europas, Diss. Köln 1972.

[5] E. Fraenkel, Elementi plautini in Plauto (German original 1922), Firenze 1960, 223–241; G. Freyburger, La morale et la *fides* chez l'esclave de la comédie, REL 55, 1977, 113–127.

[6] H. Dohm, Mageiros. Die Rolle des Kochs in der griechisch-römischen Komödie, München 1964.

[7] W. Ludwig, Die plautinische *Cistellaria* und das Verhältnis von Gott und Handlung bei Menander, in: Ménandre, Entretiens Fondation Hardt 16, 1970, 43–110.

[8] W. G. Arnott, Targets, Techniques, and Tradition in Plautus' *Stichus*, BICS 19, 1972, 54–79; W. G. Arnott, Quibus rationibus usus imitetur Plautus Menandrum in fabula *Sticho* nominata, in: Acta omnium gentium ac nationum conventus Latinis litteris linguaeque fovendis (Malta 1973), Malta 1976, 306–311.

mise, while the other is firm. In this, the sequence of speakers, by contrast with the tradition of tragedy (Antigone—Ismene), is interestingly reversed. Surprisingly, the character introduced in second place later shows herself to be dominant, although she is the younger. The crossing of genres and their typical characters is visible in the tragicomedy of the *Amphitruo*. Mercury now acts as a 'slave', now as a 'parasite'. The poet's joke consists in allowing two kinds of convention to blend.[1]

The character of Euclio in the *Aulularia*[2] shows a different kind of complexity. Superficially, he is a miser, although not, like Molière's Harpagon, a greedy usurer, but rather a curmudgeon unwilling to part with his money (μικρολόγος). On closer inspection, however, we find that this reluctance to spend is not ordinary miserliness, but a complicated phenomenon connected with Euclio's life and circumstances. He may have inherited this disposition, but that is not surprising in view of his family's poverty. By his sudden find of a treasure in his house, poor honest Euclio is completely bereft of his wits. He is afraid of his neighbors' envy, a fear easily understandable in a small town (*polis*). To keep his discovery secret and avoid gossip he overdoes even further his previous parsimony. His behavior then externally looks like that of a miser, but in reality is a disguise for a mistrust which is socially conditioned and unhealthily exaggerated. It is extremely probable that the model for the *Aulularia* bore the title Ἄπιστος (*The Mistrustful Man*). This finely drawn character, rich in nuances, conveys not merely the picture of an individual but that of his interaction with society. In Plautus this is still clearly recognizable, in spite of crude exaggeration, as in the scene with the slave at 2. 4. Indeed, by removing scenes in which the principal hero was missing, Plautus has emphasized the quality of the *Aulularia* as a comedy of character, and allowed its Menandrean element to be revealed even more clearly. Molière's Harpagon, by contrast, is an embodiment of avarice raised to the level of the grotesque. The decisive point comes at the dénouement. Harpagon must be blackmailed by the young couple, while in Plautus the suitor generously gives the

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[1] D. Guilbert, Mercure-Sosie dans *l'Amphitryon* de Plaute. Un rôle de parasite de comédie, LEC 31, 1963, 52–63.

[2] G. Lafaye, Le dénouement de *l'Aululaire*, RCC 4, 1896, 552–559 (basic); P. J. Enk, De Euclionis Plautini moribus, Mnemosyne ser. 3, 2, 1935, 281–290; W. Hofmann, Zur Charaktergestaltung in der *Aulularia* des Plautus, Klio 59, 1977, 349–358.

treasure back to Euclio who then, for his part, voluntarily relinquishes it to his daughter as her dowry; he is even delighted to do so, since now, finally, he will be able to sleep peacefully.

Character is also an important element in the plot. It is precisely Euclio's basic mistrust which forms the premise for the theft of his treasure and ultimately for the resolution of the conflict. Because of this mistrust, he carries his treasure abroad, thus making the theft possible. Character and plot are therefore interwoven more closely than appears at first glance.

Other examples of the comedy of character are found in Menander's *Dyskolos* and *Aspis*, the latter with a genuine miser. It treats the following problem: an individual is isolated from the community by a particular trait of his character, which may be reinforced by outside influences; finally, this leads him into a situation causing him to recognize that in the long term he cannot do without other men, although this may not bring about any radical change of heart.

The comedy of character may contain elements of the comedy of intrigue. Characters who contrive a plot are already found in classical tragedy and Old Comedy. In Plautus the cunning slave, whose model was recently discovered in Menander's *Aspis*, is surprisingly prominent. Plays that contain two intrigues, such as the *Miles gloriosus* need not necessarily, however, be mixed together ('contaminated') from two Greek comedies of intrigue. The title of the original of the *Bacchides*, 'The Man Who Deceived Twice' (Δὶς ἐξαπατῶν), shows that Menander himself wrote plays of this type.

On the negative side, the conclusion of the intrigue is usually the outwitting of some hostile figure such as the father, the soldier, the *leno*. On the positive side, it unites the happy couple. The role of helper is often given to the cunning slave. The reversal (*peripeteia*) may be linked, as in tragedy, with a recognition (*anagnorismos*). Most often a young girl regarded as a hetaera, or threatened by that fate, is revealed as the daughter of an Athenian citizen so that her lover can marry her. The dramatic technique therefore is related to a type also known from tragedy, especially in its late Euripidean form. In their turn the poets make play with the devices typical of their genre:[1] in the *Pseudolus*, the deception is expressly announced to the man who is to be deceived.

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[1] A. Thierfelder, Die Motive der griechischen Komödie im Bewußtsein ihrer Dichter, Hermes 71, 1936, 320–337; W. Görler, Über die Illusion in der antiken Komödie, A&A 18, 1973, 4–57.

A distinctive literary procedure in Plautine comedy is the employment of polymetric cantica. In the last analysis, although not exclusively, they have their roots in the 'modern' musical style introduced to drama by Euripides and his followers. The meter and the music are subordinated to the words, which retain their dominance in spite of the musicality pervading the play. In addition, Plautus is taking up here a native theatrical tradition already well developed.

The set[1] in Plautus' plays is generally uniform. On the spectator's left is the exit towards the harbor and the country; on the right to the town and the forum. The doors in the background may serve as entrances to private residences.

The entries and exits of the actors are normally announced in the text. Where this is not the case, scholars suppose that Plautus deviated from his originals. The number of actors is usually five. It is assumed that in case of need the same part could be played alternately by different actors. There was a certain order of precedence here. Star roles, such as that of the cunning slave, were expanded by Plautus to please the leader of the company, who in the Roman theater liked to take a prominent part. In the *palliata*, by contrast with the New Comedy and the Atellane, it seems that at first masks were not worn.

The first Roman comic actors were not respectable citizens, but slaves or freedmen. The first stage artists (dancers) were from Etruria. These professional players initially performed without masks, whereas, by contrast, masks were worn by the presenters of the Atellane, who came from good families. The difference therefore was social rather than merely technical. The wearing of masks was a privilege reserved for the successors of the singers of Fescennine verses. Their purpose was to assure the anonymity of the citizen who *ex officio* here often had to indulge in crude jesting. Conversely, a professional actor had no civic rights. The public was entitled to see his face.[2]

The actor Roscius is said to have introduced masks in order to conceal his squint (Suet. *de poet.* 11. 2–5 Reiff.; cf. Cic. *de orat.* 3. 221). In comedy, the acting must have been especially lively. According to their degree of animation, a distinction was made between *fabulae*

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[1] V. J. Rosivach, Plautine Stage Settings (*Asin.*, *Aul.*, *Men.*, *Trin.*), TAPhA 101, 1970, 445–461; M. Johnston, Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy, Geneva, N.Y. 1933.

[2] P. Ghiron-Bistagne, Les demi-masques, RA 1970, 253–282.

statariae (e.g. Terence's *Hecyra*), *motoriae* (e.g. *Phormio*) and a mixed form (Evanth. 4. 4). Gestures were often stereotyped; for example, that of reflection (*Mil.* 201–207). Plautus' text gives us relatively detailed information on the movements and gestures of the actors, although stage directions are more or less unknown.[1] The comparison with Menander (in the *Bacchides*) shows that the words of Plautus often tend to convey what the actor would think, not what the character would say. The playful nature of the play thus receives greater emphasis. Menander prefers to give necessary information to the spectator indirectly, by incidental and apparently 'natural' remarks. Plautus instructs him more directly, often breaking the stage illusion. He takes account of the distance separating the Roman audience from the Greek play, and elevates it to an extra means of artistic presentation. To a certain extent, this produces a stronger impression of stylization, particularly reinforced by the musical form and the more ornate style of the sections in long verses and of the lyrical cantica.

In one instance we may compare Plautus' manner of conducting an action with that of Menander. A young fellow suspects his friend of treachery. In Menander he confronts him with this charge right at the beginning of the scene. Plautus, however, at first creates the impression that the traitor is a third party who is intimate with his friend. Only after the latter has distanced himself from the traitor does he learn that thereby he has condemned himself. It must be admitted that there is more suspense in Plautus' scene and that it has also gained a new dimension of irony. Whereas in Menander the irony consisted of the suspicion unjustly cast by one friend on the other, in Plautus there is double irony. The baseless suspicion is presented in such a way that the suspected party is quite unaware that he is the false friend. All this both increases theatrical effect and adds intellectual interest (*Bacch.* 3. 6). In other cases, Plautus uses stage effects, such as entries and exits, to produce parallels and contrasts between neigboring or distant scenes, thus emphasizing the structure and symmetries of the whole.[2]

The unity of Plautine comedy lies, in fact, in its verbal and musical structure, the organized succession of senarii, long verses and cantica. It is also found in the employment of imagery as a structural element. In this area, which has not yet been explored sufficiently,

[1] Occasionally directions are found such as 'soft'.
[2] W. Steidle 1975.

mere hints must serve. Complicated images, sustained and extended metaphors approximating allegory, are often found in the cantica, which were shaped by Plautus himself. A striking example is the parallel drawn between the intrigues of the slave and the capture of Troy (*Bacch.* 925–978), an allegory which is worked out in pedantic fashion even to the point of absurdity. It is not an isolated phenomenon in the play, but is organically connected with Plautus' poetic discourse which in general lifts the action of the cunning slave to the level of military strategy, or, as in the *Pseudolus*, makes him a 'stage director' in a world of art.[1] Quite apart from the parody of elevated poetry, the Roman element here, with its reference to military language and triumphal inscriptions, is unmistakeable. The predominance of the slave's role therefore is not an extraneous addition, but contributes to the unity of the play and even influences its linguistic structure. The parallel drawn between human life and a house in the lyric verses of the *Mostellaria* is closely linked to the play's theme. The confrontation between the worlds of father and son is reflected in the scandal affecting the family house, said to be haunted by a ghost, and the feigned purchase of the house next door, which is built in the most up-to-date Greek style.[2] The concern here is less with particular psychological interpretation than with the inner unity of the system of images. Even more telling is the part played by Pseudolus who, in the course of that play, grows into a director and writer, and with that into the poet's own representative within the drama. Imaginative means thus turn the comedy into a mirror of poetic thought.

Key words, recurring in significant places, are thematically important. Sometimes they have a specifically Roman character, for example, *mores* in the *Trinummus, fides* in the *Aulularia, exemplum* in the *Mostellaria.*

The technique of tragedy makes itself felt in Plautus in more than one way. It may be used in parody[3] with allusion to Latin tragedies recently produced; it may have a Roman earnestness in effecting rhetorical and lyrical elevation of style. Examples are *Rud.* 204–219; the entire role of Alcmene in the *Amphitruo*; long passages in the *Captivi*

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[1] J. Wright, The Transformation of Pseudolus, TAPhA, 105, 1975, 403–416.

[2] E. W. Leach, *De exemplo meo ipse aedificato*: an Organizing Idea in the *Mostellaria*, Hermes 97, 1969, 318–332.

[3] W. B. Sedgwick, Parody in Plautus, CQ 21, 1927, 88–89; A. Thierfelder, Plautus und römische Tragödie, Hermes 74, 1939, 155–166.

and the *Trinummus*; and in general the cantica. As a rule, Roman comedy is related to the 'play of bourgeois life' towards which late Euripides leans. Many features link New Comedy with the latest development of tragedy:[1] exposure of children, recognition, rivalry between father and son. Thus the basic situation and the pretended journey in the *Mercator* form a comic parallel to the rivalry depicted by Euripides between Amyntor and Phoenix (cf. *Iliad* 9. 432–480). In Plautus' day, Ennius adapted Euripides' *Phoenix*[2] (cf. also Menander's *Samia*). Even the *Captivi*, which is insufficiently described as a 'drama of sentiment', is related to Menander and to tragedy.[3]

Plautus makes more emphatic use of action occurring behind the scenes and therefore left to the spectator's imagination. In the *Bacchides*, the return of the money to the father takes place off stage, and in the same way at the end of the *Casina* he cuts out the scene of recognition and the wedding. This play in any case is conceived as a model of off-stage action. Casina does not appear nor does her bridegroom. It is a play without the traditional happy couple. Even the slave who triggers the recognition and who elsewhere often arrives unceremoniously, as in the *Captivi*, is absent. Here Plautus successfully carried off a particularly elegant play which, through a minimum of means attained a maximum of effectiveness. The so-called composer of slap-dash comedies revealed himself in this instance as a master of indirect presentation.

Language and Style

The widespread identification of Plautine language with colloquial speech raises many questions. Colloquial speech is not a uniform phenomenon. It is differentiated both chronologically and socially. Again, modern scholarship has established that Plautus' language itself displays considerable variation of style. The dialogue written in senarii is relatively close to the everyday language of the educated, although even here we are presented with an artistically shaped diction. The portions written in long verses show to a larger extent elements of

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[1] A. Salvatore, La struttura ritmico-musicale del *Rudens* e l'*Ione* di Euripide. Contributo allo studio dei cantica plautini, RAAN 26, 1951, 56–97; F. Marx, in his edition of the *Rudens*, pp. 274–278.

[2] B. Warneke, Zum *Mercator* des Plautus, WS 56, 1938, 117–119.

[3] W. Kraus, Die *Captivi* im neuen Lichte Menanders, in: FS R. Hanslik, Wien 1977 (= WS suppl. 8), 159–170.

style and forms of language springing from the solemn oral style of old Italian tradition.[1] The most exalted language is found in the lyrical portions.

It is in Plautus' language and style that the characteristic marks of his creativity are revealed. Features like the following reflect the fascinating process of *vortere*, that is, the transformation of 'modern' Greek ideas into a still archaic linguistic medium. Word repetitions help to organize complex chains of reasoning; in the same way larger textual units consisting of several sentences are interspersed with lively phrases from colloquial language which serve as structural markers: e.g. *dicam tibi; eloquar; scies; quid ais?* The principal point of view is anticipated, and the narrative returns to its point of departure.[2] Plautus rounds off and isolates individual utterances. The progress of thought is clearly indicated. Elliptical allusions to words of the interlocutor are less common than in Terence. The poet prefers to allow the answer to start again at the beginning, and presents it as an integral thought matching its predecessor.

A typical example of Plautine wit is found in the echoed curse (*Capt.* 868): 'Jupiter and the gods—may they destroy you.' The ready answer begins with the word *te* ('you'), an offence, softened by the surprising innocuousness of what follows. A second form is the already mentioned jocular use of the riddle (e.g. *Cist.* 727–735 and similarly 16–19). The word *disciplina* at first sounds puzzling and produces the question: *quid ita, amabo?* Then follows the explanation of what was meant by *disciplina: raro nimium dabat.*

The imitation of the Fescennine repartee in scenes of contention is also typical (e.g. *Persa* 223, *par pari respondere* 'tit for tat'). Intervening questions by the second speaker, and phrases such as *quid vis?* or *ego dicam tibi*, serve as structural markers.[3] A basic feature of Plautus' comedy is the literal interpretation of metaphors (*Amph.* 325–326). Sound and word play are of course also found in Greek literature,[4] but in Plautus, corresponding to his Italian temperament, they are

[1] H. Haffter, Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache, Berlin 1934, esp. 132–143; H. Happ, Die lateinische Umgangssprache und die Kunstsprache des Plautus, Glotta 45, 1967, 60–104.

[2] J. Blänsdorf, Archaische Gedankengänge in den Komödien des Plautus, Wiesbaden 1967.

[3] G. Thamm, Beobachtungen zur Form des plautinischen Dialogs, Hermes 100, 1972, 558–567.

[4] A. Katsouris, Word-Play in Greek Drama, Hellenika (Thessalonike) 28, 1975, 409–414.

particularly common. The poet often imitates official language, but also lofty poetry,[1] and particularly the tragedies known to his audience: examples are Ennius' *Achilles*[2] or Pacuvius' *Teucer*. Tragic parodies in early Plautine plays furnish us with a notion of elevated poetic language in the days before Ennius.

Naevius' handling of language offered an important model to Plautus. Both developed further features of the Italian delight in witty repartee (cf. Hor. *sat.* 1. 5. 51–69). There is a preference for strongly expressive verbs. Linguistic archaisms are somewhat rare in Plautus: for example, the vowel weakening in *dispessis manibus* (*Mil.* 360) and the syncope *surpta* (*Rud.* 1105). *Mavellem*[3] (*Mil.* 171) is perhaps a vulgarism, *ausculata* (*Mil.* 390) for *osculata* is certainly an hyper-urbanism. It is an open question how far the removal of hiatus by the introduction of archaic final consonants, such as *-d* in the ablative and imperative, should proceed. The solemn air of archaisms may produce a comic effect, as with the weighty dissyllabic genitives in *magnai rei publicai gratia* (*Mil.* 103). In a paratragic context we find *duellum* (*Amph.* 189). On the other hand, the employment of a preposition to replace the dative case, as in later Romance, may be taken from popular usage (e.g. *Mil.* 117: *ad erum nuntiem*). Yet expressions such as *nullos habeo scriptos* (*Mil.* 48) are not direct predecessors of the Romance perfect.

Greek words were by no means a mere affectation of high society. They were not rare in everyday life and often their effect is more humorous than academic.[4] Foreign tags need not necessarily spring from the original. They may derive from Plautus' knowledge of the colloquial usage of slaves, whether exemplified in phrases (*Stich.* 707) or jests (*Pseud.* 653–654).

The *verba Punica* in the *Poenulus*[5] are carefully prepared and rendered intelligible by the situation. The introduction of exotic languages or dialects is reminiscent of the Old Comedy, although a

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[1] H. Haffter, *Sublimis* bei Plautus und Terenz. Altlateinischer Komödien- und Tragödienstil in Verwandtschaft und Abhängigkeit (1935), repr. in: Römische Komödie, Darmstadt 1973, 110–121.

[2] H. D. Jocelyn, *Imperator histricus*, YClS 21, 1969, 95–123.

[3] P. B. Corbett, '*Vis comica*' in Plautus and Terence. An Inquiry into the Figurative Use by them of Certain Verbs, Eranos 62, 1964, 52–69.

[4] G. P. Shipp, Greek in Plautus, WS 66, 1953, 105–112.

[5] P. A. Johnston, *Poenulus* 1, 2 and Roman Women, TAPhA 110, 1980, 143–159 (dates the play to 191 B.C. or later); A. Van Den Branden, Le texte punique dans le *Poenulus* de Plaute, B&O 26, 1984, 159–180.

Doric-speaking doctor does make an appearance in Menander's *Aspis*. With a teacher's skill, Plautus imparts to his audience the feeling that it understands Punic. We deduce easily from emphasis and gestures what in fact we already know from the prologue.[1] Plautus is always aware of the need to communicate and attains his aim even when using an unintelligible language.

Compound abstracts again need not necessarily be based on Greek models. Nouns in this style, e.g. *multiloquium, parumloquium, pauciloquium* (*Merc.* 31–36), were coined by Plautus himself.[2]

Plautus introduced telling Greek names on his own. In the *Bacchides*, he replaced the neutral Menandrean name 'Syrus' with *Chrysalus* ('Gold-hunter'), and obviously was sure that his audience would understand its meaning. Many of his spectators after all had served as soldiers for a number of years in the Greek East. A list of peculiarities of word formation and usage would be too long, and in particular would create the false impression that Plautus' language is a collection of exceptions. Nothing would be more misleading. His language is lively, but kept in check by a natural grace.

As far as meter[3] and music are concerned, the comedies consist, according to the manuscripts, of dialogue (*diverbia*, DV, written in iambic senarii), and sung portions (*cantica*, C). The latter are subdivided into recitatives written in long verses, such as iambic and trochaic septenarii, and fully lyrical scenes resembling arias. Their purposes are different. If a letter is being read on stage, the meter switches from recitative in long verses into merely spoken senarii (*Bacch.* 997; *Pseud.* 998). If the accompanying music falls silent, the actor is speaking. Thus in the *Stichus* (762), while the 'flute' player takes a drink, the meter changes to spoken verse (senarius). Occasionally long verses too are indicated by DV (e.g. *Cas.* 798) at the point where the 'flute' player is being asked to begin.[4]

The sung parts hark back to a native tradition of 'musical play', while the spoken parts are, a specifically 'Greek' element. The importance of native traditions is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the bacchii and cretics, which are a favorite in Plautus, and which are

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[1] A. S. Gratwick, Hanno's Punic Speech in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, Hermes 99, 1971, 25–45.

[2] Greek comedy is differently oriented: Stobaeus 36. 18 = Philemon *frg.* 97 K.; A. Traina, Note plautine, Athenaeum 40, 1962, 345–349.

[3] H. Drexler, 'Lizenzen' am Versanfang bei Plautus, München 1965.

[4] A. Klotz, Zur Verskunst des altrömischen Dramas, WJA 2, 1947, 301–357.

especially well-adapted to Latin, are not widespread in Greek, so far as our fragmentary knowledge of Hellenistic lyric permits conclusions to be drawn.

Music undoubtedly played a greater part in Plautus than in Menander. Even so, it is now known that 'flute' music was also found in Menander at the tumultuous finale, and that Plautus could appeal to Menander's authority for his expansion of the parts written in long verses; for example, Menander's *Samia* contains many trochaic tetrameters. The meter changes at important points in the plot: instances are found in recognition scenes, such as *Cist.* 747; *Curc.* 635; cf. *Men.* 1063. Large-scale compositions in polymetric cantica and correspondences between distant lyrical passages within a play are characteristic of Plautus. Music therefore does not appear as some sort of 'entr'acte' but is an essential component of the drama. It forms the lyrical beginning and end. The canticum marks the start of the real action or of the dénouement.[1] Terence did not imitate this type of overarching composition.[2] The cantica, written in anapaests, bacchii, cretics, perhaps also in dochmiacs or in a variety of meters, are monodies or small-scale ensembles. An exception is formed by the chorus of fishermen at *Rudens* 290–305. Occasionally the song is accompanied by dancing.

An organizing principle of the Plautine cantica is the agreement of meter and meaning, verse and sentence.[3] In the structure of his cantica, the poet shows great artistic ingenuity and originality. There is no strict responsion[4] (although even here the Latin poet's deep-rooted delight in symmetry is evident).[5] The structure follows the musical reforms of Timotheus, also accepted by Euripides. The meter yields to the text and its emotion,[6] as it does in the so-called *Carmen*

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[1] F. Leo, Die plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik, Berlin 1897.

[2] L. Braun, Polymetrie bei Terenz und Plautus, WS 83, 1970, 66–83.

[3] F. Leo 1897 (s. note above).

[4] Mistaken: F. Crusius, Die Responsion in den plautinischen Cantica, Philologus suppl. 21, 1, Leipzig 1929.

[5] W. Ludwig, Ein plautinisches Canticum: *Curc.* 96–157, Philologus 111, 1967, 186–197; C. Questa, Due cantica delle *Bacchides* e altre analisi metriche, Roma 1967; L. Braun, Die Cantica des Plautus, Göttingen 1970 (with bibl.); L. Braun, Polymetrie bei Terenz und Plautus, WS 83, 1970, 66–83.

[6] H. Roppenecker, Vom Bau der plautinischen Cantica, Philologus 84, 1929, 301–319; 430–463; 85, 1930, 65–84; A. S. Gratwick and S. J. Lightley, Light and Heavy Syllables as Dramatic Colouring in Plautus and Others, CQ 76, n.s. 32, 1982, 124–133.

Grenfellianum, an instance of Hellenistic lyricism.[1] Historical links however are missing, although the complex meter of a fragment of Diphilos in Stobaeus is important.[2] In other respects, too, Diphilus often bridges the gap between tragedy and comedy.

Within the cantica, Plautus himself sets clear metrical boundaries.[3] Just like Ennius in the hexameter and Horace in his lyric verse, Plautus reveals here the typical Roman desire to fix the caesura and to control and regulate metrical license in arsis, thesis, and prosody.[4]

In the treatment of the different meters, the so-called licenses are greater or smaller according to the type of verse used. Bacchii and cretics, which are especially well adapted to the Latin language, are constructed with the greatest strictness. Anapaests are relatively free, but in sung verses the music may have provided more smoothness than the bare text now permits us to recognize. The treatment of the quantities is based on natural linguistic phenomena, partly connected with Latin word accent. In the case of synaloephe, iambic shortening, and caesuras, it must also be borne in mind that in fluent speech groups of words were treated as units.

Final *-s* was attenuated even in Cicero's time (Cic. *orat.* 161), but already in Plautus it may make position. In the stage poets, lengthening of a syllable by the combination of mute and liquid is impossible. Iambic shortening also affects syllables which stand before or after the accented syllable. The shortened syllable must occur after a short syllable, since otherwise there is no iambus. It is difficult to draw strict lines in the use of synizesis and hiatus. The latter is found particularly at major pauses required by sense, such as change of speaker; after interjections; and in phrases such as *quae ego, di ament.*

In spite of these differences from classical meter, many principles of the treatment of language in Roman poetry evidently remain constant, along with the indivisible unity of style and meter.

In the long run, the polymetric cantica remained without successor. This subtle verbal music, with its lively effects, was a culmination; unique in its fashion, it formed a high point in the history of the musical drama.

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[1] M. Gigante, Il papiro di Grenfell e i cantica plautini, PP 2, 1947, 300–308.

[2] W. M. Lindsay, Plautus *Stichus* 1 sqq., CR 32, 1918, 106–110, esp. 109 (with a reference to F. Marx).

[3] G. Maurach, Untersuchungen zum Aufbau plautinischer Lieder, Göttingen 1964.

[4] H. Roppenecker (cited above).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Apart from examples like the remarks on tragicomedy at *Amphitruo* 50–63, Plautus made few theoretical pronouncements on literary problems. Occasionally he uses comedy and the theater as metaphors. The most impressive instance is provided by the figure of Pseudolus who, as the director of a complex play of intrigue, becomes a twin of the poet. The most important verb linking the poet and his creativity is *velle*. In his prologues, Plautus is categorical about his choices of scene and title or in favor of or against the presence of particular characters: *Plautus voluit, Plautus noluit*. Here he speaks of himself almost as if he were some natural power or deity: 'The young fellow will not come back to the city today in this comedy; Plautus did not want it. He has broken the bridge that lay in his path' (*Cas.* 65–66). How could a poet who on his own admission, behaved so high-handedly with his characters (and models) ever have been regarded as a literal translator? His Majesty the Poet at the very most will take advice only from another sovereign majesty, the Public: 'He wants the play to be called (literally, 'to be') *Asinaria*, with your permission' (*Asin.* 12).

Another basic verb of Plautus' poetic is *vertere* (*vortere*).[1] It describes the metamorphosis of a Greek to a Latin play. But we must not think of literal translation. *Vortere* is linked with the adverb *barbare*. The task therefore is adaptation to a non-Greek environment. *Barbarus* is also the proud and humble adjective conferred by Plautus on his fellow poet Naevius. It presupposes an awareness of distance, both from Greek and from one's own world. The poet composes as one apart. He is not a *vates* but a *poeta* or, as Plautus likes to call his meddling and manipulative slaves, *architectus*. The poet is therefore distinguished, not only by his own sovereign will, but also by a constructive intellect. Inspiration is secondary, perhaps because in Plautus it is taken for granted. Plautus considers himself an author working rationally.

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[1] E. Lefèvre, *Maccus vortit barbare*. Vom tragischen *Amphitryon* zum tragikomischen *Amphitruo*, AAWM 5, 1982; D. Bain, *Plautus vortit barbare*. Plautus, *Bacch.* 526–561 and Menander, *Dis exapaton* 102–112, in: Creative Imitation and Latin Literature, ed. by D. West and T. Woodman, Cambridge 1979, 17–34; elements of literary criticism in the *Amphitruo*: G. Rambelli, Studi plautini, L'*Amphitruo*, RIL 100, 1966, 101–134.

Conversely, he makes fun of himself as *Maccus*. This character from popular farce is a modest image for the artist as society's jester not without the melancholy distinguishing great humorists, some of which makes itself felt in figures like the parasite of the *Stichus*.

Ideas II

A complex relationship unites reality and interpretation. Out of regard for a Roman audience, Greek material is shot through with elements originally foreign to it. In its new social context, even literal translation may in given circumstances sound different. In the *Captivi*, the panhellenic idea is transformed into citizenship of the world. Menander's comedy is relatively self-contained and consistent in tone. Both linguistically and artistically it strives for uniformity, a feature often enhancing the illusion of truthfulness to life. By contrast, in Plautus the very Greekness of the scene and of the dress produces a persistent awareness of distance.

The creation of a 'topsy-turvy world', as for example in the often misunderstood *Asinaria*, harks back to the very roots of comedy. The father obeys his son; the master commands his slave to deceive him; the slave enjoys divine dignity (*Salus*, 713); the son abases himself before him; the mother forces her daughter to behave immorally; the matron lords it over her husband. It is precisely an audience which thinks in 'realistic' terms which can do full justice to the absurdity found in this comedy.

Illusion, so far from being maintained, is actually broken. The conventional character of the play is emphasized. The world is not uniform or self-contained. Rather it is pluralist, open on all sides, filled with surprises. Music enhances even more the degree of stylization and the contrast with the stage of illusion. In union with the word, a magic effect on the spectator is produced, completely unintended by Menander. This irrational element, belonging to the particular gifts of his genius, unites Plautus with those great poets of the comic stage in whom lyrical and magical features are also encountered in different ways: Aristophanes and Shakespeare.

Plautus' model is the less outspoken New Comedy in Menander's style, and we must not therefore expect from him direct intervention in contemporary events in the manner of Aristophanes. In any case, he had before his eyes among other things the living example of

Naevius, who was forced to atone for his attacks on the mighty while reduced to living on bread and water. Thanks to the Greek dress from which the palliata takes its name and their Greek locales, Plautus' plays, viewed superficially, are even further removed from reality than those of Menander, which do after all take place in the spectators' homeland. Slaves smarter than their masters could be found only in degenerate Greece, and at first it was only natural that immorality found in a foreign country should rouse the heartiest laughter. However, under the pallium, the toga may sometimes be glimpsed, as when Alcmene asks Amphitruo whether an *auspicium* prevents him from rejoining his army (*Amph.* 690), or when, in particular circumstances, such as the abolition of the *lex Oppia* about 195, there is repeated criticism of the luxurious fashions of ladies in high society.[1] In the distorting mirror of a foreign world arousing permissible laughter, features of the Roman society could also be quite properly distinguished. Comic laughter thus became the harbinger of self-knowledge and self-criticism. It has long been assumed that in the *Epidicus* Plautus suppressed a marriage between half-brother and sister found in the original out of consideration for his Roman audience.[2] However that may be, Plautus, by contrast with Terence, quite frequently takes note of Roman circumstances. Such violations of the dramatic illusion must not be understood as a lapse, but as a deliberate choice. They comprise more than allusions to Roman topography (*Curc.* 467–485), legal regulations[3] and social customs in general. Plautus had the courage to confront thorny issues of the day, sometimes in sympathy with the authorities. Thus, probably shortly before the legal measures against the *Bacchanalia*[4] or against usurers,[5] he assailed misbehavior of this kind. But he also opposed authority. In the *Miles*, an

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[1] For example, F. de Ruyt, Le thème fondamental de l'*Aululaire* de Plaute, LEC 29, 1961, 375–382.

[2] C. W. Keyes, Half-Sister Marriage in New Comedy and the *Epidicus*, TAPhA 71, 1940, 217–229.

[3] E. Schuhmann, Ehescheidungen in den Komödien des Plautus, ZRG 93, 1976, 19–32; E. Costa, Il diritto privato romano nelle commedie di Plauto, Torino 1890; R. Düll, Zur Frage des Gottesurteils im vorgeschichtlichen römischen Zivilstreit, ZRG 58, 1938, 17–35; O. Fredershausen, De iure Plautino et Terentiano, Göttingen 1906; id., Weitere Studien über das Recht bei Plautus und Terenz, Hermes 47, 1912, 199–249.

[4] E. Schuhmann, Hinweise auf Kulthandlungen im Zusammenhang mit plautinischen Frauengestalten, Klio 59, 1977, 137–147.

[5] *Most.* 625–626; 657–658; cf. Livy 35. 41. 9 (192 B.C.).

allusion to a great writer held in prison (see above) was anything but a compliment to the guardians of social order. In the *Trinummus*, the importance of legality is emphasized to the detriment of a hypocritical appeal to a so-called *mos maiorum*. This may be seen as support for Cato's criticism of the diversion of spoils to private use and for his struggle against the party of the Scipios.[1] Bribery (*Trin.* 1033) and the excessive granting of triumphs are assailed (*Bacch.* 1072–1075). At the production of the *Captivi*, set in Aetolia, the audience was bound to recall the 43 noble Aetolians then imprisoned at Rome.[2] More important than such details, which in the nature of things are often open to dispute, is the general principle. We can scarcely measure how many burning issues of the day were treated in these plays. In them, the dignity of *patres familias*, whose power was almost unlimited at Rome, was dragged through the mud; friend and enemy, master and slave turned out to be brothers; the hated and treacherous Carthaginian appeared on the stage as a man of honor; and the boasting of generals became, on the lips of slaves, empty talk. The magistrates who organized these games for the people may have seen in comedy a method of influencing the masses. But it was a two-edged weapon which could also turn against those who employed it.

In general, we should not imagine that Plautus' audience was all crude and uneducated. These were the same people who also attended tragic performances. They could understand tragic parody, and Plautus could presuppose in them a certain degree of wit and sophistication.[3]

Plautus employed the religious ideas of his models while combining them with those of Rome. The typical Roman notion of the *pax deorum* makes its appearance.[4] *Exemplum* plays a leading role,[5] and Roman and Greek ways of living encounter each other in fruitful exchange. In the *Stichus*, Plautus depicted the Roman ideal of the *univira*.

As a rule, in the New Comedy gods appear only to speak the

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[1] T. Frank, Some Political Allusions in Plautus' *Trinummus*, AJPh 53, 1932, 152–156; on the history of the period, see also G. K. Galinsky, Scipionic Themes in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, TAPhA 97, 1966, 203–235.

[2] Livy 37. 3. 8; dating after the conclusion of peace in 189: K. Wellesley, The Production Date of Plautus' *Captivi*, AJPh 76, 1955, 298–305; P. Grimal, Le modèle et la date des *Captivi* de Plaute, in: Hommages à M. Renard, Bruxelles 1969, vol. 1, 394–414.

[3] J.-P. Cèbe, Le niveau culturel du public plautinien, REL 38, 1960, 101–106.

[4] G. Pasquali, Leggendo 5, SIFC n.s. 7, 1929, 314–316.

[5] E. W. Leach, *De exemplo meo ipse aedificato*, Hermes 97, 1969, 318–332.

prologue. An exception is the *Amphitruo* in which Jupiter and Mercury actually take part. Plautus calls the play, though not only for this reason, a tragicomedy. Jupiter's role in the dénouement recalls tragic endings in which a god resolves the dilemma and prophesies the future. The gods acting as prologue speakers play this part in the first instance because of their superior knowledge. Being aware of family connections still concealed from the actors, they can prepare the spectators for the recognition which is to come at the finale.

But the gods may also influence the course of the action. In the *Aulularia*,[1] the *Lar familiaris* allows the old father to find a treasure so as to assist his pious daughter with her dowry. He also causes Megaronides to seek the girl's hand, thus indirectly leading the man who is her real choice to take a similar step. Moreover, the deities whose altar rests on the stage are often related to the action. So with Fides, to whom Euclio only grudgingly entrusts his treasure. This mistrustful character does not even trust Trust personified. The name of the goddess is entwined with the chief character. In other cases, it is related to the setting. The *Rudens* begins with a storm at sea. The star Arcturus, whose early rise in the middle of September marks the beginning of the stormy season, is therefore more than a weather god. He also guides the fate of men, for it is he who has brought about the storm which in the end reunites the divided members of the family and rescues the shipwrecked girls from the power of the *leno*. A philosophical thought is involved. Perjurers and villains cannot placate the gods by sacrifice (*Rud.* 22–25). In the same play, the awe-inspiring priestess embodies *pietas* and divine justice, a basic concept of the play.

In general, the prologue deities are closer to allegory than to myth and religion. It may be Arcturus in the prologue who has conjured up the storm, but in the play itself only Neptune is named (84; 358; 372–373). Similarly, in Philemon (*frg.* 91 K.), Aër presents himself as an all-seeing Zeus. The speaker of the prologue in Menander's *Aspis* is indeed Tyche herself, changeable Fortune in contrast to stable *Fatum*.

Menander assigns to Tyche, as to the gods who appear in his other prologues, an inobtrusive leading role.[2]

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[1] Basic treatment by W. Ludwig, *Aulularia*-Probleme, Philologus 105, 1961, 44–71; 247–262.

[2] W. Ludwig, Die plautinische *Cistellaria* und das Verhältnis von Gott und Handlung bei Menander, in: Ménandre, Entretiens Fondation Hardt 16, 1970, 43–110. Tyche, who is an Oceanid in Hesiod, even in Herodotus does not denote blind chance but

Behind the employment of allegorical figures in the prologue, philosophical sources may occasionally be detected, as at the beginning of the *Rudens*.[1] According to Plato's *Epinomis* (981e–985b), the stars are visible and seeing gods. They know our thoughts, they love the good and hate the bad. They tell everything to each others and to the higher gods, since they occupy a middle place between them and us. In fact, in the play, the storm aroused by the star leads to the punishment of the bad and the reward for the good. In his prologue, Plautus did not remove this philosophical passage, but carefully developed it. Along with the Pythagorean elements in Ennius, he gave us one of the earliest philosophical texts in the Latin language. This is all the more significant because it was only several decades after Plautus' death that professional philosophy came to Rome. In its introduction there, the acquisition of the Macedonian court library[2] by Aemilius Paullus after the Battle of Pydna in 168 B.C., and the embassy of philosophers in 155, marked decisive moments.

In this context, a play of ideas like the *Captivi* is of particular significance. Its original springs from a time when the Greeks were taking belated account of their national unity. It proves in the course of the action that differences between friend and foe, master and slave,[3] are arbitrary and incidental. Tyndarus is taken away from his father by a slave, and sold into enemy hands as a slave. Later, with his new master, he is made prisoner by his own countrymen. There, he changes clothes with his master, and so aids in his escape home. When the new owner hears of the treachery, he punishes Tyndarus most severely. But, as the end of the play reveals, Tyndarus is his long-lost son. A single character here experiences, on behalf of all, the full gamut of roles conditioned by inner and external events. The play, influenced by the thinking of the Greek Enlightenment,[4]

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the reversal of fortune in connection with divine envy. This gives her a religious dimension. Sophocles also knows the Wheel of Tyche. Her role in drama is expressed by Euripides (*Ion* 1512–1515).

[1] E. Fraenkel, The Stars in the Prologue of the *Rudens*, CQ 36, 1942, 10–14.

[2] F. Della Corte, Stoiker und Epikureer in Plautus' Komödien, in: FS A. Thierfelder, Hildesheim 1974, 80–94.

[3] P. Spranger, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz, Stuttgart, 2nd ed. 1984; E. Coleiro, Lo schiavo in Plauto, Vichiana 12, 1983, 113–120 (argues implausibly that sympathy for slaves and their positive depiction is Plautine rather than Greek); J. Dingel, Herren und Sklaven bei Plautus, Gymnasium 88, 1981, 489–504.

[4] The equality of all people: Antiphon VS 87 B 44 B; Alcidamas *Schol. Arist. rhet.*

had originally as its principal aim the reconciliation of Greek with Greek. In its transfer to Rome and detachment fom its original national milieu, it gains even more in general human significance. It was not for nothing that a champion of tolerance such as Lessing declared the *Captivi* the 'most wonderful play ever staged'.[1] While the *Captivi* inclines towards Stoic thought, for the *Persa* traces of Cynic influence,[2] and even a portrait drawn from life of Diogenes himself,[3] have been claimed. Before philosophy found its way to Rome, it was drama that became the vehicle of enlightenment and of moral progess.

Transmission

Plautus experienced his first renaissance after Terence's death.[4] Many of his plays were re-staged (cf. *Casina*, prologue 5–14). This led to the intrusion of interpolations and double recensions into the text. Soon the *grammatici* assumed care of the text, as early, for example, as Aelius Stilo. Cicero and the eminent scholar Varro valued Plautus highly. Our tradition, in fact, consists of the plays which Varro accepted as undoubtedly genuine. After a temporary decline in reputation (Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 170–176; *ars* 270–274), brought about by the unrelenting demand for literary perfection on the part of the Augustan poets, he again attracted scholarly interest from Probus and the Archaists. A scholarly edition may have been produced, to become the source of our tradition. A palimpsest dating from late antiquity (A) was discovered in the Ambrosian Library by A. Mai in 1815, and deciphered at the cost of his own eyesight by W. Studemund. It gives a selection of the double recensions occasioned by repeated productions. The medieval tradition (P—Palatine recension) has preserved the variants with greater completeness, though without the critical textual marks.[5] It may depend on a

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1373 B 18; Hippias *apud* Plat. *Prot.* 337 CD; cf. Philemon, *frg.* 95 K.; R. Müller, in: Der Mensch als Maß der Dinge, Berlin 1976, 254–257.

[1] *Beiträge zur Hist. und Aufnahme des Theaters* (Works, vol. 3, ed. K. S. Guthke, München 1972, 389).

[2] F. Leo, Diogenes bei Plautus (1906), in: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften 1, 1960, 185–190; but this interpretation is connected with the now doubtful early dating of the Greek original.

[3] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Göttinger Index lectionum 1893/4, 16 (= Kleine Schriften 2, 1941), disputed by G. L. Müller, Das Original des plautinischen *Persa*, diss. Frankfurt 1957.

[4] H. B. Mattingly, The First Period of Plautine Revival, Latomus 19, 1960, 230–252; important remarks on transmission: B. Bader 1970; on interpolations: H. D. Jocelyn, *Imperator histricus*, YClS 21, 1969, 95–123.

[5] A discussion of the critical marks in: W. Brachmann, De *Bacchidum* Plautinae retractatione scaenica capita quinque, diss. Leipzig 1880, 59–188.

manuscript of the 4th century. The manuscripts present the plays, with minor variations, in alphabetical order. The three plays the titles of which begin with A circulated in antiquity as a separate volume. Nonius cites them with especial frequency. Nothing is preserved of them in Codex A.

Of the *Vidularia*, which stood in last place, only parts now remain. Regrettable major lacunae are found in the *Aulularia* (end), *Bacchides* (beginning), *Cistellaria*. Several prologues are missing. From lost plays, about 200 lines or parts of lines are cited. Some of the transmitted *argumenta* are acrostics and date from before Donatus. Following Alexandrian precept, in the palimpsest A the verses are written colometrically and distinguished from one another by indentation corresponding to their length. Since no intact original text survives, even lines lacking in A may be genuine.

Influence

Comedy makes its influence felt on other genres: on the *togata*, for example, which confers on Roman subject-matter a form owed to Menander and Terence, and even on elegy[1] and the art of love.[2] In the history of such influence,[3] Plautus is only partly overshadowed by Terence,[4] whose language was more easily understood by later generations. But Plautus was esteemed even by Cicero as a source of clear and elegant Latin.[5]

During the Middle Ages Plautus was not very popular, although Aimeric (11th century) recommended him for class use. Hrotsvit (Roswitha) of Gandersheim (10th century) was influenced by his language in her own plays.

Plautus was a particular favorite of the Renaissance. Petrarch knew at least four of his plays. Apart from Virgil, Plautus was the only secular author taken by Luther in 1508 to his Augustinian Priory at Erfurt. New productions, translations, and adaptations, both in Latin

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[1] J. C. Yardley, Comic Influences in Propertius, Phoenix 26, 1972, 134–139; F. Leo, 2nd ed. 1912, 143–145.

[2] F. Leo, 2nd ed. 1912, 146–157.

[3] K. von Reinhardstoettner, Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, Leipzig 1886; the influence of Plautus on the late antique *Querolus* is disputed: W. Süss, Über das Drama *Querolus sive Aulularia*, RhM 91, 1942, 59–122 (bibl.); W. Salzmann, Molière und die lateinische Komödie. Ein Stil- und Strukturvergleich, Heidelberg 1969. R. S. Miola, Shakespeare and Classical Comedy, Oxford 1994.

[4] S. Prete, Plautus und Terenz in den Schriften des F. Petrarca, Gymnasium 57, 1950, 219–224.

[5] *De orat.* 3. 45; *off.* 1. 104; see already Aelius Stilo *apud* Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 99.

and the vernacular, began as early as the second half of the 15th century. Albrecht von Eyb (d. 1475) began the long series of German adaptations with his *Menaechmi* and *Bacchides*, printed for the first time in 1511. In 1486 there began at the court of Ferrara the soon innumerable Italian versions. In 1515, a Spanish *Amphitryon* by Francisco de Villalobos appeared, to be followed in 1562/63 by an English counterpart composed by W. Courtney.

Menander was lost, and it was Latin comedy that became the model for Europe.[1] Plautus,[2] Terence and Seneca taught the way to the artistic construction of plays and the careful conduct of the plot.[3] A classic example, although relatively late, is *Der Schatz* by Lessing (d. 1781). It is an admirable condensation of the *Trinummus* from five acts into one. Early in Germany, in addition to the professional stage, the school play was important. From a later period, Goethe's contemporary J. M. R. Lenz (d. 1792) may be mentioned.

To world literature, Plautus left a rich legacy of scenes and motifs. As early as the 12th century, the *Amphitruo* found a successor in elegy,[4] and in general perhaps this play has had the widest influence. Molière (d. 1673) sharpened the theme of adultery, although not by sacrificing courtly levity. The great Portuguese author Luis de Camões (d. 1580) gave less prominence to Hercules' birth, and emphasized the misunderstandings caused by the two Amphitryons. Kleist (d. 1811) treated the love of the creator for his creature with philosophical seriousness. Giraudoux (d. 1944) developed a remarkable philosophy of human resistance to divine caprice.

In the course of history the action of the *Aulularia* was transferred from a Greek polis to other places and social structures: the Dutchman

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[1] More details in the section on Terence below; E. Lefèvre, Römische und europäische Komödie, in: Die römische Komödie. Plautus und Terenz, ed. by E. Lefèvre, Darmstadt 1973, 1–17.

[2] Erasmus and Melanchthon recommended Plautus for class use, without lasting success. Pomponius Laetus staged Plautine comedies at Rome; an Italian performance took place in Ferrara as early as 1486; such events encouraged both Neolatin (e.g. E. S. Piccolomini, Conrad Celtis) and vernacular playwrights (Machiavelli, Ariosto, Calderón, Corneille, and others).

[3] This applied e.g. to the works of Goldoni (d. 1793) and to opera libretti like those of Da Ponte (d. 1838).

[4] In the *Geta* of Vitalis of Blois, who also composed an *Aulularia*; H. Jacobi, Amphitryon in Frankreich und Deutschland, diss. Zürich 1952; for the influence of the *Amphitruo* on contemporary German literature: G. Petersmann, *Deus sum: commutavero.* Von Plautus' *Amphitruo* zu P. Hacks' *Amphitryon*, AU 36, 2, 1994, 25–33; cf. also Georg Kaiser's *Zweimal Amphitryon.*

Hooft (d. 1647) set the scene of his *Warenar* in Amsterdam. Molière's *Avare* exaggerates the complex character drawn by Plautus into a grotesque and almost demonic portrait of greed incarnate. Shakespeare (d. 1616) in his *Comedy of Errors* followed the opposite path. The straight comedy of mistaken identity (*Menaechmi*) is heightened by individual character drawing and so removed from traditional patterns.[1] The novelistic framework and the motif of metamorphosis (partly influenced by the *Amphitruo*) produce a fantastic fairy-tale atmosphere somewhat reminiscent of the *Rudens*. Shakespeare was to give back to comedy, in his own way, the lyrical element lent to it by Plautus through his association of it with music.

Plautus has not yet been sufficiently discovered by the cinema. Richard Lester's film *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1965) is a promising beginning.[2]

Plautus had much to say to his time, and to later generations. Horace assigns him the simple intention of filling his theater's cash-box, although that is in itself not a blameworthy attitude for a man of the theater. His plays, however, have much deeper significance. They were, precisely because they enjoyed so wide an audience, an inestimable means of enlightenment and progress, affirmation and criticism of traditional values. They were concerned with communicating rules for behavior both between individual men and entire peoples, and with farreaching challenges to thought that prepared the way even for philosophy. They offered criticism of purblind over-emphasis on the military and on the power of money. They helped to put into words private themes such as love or work. All this must have had a liberating and fascinating effect on the Roman audience. These aspects are emphasized here not because they are to be thought of as the most important, but because in so elemental a comic genius as Plautus they are easily overlooked.

Above all, Plautus created immortal theater. His language was both original and yet artistically formed, combining the charm of life with the magic of music. Without ever falling into obscurity, Plautus is continually aware of his spectator, sometimes carefully explaining and preparing, sometimes purposely leading him astray so that the surprise will be all the greater.

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[1] L. Salingar, Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy, Cambridge 1974, 59–67; 76–88; 129–157.

[2] To give another example, Louis de Funès adapted the theme of Plautus' *Aulularia*.

His extraordinary control of language finally prevents his drama from dissolving into a simple concern with action. It stands and falls by word and gesture. Later, Roman literature would make much further progress in brevity, subtlety, and strictness of form. The freshness, richness, and clarity of Plautus in their way found no successor. The farcical playwright and 'old stager' in Plautus, allegedly destroying the symmetry of his models by violent interventions, is well known. Less well known is the Plautus who is restrained and refined, who truncates what is melodramatic and sentimental or confines it to offstage, and Plautus, the creator of new, personal, dramatic and musical symmetries and structures. Least well-known of all are Plautus the intellectual and Plautus the great lyric poet of early Latin literature.

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CAECILIUS

Life, Dates

Caecilius Statius, who in the opinion of Volcacius Sedigitus (1. 5 M. = 1. 5 Bü.) was Rome's greatest writer of comedy, came to Rome from Cisalpine Gaul, as would many famous authors. Jerome, who may be drawing on Suetonius (*chron. a. Abr.* 1839 = 179 B.C.), makes him

an Insubrian, originating perhaps from Milan. Gellius (4. 20. 12 and 13) regards him as a former slave. None of this lacks probability, and the name of Statius in itself, though it occurs frequently among the Samnites, does not justify us in making the poet, like his friend Ennius, into a native of south Italy.[1] More important than nationality is perhaps the fact that, since he was born about 220 B.C., he and Pacuvius were contemporaries. This is a circumstance often forgotten, because Caecilius died a year after Ennius at the beginning of the sixties, while Pacuvius lived much longer.

Caecilius' comedies at first met with rejection until, particularly after Plautus' death in 184, the intervention of the producer Ambivius Turpio won over the public, exactly as happened later in the case of Terence. The touching encounter with young Terence, whose talent Caecilius recognized, may be a legend; if at all, it must have happened as early as some years before the original production of the *Andria* (166 B.C.).

Survey of Works

Aeth(e)rio, Andria (M = imitated from Menander), *Androgynos* (M), *Asotus, Chalcia* (M), *Chrysion, Dardanus* (M), *Davos, Demandati, Ephesio* (M?), *Epicleros* (M), *Epistathmos, Epistula,* Ἐξ αὑτοῦ ἑστώς, *Exul, Fallacia, Gamos, Harpazomene, Hymnis* (M), *Hypobolimaeus sive Subditivos* (M; cf. also *Chaerestratus, Rastraria* and *Hypobolimaeus Aeschinus*), *Imbrii* (M), *Karine* (M), *Meretrix, Nauclerus* (M), *Nothus Nicasio, Obolostates sive Faenerator, Pausimachus, Philumena, Plocium* (M), *Polumenoe* (M), *Portitor, Progamos* (M), *Pugil, Symbolum, Synaristosae* (M), *Synephebi* (M), *Syracusii, Titthe* (M), *Triumphus, Venator.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

Caecilius' chief model was Menander, as the list just given shows. Along with him, he follows Antiphanes and Alexis from the Middle Comedy and, from the New, Philemon (*Exul, Harpazomene, Nothus Nicasio*), Macon (*Epistula*), and Posidippus (*Epistathmos*). Caecilius' preference for Menander prefigures a new tendency in Roman comedy. The time of Terence, *dimidiatus Menander*, is not far away. In the structure of his comedies, Caecilius borrows more closely from his

[1] An unconvincing argument in D. O. ROBSON, The Nationality of the Poet Caecilius Statius, AJPh 59, 1938, 301–308.

models than Plautus had done. In minor matters, he often deviates considerably from his original, and by no means aims at a literal translation.

In a comic poet it is natural to look for a debt to popular traditions. This is especially true of a poet like Caecilius Statius, who is far removed from Terence's strictness. In the *Synephebi*, an old farmer planting trees says in answer to a question that he is doing it for the coming generation (Cicero *Cato* 7. 24). Whether Caecilius found this remark in Menander or not, it is our oldest evidence of a motif widespread in folklore.

Literary Technique

In praising Caecilius' arrangement of his plots, Varro[1] is noting a quality owed to Menander. Caecilius followed his examples relatively closely, without inserting scenes from other plays (so-called *contaminatio*). By contrast with Plautus, he avoided, so far as may be seen, personal address to the audience. Even allusions to Roman customs are scarce. He belonged to the same generation as Luscius, who was accused by Terence of slavish dependence on his models. Caecilius' plays carry mainly Greek titles. Formations in *-aria* and diminutives tend to disappear. Terence and Turpilius would make no further use of Latin titles at all.

As his 'coarse' adaptations show, even in his Menandrean plays, Caecilius is less concerned with subtle psychology and the ethos of his characters than with powerful stage effect. But dialogue does not go out of control as in Plautus. In accordance with Aristotle's injunction, the plot (*argumentum*) takes precedence over dialogue and even over character drawing, ethos. This is an advantage in comparison with the looser composition of Plautus, but at the same time a disadvantage in the light of the more subtle character drawing of Terence.

Nevertheless, even in Caecilius, more nuanced characters and situations are to be found. In the *Synephebi*, a young hero laments in all seriousness that his father is too easygoing (*com.* 196–206 Guardì = 199–209 R.). In another passage we hear of a hetaera who refuses to accept money (*com.* 211–212 G. = 213–214 R.). In both cases we are confronted with a 'Menandrean' reversal of conventional ideas.

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[1] *In argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesin Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus* (*Men.* 399 Buecheler).

We are already perhaps on the way towards the interest in character shown by Terence, although Caecilius seems to be more concerned with surprising the spectator than with individual character portraits.

Language and Style

It is fortunate that we are able to compare Caecilius' best known play (*com.* 136–184 G. = 142–189 R.), the 'Necklace' (*Plocium*), with Menander. Gellius (2. 23. 9–11), to whom we owe this possibility, bewails the loss of ease and grace, and speaks of an exchange like that between Glaucus and Diomedes in Homer. Quintilian is of the opinion that, in Latin, Attic charm is unattainable (*inst.* 10. 1. 100).

An old married gentleman is complaining about his rich and ugly wife, who has forced him to dismiss a pretty serving girl (*com.* 136–153 G. = 142–157 R.). In Menander, we find tranquil, graceful trimeters, while Caecilius offers a large, polymetric canticum. Typical of early Latin are accumulations of synonyms and homoeoteleuta: *Ita plorando, orando, instando atque obiurgando me obtudit* ('so she wore me down with her weeping, wheedling, intruding and abusing'). The style emphasizes the perseverance with which Krobyle has 'worked on' her husband until she has had her way. This seems to forebode the creation of a caricature out of Menander's elegant analysis of a type. But, contrary to expectation, the elements of caricature in the original are abandoned: the lady's yard-long nose and her grotesque portrayal as an 'ass among apes'. The Greek poet highlights visual effect and exact numbers: 16 talents of dowry. The Roman, conversely, prefers emotive sound effects and epigrammatical antithesis: instead of 'nose' he introduces the single ironic term *forma*, which one may imagine accompanied by a gesture. At the same time, Caecilius concentrates totally on speech and action: for example, on the process of 'softening up', and especially on the speech, quoted verbatim, of the conquering harridan who has won the argument: 'Which of you young women has done as much as I have in my old age?' The antithesis here is noteworthy. Military metaphors contribute to the novel effect: *Qui quasi ad hostes captus liber servio salva urbe atque arce* ('I am free but still a slave to the will of enemies, though yet my town and stronghold are safe'). Another witty point is found in the sentence: *quae nisi dotem omnia quae nolis, habet* ('she who has everything you wouldn't want her to have except a dowry'). The series of oxymora is typically Latin: *liber servio; vivo mortuus* (*dum eius mortem inhio*)

'free, I'm a slave, while I gape for her death, I'm a living corpse'. So the epigrams follow in quick succession until the poet gives a last turn to the screw, gaining a strained, indeed even coarse, effect.

The same old gentleman converses with an elderly neighbor (*com.* 154–158 G. = 158–162 R.) about the haughtiness of the rich wife, the 'mistress'. Menander calls her the 'most tedious of the tedious'. Caecilius replaces this general description with a narrated scene of somewhat vulgar effect. The husband returns home drunk, and his wife, who has not eaten, gives him a malodorous kiss: *ut devomas volt quod foris potaveris* ('she wants you to belch up what you have been drinking out of doors'). While the graceful Greek phrase is left hanging in the air, Caecilius attains drama, concreteness and antithetical point, using exaggeratedly crude methods referred by Gellius (2. 23. 11) to the mime. A similar effect of surprise is found in the third fragment (159 G. = 163 R.): 'My wife began to please me mightily—after she had died.'

In the view of ancient critics,[1] Caecilius' verses were weighty (*graves*). This may be seen in his critical comments on contemporary society. This is the quality which Luscius Lanuvinus missed in Terence, whose 'light style' (*levis scriptura*) he criticized.[2] Gellius went somewhat further and claimed that Caecilius patched together words full of tragic bombast (2. 23. 21 *trunca quaedam ex Menandro dicentes et consarcinantes verba tragici tumoris*). The closeness to tragedy is well observed, and may often be detected as early as in Plautus. There is a link with the typically tragic style of Caecilius' contemporary Pacuvius. Cicero names him and Caecilius in the same breath.

Caecilius' Latin is criticized (Cic. *Brut.* 74). It seems to exaggerate certain features of Plautus, just as Pacuvius writes in a 'more Ennian' way than Ennius. Terence's criticism of Luscius Lanuvinus, saying that he corrupts the language of his Greek original (Ter. *Eun.* 7), is similar. Caecilius is a mannered, unclassical stylist. However, his sharply pointed epigrams rise beyond his time and belong to the most polished Latin apophthegms. In this respect, indeed, Caecilius is a predecessor of Terence, who otherwise is so totally different from him.

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[1] On *gravitas*: older critics *apud* Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 59; πάθη Varro *apud* Charis. GL 1. 241. 28–29.

[2] Ter. *Phorm.* prol. 5 (= CRF Ribbeck, 3rd ed. Luscius Lanuvinus *frg. ex incertis fabulis* II).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In his work, Caecilius is guided by his artistic understanding and by theoretical considerations. So much is shown by the indirect evidence. He seems to have established definite rules for the palliata: closer attention to the conduct of plot in the original; avoidance of contamination; the demand that a play should be 'new', while Plautus had reworked themes of Naevius. Even in the theoretical foundation of his activity, he pioneered the development which led to Terence. It is unfortunate that, because of the paucity of material, we cannot go beyond these general conclusions.

Ideas II

Memorable epigrams contain thoughts derived from Hellenistic philosophy: 'Live as best you can, since you cannot live as you would like' (*com.* 173 G. = 177 R. *vivas ut possis, quando non quis ut velis*). 'Only want; you will accomplish' (*com.* 286 G. = 290 R. *fac velis: perficies*). 'One man is a god to another, if he knows his duty' (*com.* 283 G. = 264 R. *homo homini deus est, si suum officium sciat*). This last remark may be meant as a rejoinder to Plautus' *lupus est homo homini*, 'man is a wolf to a man' (*Asin.* 495, from Demophilus). The Menandrean epigram is traced partly to Stoic and partly to Aristotelian tradition (cf. Guardì *ad loc.*). The ancient functional concept of god as 'protector of life' lies behind it. This 'humanitarian' notion of god corresponds well to the Roman feeling for the active life.

The 'tragic' pathos which Caecilius was able to arouse could occasionally be socially motivated (165–168 G. = 169–172 R.): Menedemus' slave Parmeno has discovered that his master's daughter, violated by a stranger, has borne a child and bewails the lot of the poor man who lacks the money he would need to conceal his misfortune. Caecilius abbreviates the sentimental features of his Menandrean original and brings into play an antithesis: 'That man is particularly unlucky whose own poverty means that he has to bring up children in poverty. The man bereft of wealth and riches is immediately exposed (to everything), while a rich man's clique easily conceals his bad repute.' Caecilius' manner here is harsher and more accusatory than Menander's. In the last line Roman ideas are in play (*factio*).

Transmission

Cicero, who was particularly engrossed by questions of the generation gap in comedy, especially valued Caecilius' *Synephebi.* He preserves 15 fragments from this play, and thus helps to correct the somewhat coarse impression given by the *Plocium* of Caecilius' character portrayal. Our most important other witnesses are Nonius (106 fragments), Verrius Flaccus, as transmitted by Festus and Paulus (26 fragments), Gellius (11 fragments). The remainder are varyingly owed to Priscian, Charisius, Diomedes, Donatus, Servius, Isidore and others. In addition, there are the lexicon of Osbern of Gloucester (middle of the 12th century, A. Mai, *Thesaurus novus Latinitatis,* Roma 1836) and a *Glossarium Terentianum,* published by C. Barth in 1624.

Influence

Caecilius is already mentioned in the second prologue to Terence's *Hecyra,* where Ambivius Turpio refers to him as an acknowledged poet who, like Terence, had to overcome difficulties at the beginning of his career. Terence enters into a detailed discussion with Luscius Lanuvinus, probably a disciple or sympathizer of Caecilius. He cannot accept all Caecilius' artistic decisions. He returns to the practice of *contaminatio,* although he manages it with greater care. An ever closer adherence to models ultimately meant the end of the genre. Volcacius Sedigitus, who lived in the period between Cato and Cicero, bestowed on Caecilius the first place among all the comic poets. Plautus came second, Naevius third, Terence in sixth place (*apud* Gell. 15. 24). Here the chief criteria were obviously power of language and comedy of situation. If Caecilius received precedence even over Plautus, this may be due to his adroit handling of plot. This explains his temporary success. He seemed to link Plautus' merits (color, powerful language) with Menander's excellence in plot construction.

Horace quoted a prevailing opinion saying that Caecilius possesses *gravitas* (*epist.* 2. 1. 59). He mentioned him along with Plautus among the creators of words (*ars* 45–55). There is some truth in both statements. Above all, they reveal why Caecilius' comedies fell into oblivion. After his death, the language of Latin literature and its stylistic ideals took a different turn. Urbane elegance, purity and refinement replaced richness, power and color, notably in comedy, where, in any case, *gravitas* was a somewhat questionable feature. What had been individually colored turned out to be 'dated' and became ever more difficult to understand; what had been coarse became 'shocking'.

Caecilius resembles Pacuvius in so far as his language was for Latin a cul-de-sac, leading no further. Caecilius continued Plautine comedy by retaining and even strengthening its crudities and by raising its motley language to 'tragic bombast'. That is a characteristic of his generation. His approach to Plautus is like that of Pacuvius to Ennius. These authors brought the development of Latin theatrical language to a point too far from educated colloquial discourse. Terence's decision in favor of simple, clear Latin was more than the reaction of an aristocratic purism. It was the return of comedy to the linguistic register best suited to it.

Caecilius' achievements have not yet been fully appreciated. A thematic analysis of his comic plots and subjects, and a comparison of his language with that of Pacuvius, would clarify his position in the history of Roman drama. The prominence of Caecilius in Roman comedy is all the more difficult for us to grasp, because according to the ancient evidence it lay in his conduct of plots, and this is a quality which can hardly be deduced from brief fragments such as those we possess.

Caecilius combines skillful plot and epigrammatic thought with a somewhat crude drawing of character and a motley language. The two positive qualities named first here are decisive in performance. His two faults were more obvious to the reflective reader than to the spectator, who perhaps at first sight felt them to be an attraction. Gellius relates that the *Plocium* pleased his circle of friends on first reading, but lost its charm when studied more closely and compared with Menander. However, quiet reading is a poor substitute for the living play.

Editions: R. and H. STEPHANUS, Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum, quorum opera non extant, Genevae 1564. * CRF 2nd ed., 35–81, CRF 3rd ed., 40–94. * E. H. WARMINGTON (TTr), ROL 1, London 1935, 467–561. * T. GUARDÌ (TTrN, ind.), Palermo 1974. ** *Ind.*: GUARDÌ (s. editions). ** *Bibl.*: GUARDÌ (s. editions).

R. ARGENIO, Il *Plocium* di Cecilio Stazio, MC 7, 1937, 359–368. * W. BEARE, The Roman Stage, London 3rd ed. 1964, 86–90. * M. BETTINI, Un 'fidanzato' Ceciliano, RFIC 101, 1973, 318–328. * A. H. GROTON, Planting Trees for Antipho in Caecilius Statius' *Synephebi*, Dioniso 60, 1, 1990, 58–63. * A. M. NEGRI, Il *Plocium* di Menandro e di Cecilio, Dioniso 60, 1, 1990, 54–57. * J. NEGRO, Studio su Cecilio Stazio, Firenze 1919. * H. OPPERMANN, Zur Entwicklung der *fabula palliata*, Hermes 74, 1939, 113–129. * H. OPPERMANN, Caecilius und die Entwicklung der römischen Komödie, F&F 15, 1939, 196–

197. * C. Questa, Tentativo di interpretazione metrica di Cecilio Stazio (142–157 R.[3]), in: Poesia latina in frammenti. Miscellanea filologica, Genova 1974, 117–132. * R. Rocca, Caecilius Statius mimicus?, Maia 29–30, 1977–1978, 107–111. * A. Traina, Sul *vertere* di Cecilio Stazio (1958), in: A. Traina, *Vortit barbare.* Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone, Roma 1970, 41–53. * J. Wright, Dancing in Chains: The Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata, Rome 1974, 87–126.

TERENCE

Life and Dates

P. Terentius Afer, who was perhaps of Libyan origin, was born in Carthage in 195/4 or 185/4 B.C.,[1] at a time when his predecessors in comedy, Plautus, Ennius, and Caecilius were still alive. At Rome, where he became the slave of a senator, Terentius Lucanus, he received a first-class education and his freedom. He enjoyed the friendship of respected Romans, perhaps Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius, to whom rumor wrongly ascribed the authorship of his comedies (*Haut.* 22–24; *Ad.* 15–21). His plays were presented by Ambivius Turpio, whose first favorite author, Caecilius, had died in 168 B.C. It is probable that Terence, like Lucilius, remained aloof from the writers' guild, and the low esteem in which his work was held by Volcacius Sedigitus may be owed to the influence of this college.[2]

He died on a literary pilgrimage made to Greece and Asia Minor.[3] The story that he translated 108 plays there is perhaps wishful thinking on the part of scholars, as is the touching tale asserting that the young poet read his *Andria* at the behest of the aediles to the aged Caecilius—two years after Caecilius' death! Terence's alleged bequest of a property to his daughter, enabling her to marry a knight, is a

[1] The date 185 B.C. is supported by the Suetonian life transmitted by Donatus (p. 7. 8–8. 6 Wessner; p. 38. 80–40. 96 Rostagni), drawn from the chapter *De poetis* in *De viris illustribus*. The earlier date can be derived from Fenestella (*vita* p. 3. 4–7 and 3. 10–13), cf. G. D'Anna, Sulla vita suetoniana di Terenzio, RIL 89–90, 1956, 31–46; on the poet's biography M. Brožek, *De Vita Terentii* Suetoniana, Eos 50, 1959–1960, 109–126.

[2] W. Krenkel, Zur literarischen Kritik bei Lucilius, in: D. Korzeniewski, ed., Die römische Satire, Darmstadt 1970, 161–266, esp. 230–231.

[3] According to Suetonius 5, he died in 159 B.C.; according to Jerome *chron.* 1859, in 158.

charming story, but legend also hints at the Scipios' ingratitude... Terence is the only early Latin poet whose vita came down to us. But this merely offers further proof of the limits to our knowledge of ancient authors.

His six comedies are dated between 166 and 160 B.C. by the didascaliae, the vita and the prologues. The didascaliae name the author and the title, the ceremony and the presiding magistrate, the principal actor, the composer of the music and its type, the Greek original and the consuls in the year of presentation. This information was put together by an ancient editor. Subtle efforts to reconstruct other hypothetical dates[1] are not universally accepted. The prudent course in the meantime is to accept the dates which were perhaps originally established by Varro who had more material at his disposal. With our present information we cannot go further.

The *Andria* was produced in April 166 B.C. at the *Ludi Megalenses*. Twice it happened that performances of the *Hecyra* were interrupted, at the *Ludi Megalenses* in 165 and at the funeral games for L. Aemilius Paullus in 160, until in the same year, probably at the *Ludi Romani* in September, the play finally met with success. The prologue comes from the second (1–8) and the third (33–42) stage presentation. In 163 the *Hautontimorumenos* was produced for the first time, followed by the first performance of the *Eunuchus* in 161, in both cases at the *Ludi Megalenses*. The *Phormio* was put on in the same year, probably at the *Ludi Romani*. The *Adelphoe* was staged in 160, at Aemilius Paullus' funeral games.

This means that Terence's literary activity began soon after Paullus' victory at Pydna over Rome's last great opponent, Perseus of Macedon. The king's library was brought to Rome and gave an indispensable impulse to literature. Terence's activity breaks off in the year of Paullus' death. It was at his funeral games, conducted by Scipio Aemilianus, that two of the plays were produced.

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[1] H. B. MATTINGLY, The Terentian Didascaliae, Athenaeum 37, 1959, 148–173; H. B. MATTINGLY, The Chronology of Terence, RCCM 5, 1963, 12–61; previously (with a different conclusion) L. GESTRI, Studi terenziani I: La cronologia, SIFC n.s. 13, 1936, 61–105; cf. also L. GESTRI, Terentiana, SIFC n.s. 20, 1943, 3–58. The transmitted sequence is convincingly defended by D. KLOSE, Die Didaskalien und Prologe des Terenz, diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1966, esp. 5–15; 161–162.

Survey of Works

Andria: Pamphilus is in love with Glycerium, who is expecting his baby. His father Simo, however, has betrothed him to another girl, Chremes' daughter, and is pressing for an early marriage. On the advice of the slave Davus, Pamphilus at first raises no objections. When Chremes happens to see the baby, he breaks the marriage off. Now, however, it is revealed that he is also Glycerium's father, and so there is no further obstacle to Pamphilus' happiness. Chremes' other daughter is married to Charinus, who is in love with her. This is a comedy of recognition with a conflict between father and son, deception and self-deception.

Hautontimorumenos: Old Menedemus torments himself by hard work, out of remorse that he has driven his son Clinia to take a soldier's career because of his love for Antiphila. But Clinia has secretly returned and is staying with his friend Clitipho, who is in love with Bacchis, a hetaera. To deceive Clitipho's father Chremes, Bacchis passes herself off as Clinia's mistress, with Antiphila as her servant. The cunning slave Syrus cheats old Chremes of a nice sum of money for Bacchis. Finally it is revealed that Antiphila is Clitipho's sister. She marries Clinia. Clitipho, in his turn, is able to find an appropriate match. This is a comedy of character with a conflict between the generations and, at the same time, a play of intrigue with recognition.

Eunuchus: Thraso, a soldier, has presented a female slave to the hetaera Thais. But the slave is Thais' sister and an Athenian citizen. Phaedria, Thais' second lover, instructs his slave Parmeno to bring her a eunuch as a present from his master. Phaedria's brother, who has fallen in love with Thais' sister, disguises himself as a eunuch and violates her. She is revealed as an Athenian citizen and becomes his wife. Phaedria strikes a deal with Thraso over Thais. An effective comedy of intrigue and recognition.

Phormio: While their fathers, Chremes and Demipho, are away, Antipho, Demipho's son, marries a girl from Lemnos. Phaedria, Chremes' son, falls in love with a citharist. When Demipho returns home, the parasite Phormio promises, in return for a sum of money, to marry the girl from Lemnos himself. However, he uses the money to buy the freedom of the citharist. Now it is revealed that the Lemnian girl is Chremes' daughter, and so Antipho may keep her. This is the classic example of a complex comedy of intrigue carried through with great clarity.

Hecyra: Pamphilus holds aloof from his young wife Philumena, since he is in love with the hetaera Bacchis. While he is abroad, Philumena returns to her parents, ostensibly because of her mother-in-law's malice, but really because she wants to give birth to a child conceived with an unknown stranger before her marriage. Pamphilus at first refuses to take her back into his house until Bacchis rescues the situation. A ring she received from Pamphilus

is recognized by Philumena's mother. The unknown stranger was Pamphilus himself. This ambitious 'anti-comedy'[1] is intellectually rather demanding. It shows unusually subtle character portrayal, the avoidance of traditional stereotypes and an action aimed more at concealment than revelation. It is Terence's most tranquil and yet most stimulating play.

Adelphoe: Ctesipho receives a strict upbringing from his father Demea, while Aeschinus is treated liberally by his uncle Micio. Aeschinus has seduced Sostrata's daughter, Pamphila, while Ctesipho is in love with a citharist. To please his brother, Aeschinus violently rescues the citharist from the *leno*. This furnishes Sostrata with the proof of the disloyalty of her future son-in-law, while Demea notes the unhappy fruits of his brother's liberal educational methods. Now, however, he learns that his own son Ctesipho is really the citharist's lover. He changes tack completely and becomes generous with everyone—at Micio's expense. Aeschinus may marry Pamphila, Ctesipho may keep his harpist and Micio is to marry old Sostrata. At the end, the sons accept even the strict father. This is a play of problems and revelation without intrigue or recognition.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Analysis of sources is an important key to understanding Terence's originality but, unfortunately, we do not possess his direct models, and, for the most part, must rely on the poet's own prologues and the commentary of Donatus. For the *Andria*, *Hautontimorumenos*, *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*, Menander's plays of the same name are both sources and chief models. For the *Hecyra*, the model was supplied by Apollodorus of Carystos (beginning of 3rd century B.C.). His *Epidikazomenos* was the model for the *Phormio*.[2] Apollodorus' *Hecyra* was in the line of Menander's *Epitrepontes* and even outshone its model in seriousness. The chief attraction of the *Epidikazomenos* was its compositional excellence. In his selection of models, therefore, Terence abandoned Plautus' versatility, and moved closer to Caecilius, who had earlier shown a preference for Menander.

The introduction of additional scenes from other plays will be discussed below (s. Literary Technique). Certain structural similarities with tragedy, as with Sophocles' *Oedipus*, are prominent, for example, in the *Andria*. The slave seems to make a witty allusion to this: *Davos*

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[1] Don. *Ter. Hec. praef.* 9: *res novae.*

[2] E. Lefèvre, Der *Phormio* des Terenz und der *Epidikazomenos* des Apollodor von Karystos, München 1978; K. Mras, Apollodoros von Karystos als Neuerer, AAWW 85, 1948, 184–203.

sum, non Oedipus (*Andr.* 194). However, tragic structures had long been a standing resource of New Comedy.

Menander transmitted to the poet certain reminiscences of Greek philosophy, such as the doctrine of the golden mean[1] between two extremes, or reflections on state and education in the *Adelphoe*, or Epicurean ideas in the *Andria* (959–960), which recur in distorted form in the *Eunuchus* (232–263). After the victory of Pydna, with its consequences for Roman intellectual life, practical philosophy in the Stoic fashion was sufficiently well known to a certain section of the Roman public to raise a smile. This is shown by the slave Geta's remark, made in mockery of his master, that he had already 'premeditated' all the trouble lying ahead of him (*Phorm.* 239–251).[2] Even before Panaetius, whom he could not have encountered in Rome, Terence always showed a resolute attention to *decorum*, a principle which he may have been taught to appreciate, not only by upper class Roman society, but also by his rhetorical training.

The special stamp set by Terence on the comic genre will emerge more clearly from a discussion of his literary technique. In his critical encounter with his Latin predecessors, Terence avoided well-worn paths. From Greek models, he took over scenes omitted by Plautus. We will study this in the context of his reflections on literature.

Literary Technique

The most striking difference in literary technique between Terence and Plautus is found in the treatment of the prologue. Terence turns this part of the comedy into a vehicle for literary polemics and even propaganda on behalf of his method of working,[3] a feature possibly anticipated by Caecilius. The prologue thus assumes a function comparable with that of the parabasis in Aristophanes. Within his plays, however, Terence, unlike Plautus, avoids direct contact with his audience[4] and the resulting break in dramatic illusion.

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[1] Cicero (*Tusc.* 3. 29–34) joins the Stoics in assailing the Epicureans, appealing, among others, to Anaxagoras A 33 D.-Kr. = Eurip. *frg.* 964 Nauck and to the passage of Terence in question; Rabbow, Seelenführung 160–179; 306–307. It is unfortunate that Panaetius, Scipio's 'teacher', cannot be considered a source for Terence.

[2] Cf. K. Gaiser's epilogue to O. Rieth, Die Kunst Menanders in den *Adelphen* des Terenz, Hildesheim 1964, 133–160.

[3] D. Klose 1966, 131.

[4] Very few exceptions: *Andr.* 217; *Hec.* 361.

The introduction to the plot (exposition) in Terence is always made in a scene on stage. He thus completes a development already begun in Hellenistic comedy.[1] The circumstances are often explained to a character unaware of their nature, someone who in the further course of the action plays no part (πρόσωπον προτατικόν). The introductory scene of the *Adelphoe* is a masterpiece. It dispenses with any such extra character by entrusting the exposition to two of the chief characters. The avoidance of any prologue in the older manner sets limits to the spectator's knowledge of prior events. The dramatic action comes closer to him and demands an intellectual effort on his part. Yet Terence's careful expositions indicate that the arousal of suspense was not his first concern.[2] Though the use of such an introductory scene may bring undeniable dramatic advantage, some disadvantages are no less evident. The *Hecyra*'s double failure may have been owing to the fact that the author left the spectator too much in the dark.[3] In detail, the disappearance of the old prologue often compels the poet to give the necessary information by successively inserting elements of the exposition into the action: at the cost of internal probability, characters divulge circumstances which, strictly speaking, they ought not to know.[4] An advantage is gained by turning a monologue[5] into a lively dialogue with the introduction of an extra character, such as Antipho's[6] in *Eunuchus* 539–614. Conversely, in the *Hecyra* a slow-paced final scene of recognition is replaced with rapid narrative.

Cantica of the Plautine type are rarely found in Terence: twice in the *Andria* (481–485; 625–638), once in the last play, the *Adelphoe* (610–616). Basically senarii and long verses prevail (s. under Language and Style). Sound effects and emotional excitement are muted. The musical comedy is transformed into a theater of speech. The

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1 *Ad.* 22–24 may be compared with Plaut. *Trin.* 17–18. In Plautus, it is by no means a universal rule that the prologue must relate to the content of the play. If Caecilius employed his prologues for literary criticism, he may have explained the plot in a dialogue on the stage.

2 E. Lefèvre 1969, 108.

3 E. Lefèvre *ibid.* On this question now F. H. Sandbach, How Terence's *Hecyra* Failed, CQ n.s. 32, 1982, 134–135 (examines the precise circumstances in which the performance was interrupted).

4 Don. *Ter. Ad.* 151; E. Lefèvre 1969 passim, esp. 13–18.

5 There are numerous monologues in the *Hecyra*, not always to good theatrical effect.

6 E. Fraenkel, Zur römischen Komödie (2). Antipho im *Eunuchus* des Terenz, MH 25, 1968, 235–242.

plays proceed, so far as may be seen, without lyrical interludes, and this means that the division into acts finally loses significance.

Terence makes clever use of the so-called *contaminatio*[1] to enliven his plays. The excellent expository dialogue which marks his adaptation of Menander's *Andria* is freely modeled on the same poet's *Perinthia*. In the *Eunuchus*, which in other respects depends on its namesake by Menander, the attractive roles of the soldier and parasite are borrowed from Menander's *Kolax*. The *Adelphoe*, adapted from Menander, is expanded with a lively scene from Diphilos' *Synapothneskontes* (2. 1; cf. *prol.* 6–14 and Plautus, *Pseud.* 1. 3). But this also illustrates the disadvantages of the procedure. The insertion disrupts chronology, since it must be imagined as occurring before the introductory scene with its exposition. Moreover, the 'five act' structure of the original is destroyed.

The double plot[2] had not been invented by Terence, but it is one of his specialties. His audience may have wanted more action, and he was attracted to the challenge of complex structural problems. Thus in the *Andria*, he introduced two additional characters, Charinus and Birria (Don. *Ter. Andr.* 301). They are however quite colorless, without close connection to the fabric of the remaining plot. The quartet in scene 2. 5, where a conversation between Simo and Pamphilus is doubly overheard, comes off successfully. In four of the late comedies, the two strands of the plot are closely interwoven, as in the *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*. In the *Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe* the double plot is the center of interest. Only the complex *Hecyra* is in this respect 'simple'.

Terence's monologues are shorter, but more numerous, than in Plautus, and form an integral part of the plot. They may be subject to eavesdropping, or, if they are soliloquies, provide psychological atmosphere for the scene directly to follow. Following his Greek teachers, Terence takes pains with subtle character portrayal. In the *Hecyra*, the 'deceived' young husband, who might be quite justified in expressing indignation, is surprisingly sensitive, calm and collected. The 'malicious mother-in-law' proves to be unusually attentive and kind,

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[1] The modern notion of 'contamination' has arisen from a misunderstanding of passages such as *Andr.* 16; cf. W. Beare, *Contaminatio*, CR 9, 1959, 7–11; on the question, s. above (p. 173–175).

[2] W. Görler, Doppelhandlung, Intrige und Anagnorismos bei Terenz, Poetica 5, 1972, 164–182.

the hetaera, by displaying nobility of spirit,[1] saves the happiness of a young family. Since the parents at first are unappreciative of their son and heir, it is the overjoyed grandfathers who find a nurse and with determination assume the role of mothering.[2] It is not right then to argue that the element of comedy is lacking in this play. It is found *inter alia* in the constant frustration of traditional expectations for the different roles. Stage conventions[3] are also parodied, and recognition, normally a method of dénouement, leads in two plays to further complications (*Haut.* and *Phorm.*). Terence, in bringing Roman comedy to perfection, has an inner predilection for models displaying intellectual or psychological subtlety, and chooses them with care.

In general, Terence's slaves play a smaller part in the plot than in Plautus. This does not of course mean that the playwright had an anti-democratic attitude. In the early plays the treatment of the slaves is unconventional. In the *Phormio* and the *Adelphoe* Terence shows that in well-constructed plays even conventional methods and a traditional interpretation of the slave's role may produce good artistic results.[4]

Above all, the poet likes to bring opposed characters into confrontation. This feature is linked with his habit of introducing his characters in pairs. His remark *quam uterque est similis sui!*, 'how like himself, each of them' (*Phorm.* 501) has a charm all its own. Action and animation take precedence over character stereotypes. Accordingly, Menedemus need not appear throughout as a self-tormentor. Chremes, who begins as 'shrewd', may be proved a fool, and Demea in the *Adelphoe* may suddenly fall from one extreme into the other. A particularly good example of a 'non-static' character is provided by Pamphilus in the *Hecyra.* He matures from love for the hetaera Bacchis to affection for his young wife. In the *Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe* the poet is fascinated by the exchange of roles of the two old gentlemen, the

[1] Terence's Bacchis is not actually pursuing a personal aim like Habrotonon in the *Epitrepontes*; different nuances are found in the portrayal of hetaerae by H. Lloyd-Jones, Terentian Technique in the *Adelphi* and the *Eunuchus*, CQ 23, 1973, 279–284; M. M. Henry, Menander's Courtesans and the Greek Comic Tradition, Frankfurt 1985, 115.

[2] More comic (and more risqué) the potent eunuch and the cowardly general in the *Eunuchus.*

[3] Birth offstage (*Andr.* 474–476), conversation with people in the house (490–494), blurting out of secrets on the stage (*Phorm.* 818; *Hec.* 866–868).

[4] W. E. Forehand, Syrus' Role in Terence's *Adelphoe*, CJ 69, 1973, 52–65.

collapse of the apparent superiority of the 'wise' *senex*. The poet relishes these reversals.

The reflective side of Terence's art will engage our attention later (Ideas). It is perhaps no coincidence that his playful vein, less often mentioned, increased after the failure of the serious *Hecyra*. In his last play, the *Adelphoe*, we find actually 'Plautine' elements, such as an added scene of brawling, a canticum, a domineering slave and an almost farcical conclusion.[1] The abrupt end of the poet's career prevents us from knowing whether the 'serious master of classical comedy', fully aware of his expertise, would have broken free and made fun of all our efforts at categorization.

Language and Style

Plautus is a creator of language, whereas Terence, like Caesar later, is among those authors concerned with linguistic purity and stylistic refinement. His language and style are more select. Reflecting the poet's social milieu, they are more 'aristocratic' than in Plautus. The exuberance of linguistic invention is brought under control. A mild archaism like *tetuli* for *tuli* is found in the oldest play, the *Andria*, but not in the late *Adelphoe*. His simple, choice diction explains Terence's success as a school author. He has a severe taste, and a strict discipline of language. Avoiding Plautus' popular features and starting from the colloquial usage of high Roman society, Terence competed with Menander to create a counterpart to the graceful tone of Attic dialogue. Speech and response interlock and are carefully related to each other.[2] This produces a literary language surpassing all previous Latin in clarity, terseness, and flexibility and preparing the way for the elegant style of Gracchus or Caesar.

Plautus overflows with terms of abuse,[3] for which he prefers concrete expressions. Terence avoids names of beasts apart from *belua*, *asinus* and *canis*. He also avoids sexual terms of abuse and replaces crude wit by irony. His poetry is often urbane enough to use aposiopesis, leaving the abusive term to our imagination. His use of inter-

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[1] To attribute these and other 'imperfections' without qualification to Roman adapters is a questionable proceeding: P. W. Harsh, Certain Features of Technique found in Both Greek and Roman Drama, AJPh 58, 1937, 282–293.

[2] Haffter, Dichtersprache 126–127.

[3] S. Lilja, Terms of Abuse in Roman Comedy, Helsinki 1965.

jections, often without parallels in Menander,[1] is suggestive and nuanced. Terence's thrust towards stylistic unity is shown by the fact that in Menander's *Perinthia* cruder tones are heard[2] than Terence's *Andria* leads us to expect. There is frequent use in Terence of abstracts in *-io* which may echo Hellenistic tendencies and to some extent only recur in late Latin.[3] He extends the metaphorical meaning of many adjectives to describe mental states.[4] His 'modern' awareness is also shown by his unfailing habit of indicating a change of subject in the sentence.[5]

Terence's style is undoubtedly less rhetorical (and less poetic) than that of Plautus, yet more rhetorical than that of Menander. It is rewarding to read his prologues as 'speeches for the defense'.[6] His expository narratives show another style. A third register is employed in dialogue,[7] and even here there are subtle distinctions made according to class and character.[8]

Sententiae,[9] which establish a contact with the spectator by an appeal to common experience, act as some kind of substitute for Plautus' laughter. They may help to denote character, for example, that of Micio in the *Adelphoe*, and to emphasize important moments, though, even so, Terence uses maxims more sparingly than does Menander.

Terence reduced the number of meters and did not use symmetrically constructed cantica in a variety of meters. He preferred iambic senarii and trochaic septenarii, though iambic septenarii and trochaic

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[1] G. Luck, Elemente der Umgangssprache bei Menander und Terenz, RhM 108, 1965, 269–277.

[2] A. Körte, Zur *Perinthia* des Menander, Hermes 44, 1909, 309–313.

[3] G. Giangrande, Terenzio e la conquista dell'astratto in latino. Un elemento di stile, Latomus 14, 1955, 525–535.

[4] *Alienus, amarus, durus, facilis, familiaris, humanus, liberalis, tardus*: Haffter, Dichtersprache 126–127.

[5] N. P. Letova, Observations on the Syntactical Structure of the Sentence in Terence's Comedies (Russ.), Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta 299, 1, 1961, philol. ser. 59, 123–142; summary in German in BCO 9, 1964, 26–27.

[6] G. Focardi, Linguaggio forense nei prologhi terenziani, SIFC n.s. 44, 1972, 55–88; G. Focardi, Lo stile oratorio nei prologhi terenziani, SIFC n.s. 50, 1978, 70–89; H. Gelhaus seems to go too far (Die Prologe des Terenz. Eine Erklärung nach den Lehren von der *inventio* und *dispositio*, Heidelberg 1972).

[7] S. M. Goldberg, 1986, 170–202.

[8] Don. *Ter. Eun.* 454; *Phorm.* 212; 348; V. Reich, Sprachliche Charakteristik bei Terenz. Studie zum Kommentar des Donat, WS 51, 1933, 72–94; H. Haffter 1953.

[9] C. Georgescu, L'analyse du *locus sententiosus* dans la comédie de caractère (avec référence spéciale à la comédie *Adelphoe*), StudClas 10, 1968, 93–113.

octonarii are also found. The iambic octonarius is not only relatively, but absolutely, more frequent than in Plautus (500 to 300). Occasionally, we find bacchii, dactyls, choriambs. In the earliest play, the *Andria*, there is relatively great variety of meter, and later restriction in this respect therefore must be the result of conscious choice. However, the change of meter[1] *within* scenes, mostly at decisive moments in the action, has no parallel in Menander; in fact, *within the dialogue* changes of meter are much more frequent than in Plautus. This means that, in spite of the smaller number of meters, a certain variety is attained, although it could not be argued that senarii are used only for facts, and septenarii only for feelings.[2] Scattered short verses are likewise used to gain particular effects.[3]

The structure of the verse is more finished. Just like Accius, and later Cicero and Seneca, Terence avoided filling the last two feet of the senarius with one long word.[4] The iambic octonarius also developed along the lines of that of tragedy.[5] In rapid dialogue, Terence may often divide his short verses (senarii) into four parts. Unlike his contemporaries, who, in the manner of early Latin, preferred the coincidence of sentence and line, Terence, in Menander's footsteps, broke up cola by frequent enjambement.[6] This throws over the poetic form, as it were, a veil of 'naturalness', and this in itself indicates the originality of his achievement.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Since the exposition is to be made during the action (*Ad.* 22–24), the prologues to his comedies are left free for other purposes. Terence turns them into a vehicle for literary reflection. Such critical discussions are appropriate to a literature that was 'made, not born', a truth that was illustrated at Rome also by Accius. Terence's prologues reflect both a new degree of maturity in the writer's aware-

[1] L. Braun, Polymetrie bei Terenz und Plautus, WS 83, 1970, 66–83.

[2] In the *Andria* and the *Adelphoe* parts important for the progress of the action are written in senarii.

[3] G. Maurach, Kurzvers und System bei Terenz, Hermes 89, 1961, 373–378.

[4] J. Soubiran, Recherches sur la clausule du sénaire (trimètre) latin. Les mots longs finaux, REL 42, 1964, 429–469.

[5] R. Raffaelli, Ricerche sui versi lunghi di Plauto e di Terenzio (metriche, stilistiche, codicologiche), Pisa 1982.

[6] L. Braun 1970 (quoted above).

ness of his art,[1] and the presence of an audience which is no longer wholly unsophisticated. Homogeneity and consistency are not of course to be expected. The spectators who were distracted by a rope-dancer or a gladiatorial show were not perhaps the same as those to whom Terence directed his treatment of literary problems.

The standards of the educated public may be recognized by Terence's defense against the reproach of a lack of originality (*Haut.*, *Phorm.*, *Hec.*). It was regarded as meritorious to bring onto the Roman stage Greek plays so far untranslated or certain scenes ignored by predecessors. On the other hand, it was impermissible to use Latin models or Greek models already translated (which was more or less the same thing).

As a rule, ancient authors preferred to disguise their originality. In his prologue to the *Andria*, Terence emphasizes his dependence on Menander's *Perinthia*. He is silent about his quite independent substitution of a freedman for the wife in the first scene. He has made bigger changes therefore than he admits. His deceptive modesty extends even further. In a society so class-conscious, the reproach was close at hand, that his noble friends were the genuine composers of, or collaborators on, his plays, and that it was their genius on which he was relying (*Haut.* 24). For all its absurdity, Terence does not directly reject this suggestion and even considers it a compliment (*Ad.* 15–21).

Above all, these prologues reveal our author's conscious artistry. In them, Terence established his own poetic awareness. As later in Horace's *Epistles*, a 'modern' author stands his ground against an 'old school' (*Andr.* 7). There was already then a Roman literary tradition demanding from contemporary authors a statement of position.

Terence's simple, spare style was a novelty in Latin literature, and it is understandable that he needed to defend it against the criticism that it lacked vigor and strength (*Phorm.* 1–8). For his part, he assailed the heaviness, the tragic bombast, and the unfaithfulness to reality of the 'old poet' who attacked him, Luscius of Lanuvium (*floruit* about 179 B.C.).

In his selection and interpretation of subject matter, as well, Terence kept abreast of Hellenistic culture. He believed that he could present

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[1] On the Greek background M. Pohlenz, Der Prolog des Terenz, SIFC n.s. 27–28, 1956, 434–443; rudiments in Plautus: G. Rambelli, Studi plautini. L'*Amphitruo*, RIL 100, 1966, 101–134.

to his audience tranquil and serious plays without turning the stage into a pulpit. He made fun of other comic authors with their cheap effects, such as caricatured figures and scenes of turmoil: to give an example, the inevitable introduction of the running slave was meant to court the favor of the public, but in fact only rendered the actors breathless. He offered a theater of speech, which is what he means by *pura oratio* (*Haut.* 46). Livelier moments were not, however, so rare in him as we might suppose on the basis of such declarations.

In the *Hecyra* (866–869), Terence expressed his revolutionary poetic purpose outside the prologue. As Pamphilus and Bacchis explain, contrary to normal comedy, the plot of this anti-comedy is bound not to reveal but to conceal.

A question may be raised concerning Terence's attitude to the combination of several models, the so-called *contaminatio*. At first, he seems to plead for the past. Against mere pedantry (*obscura diligentia*) demanding no tampering with Greek plays (*Andr.* 16; *Haut.* 17), and an accurate translation without admixture, the poet defends the 'negligence' (*neglegentia*) of Naevius, Plautus or Ennius (*Andr.* 18–21). Terence's theory therefore permits that same relatively free relationship to his models which modern scholarship often discovers in his practice. His aim is not to translate well (*bene vertere*) but to write well (*bene scribere*, *Eun.* 7).[1] May his adversary Luscius really then be called 'more progressive'? Luscius was undoubtedly a man of reflection. But Terence, who was no less reflective in his own way, reproached him with a barren adherence to an extreme: *faciuntne intellegendo, ut nil intellegant?*, 'Does not this use of their intellect show that they understand nothing?' (*Andr.* 17). Whereas the narrow doctrinaire could only dig the grave of the palliata, Terence was Menander's continuer, not his translator. He found between caprice and dependence a 'classical' mean.

Ideas II

The transference of Greek comedies to a Roman context involved certain changes. What was typically Greek, but foreign to the Roman spectator, was omitted. According to preference, one may see in this a 'halving' of Menander (cf. Caesar, *frg.* 2 FPL Morel = *frg.* 1 Büchner), or a conscious smoothing of what is too Greek into something uni-

[1] On the *Phormio* as a well-constructed comedy of intrigue, see S. M. Goldberg, 1986, 61–90.

versally human.[1] The typically Roman relation of a freedman to his patron is examined in detail in the independently written prologue of the *Andria*, reflecting the poet's own experience.[2]

The fact, however, that the players wore Greek costume produced a certain distance, even if Plautus' laughter at the crazy Greeks was no longer emphasized. Romanization is shown in Terence less by superficial details than by a divergent evaluation of particular characters. Thus in the *Adelphoe* Terence, to please his Roman audience, seems to have enhanced the importance of the strict and somewhat pessimistic father, Demea; although it is true that Demea has to learn no longer to set work and profit above human relations, and at the end leaves his sons free to decide whether to take his advice. The *Hautontimorumenos* even depicts the torments of conscience felt by a too-strict father, a scandalous challenge to the people of Brutus. Terence by no means lacks understanding for the easygoing Micio, whose educational principles may be inspired by Peripatetic thought. The result is all the more interesting for being multifaceted. It is a compromise between Greek influence and Roman self-awareness.

Terence did not aim at mere entertainment. It is no coincidence that, of the four Menandrean plays which he adapted, three dealt with moral problems. The choice of models tells us something about the author, independently of any question of his originality. His interest in the generation gap was typical for his period, which was a time of transition. Although he somehow excused the stern father at the end of the *Adelphoe* he did something striking in Roman circumstances by bringing the question of strict education onto the stage at all. It would, however, be going too far to identify Demea with Cato[3] and Micio with Scipio or Aemilius Paullus, although, in the time between the expulsion of the Epicureans Alcaeus and Philistus (173 B.C.), and the embassy of philosophers (155 B.C.), the question of modern education was in fact a burning issue. In 161 B.C., one year before the first production of the *Adelphoe*, Greek rhetors at Rome were subject to regulation.

His sincere efforts to go beyond the traditional double moral standard, even if they still remained within the framework of convention,

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[1] E. Fraenkel, Zum Prolog des terenzischen *Eunuchus*, Sokrates 6, 1918, 302–317, esp. 309.

[2] F. Jacoby, Ein Selbstzeugnis des Terenz, Hermes 44, 1909, 362–369.

[3] So already Melanchthon, cf. E. Maróti, Terentiana, AAntHung 8, 1960, 321–334. Did Cato when censor, like Demea, arrange marriages?

were courageous. The gentleness of the young husband in the *Hecyra*, when confronted with his 'guilty' wife, contrasts markedly with Cato's assertion that an adulteress caught in the act might be killed without fear of reprisal (Gell. 10. 23). Terence's manifest understanding of women and his subtle analysis of love, including the affection between married partners which is rarely treated in literature, prepared the way both in spirit and language for Catullus, Virgil, and the elegists. He was a friend of the Scipios, with their openness to what was new, and his interpretation of the Hellenistic spirit was more refined than that of Plautus. At the same time, he had larger aims than the introduction of Greek values at Rome. He invited his audience to personal reflection. *Humanitas* seems to have been a word coined by Cicero and, in conformity with the particular process of maturation experienced by Cicero, its bias was aimed at gaining intellectual education. The varied use of *homo* and *humanus* in Terence allows us to suppose that, in the ambience of the Scipios, a Roman consciousness of humanity was in process of formation, although such labels should be handled with care.

Terence preserves a certain ethical dignity. For example, he does not bring onto the stage any type of the *senex amans*, and his boastful soldier in the *Eunuchus* is less grotesque than Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*. However, it must not be overlooked that the noble characters, for example, in the *Hecyra*, are neither Terence's invention nor exhaust the complete range of his figures. He does not shrink from cruel derision, often consciously deviating from his model. As important as *humanitas* is, it is not a sufficient means of explaining Terence's plays. Satire, skepticism, and a certain pessimism are equally Roman traits found in him.

Terence breaks the dramatic illusion less often than Plautus. But more than Plautus—sometimes indeed more than Menander[1]—he tries to do justice to Theophrastus' principle of closeness to life,[2] his demand for probability. Yet, in a conventional genre like comedy, this cannot be wholly successful, and Terence is clever enough to recognize this incongruity and make play with it. More than Plautus, he pays attention to the *decorum* of high society and often observes his

[1] H. Haffter 1953.

[2] A. Plebe, La nascita del comico nella vita e nell'arte degli antichi Greci, Bari 1956, 249; cf. also Aristophanes of Byzantium *apud* Syrian. *in Hermog.* 2. 23. 6 Rabe and Cic. *rep.* 4. 13 (assignment to *rep.* uncertain); *Rosc. Am.* 16. 47.

characters with humane sympathy and sensitivity, sometimes, as also happens in Menander and Lessing, at the expense of comic effects. He is fond of presenting two antithetical characters, and uses the method of 'exchange of roles', by which the 'clever one' is shown to be the fool and *vice versa*. In this way, he establishes the necessary intellectual distance between the spectator and the action. His ruthless denigration of the smart aleck is compensated for by his rehabilitation of characters who, without experiencing conversion, do at some point recognize their own mistakes (Menedemus in the *Hautontimorumenos*, Demea in the *Adelphoe*, Simo in the *Andria*). This reversal is not always a surprise and the characters therefore, sometimes, if not always, allow for a consistent interpretation. Right from the beginning of the *Hautontimorumenos*, Chremes shows himself a hypocrite.

Terence is concerned, not simply with entertainment, but with insight and action. Menander's hero must recognize his fate, that of Terence must create it.[1] Gods and coincidence play a smaller part than in Menander. Plautus' laughter at fools gives way to irony at the expense of the so-called wise. Terence often stands the social pyramid on its head. Far from limiting himself to a realistic analysis of conflicts drawn from life, he even turns to situations in contrast with convention. In principle, the 'truth' of his comedy may be close to life, but it is quite distant from one-dimensional realism. At times it is ruthless and even cruel.

His double plots produce more than mere doubling. In the *Andria*, the second lover Charinus speaks less of his love than of Pamphilus' supposed perfidy, thus helping to illumine this latter character from another point of view. In spite of Terence's additions, his plays thus maintain their unity of theme.[2]

In the course of time, the Roman public had acquired a store of experiences. Intellectually accepted by higher social circles, comedy had now finally matured. Terence's world is less fantastic than that of Plautus, and in it laughter is replaced by irony. This does not mean however that even Terence may not seek lively comic effects, as for example in the *Adelphoe*, soon after the beginning and, in other plays, particularly towards the end. These interventions, intended to work upon the audience, are often gained at the cost of character drawing which, in spite of subtle individual touches, at times sinks

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[1] L. Perelli, Il teatro rivoluzionario di Terenzio, Firenze 1973, repr. 1976.
[2] S. M. Goldberg 1986, 123–148.

back into the stereotype. In the *Phormio* Chremes resembles the *senex delirans*, Nausistrata the *uxor saeva*, helpful Phormio the *parasitus edax*. It was precisely in its conclusions that even Greek comedy—even Menander—in no way despised a somewhat more turbulent style; and practically every fresh papyrus find gives reason to revise old ideas of the 'perfection' of New Comedy. In spite of this, it is beyond doubt that quite often, by comparison with Menander, Terence enhanced the comic effect, sometimes by the introduction of scenes of turmoil or again by the use of caricature.

The Roman poet often puts before us not so much the action as its significance. Already in the *Andria* he adds Charinus who, rather than influencing events, observes them and 'comments on' them.[1] Psychological interest is part of the inheritance of the Roman poets, called as they were to reflection from the very beginning. Here, Virgil may be compared with Homer, or Lucan with all earlier epic writers. Terence's work is a milestone on the road taken by Roman literature in coming to terms with its own nature. The poet who enhances the element of mystery in the plot of the *Hecyra* unmasks, though without fuss, the conventions of comedy exactly as he does the prejudices of Roman society.

Transmission[2]

The transmission shows two lines. One is that of the Codex Bembinus (A, Vaticanus Latinus 3226, 4th–5th century).[3] The other is that of the so-called Recensio Calliopiana,[4] attested from the 9th century, but equally traceable to antiquity. It reached the Middle Ages in two branches (Gamma and Delta). Gamma also includes some illustrated manuscripts,[5] in which the location of the pictures is determined by the division into scenes. Of course, there are interpolations and contaminations. In general therefore we may distinguish three ancient editions, in each one of which the plays

[1] K. Büchner 1974, 454; 468.

[2] Facsimile editions: A: S. Prete, Città del Vaticano 1970; C: G. Jachmann, Lipsiae 1929; F: E. Bethe, Lugduni Batavorum 1903.

[3] Today the codex begins with *Andr.* 889 and ends with *Ad.* 914.

[4] The name Calliopius is found in *subscriptiones*. In comparison with A, a greater tendency towards uniformity is visible in the text.

[5] C, Vaticanus Latinus 3868, 9th century; P, Parisinus Latinus 7899, 9th century; F, Ambrosianus H 75 inf., 10th century (this may also be regarded as one of the mixed class).

appear in a different sequence.[1] Ancient quotations and some fragments found on palimpsests and papyri offer indirect testimony to the good quality of the *traditio*. The history of the text before A.D. 400 and the judgment of what remains are controversial in detail.

Influence

In Terence's lifetime, the *Hecyra* was twice dogged by ill-luck. The *Eunuchus*, by contrast, enjoyed great success, obtaining for the poet an unusually high fee (Suet. *vit. Ter.* pp. 42–43, 111–124 Rostagni). Later productions of Terence's plays are attested, for example, in Horace (*epist.* 2. 1. 60–61). In his list of Roman writers of comedy, Volcacius Sedigitus, at the end of the 2nd century B.C., set Terence only in sixth place (*frg.* 1. 10 Morel and Büchner). Afranius however regarded him as incomparable (*apud* Suet. *vit. Ter.* pp. 29, 11–13 Rostagni). Lines ascribed to Caesar (*frg.* 2 Morel = *frg.* 1 Büchner) concede to Terence linguistic purity but not force, and for this reason address him as a 'Menander halved' (*dimidiate Menander*). The mockery is all the keener because Terence took pride in making one play out of two by Menander.

Cicero appreciated his choice language, his grace and charm (Suet. *loc. cit.*; cf. *Att.* 7. 3. 10 *elegantiam sermonis*), and quoted all the plays except the *Hecyra.* Varro praised him as a master of character portrayal (*in ethesin: Men.* 399 B.). Horace (*epist.* 2. 1. 59) attests that critics acknowledged Terence's unusual skill (*ars*), but does not wholly share this point of view.

Unlike Plautus, Terence has always been a school author. Significantly, Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 90) recommended his writings as *in hoc genere elegantissima*, although he was convinced of the superiority of Greek comedy. Accordingly, the transmitted text was polished but also smoothed out. Grammarians turned their attention to him. The annotated copy belonging to Marcus Valerius Probus (second half of 1st century A.D.) influenced the scholia, although it is hardly possible to speak of an edition. In the Imperial period there were commentaries;[2] we possess the one written by Aelius Donatus (middle of 4th century), without the part on the *Hautontimorumenos.* We also have the rhetorical commentary of Eugraphius (5th or 6th century).

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[1] A: *Andr., Eun., Haut., Phorm., Hec., Ad.*; Gamma: *Andr., Eun., Haut., Ad., Hec., Phorm.*; Delta: *Andr., Ad., Eun., Phorm., Haut., Hec.*

[2] The commentaries of Aemilius Asper, Helenius Acro, Arruntius Celsus, and

Terence remained a school author even for the Church Fathers such as Jerome, Ambrose,[1] and Augustine,[2] and for the Middle Ages, although the risk was appreciated that the pupil, instead of learning language from scandalous deeds, might learn scandalous deeds from language (Aug. *conf.* 1. 16. 26).

In the 10th century, the learned nun Roswitha (Hrotsvit) of Gandersheim[3] composed six comedies in prose as a Christian substitute for Terence's 'immoral' plays. In the monastic schools, his influence began to wane when the monks of Cluny tried to separate monastic and secular culture.

In modern times, Terence has had decisive significance in three areas. As a school author, he was a model for correct colloquial language both in Latin and in the vernacular, and for civic virtues. As an ethical teacher, he influenced the moralists, satirists, and novelists, and so helped to shape western *humanitas.* As a dramatist, along with Plautus and Seneca, he helped to nurture the European theater,[4] which owes to him the refined technique of the double plot.

1. School requirements meant that from the Renaissance on[5] Terence became known to an ever-wider public in manuscripts and in printed editions. He was indispensable as a source of correct colloquial Latin. John Anwykyll's English-Latin phrasebook, *Vulgaria,* which appeared in six editions from 1483 onward, contained *inter alia* about 530 phrases from Terence.[6] In Wittenberg, Friedrich the

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Evanthius are lost; general remarks in H. Marti, Zeugnisse zur Nachwirkung des Dichters Terenz im Altertum, in: *Musa iocosa.* FS A. Thierfelder, Hildesheim 1974, 158–178.

[1] P. Courcelle, Ambroise de Milan face aux comiques latins, REL 50, 1972, 223–231.

[2] H. Hagendahl, Augustine and the Latin Classics, Göteborg 1967, 1, 254–264.

[3] K. de Luca, Hrotsvit's Imitation of Terence, CF 28, 1974, 89–102; C. E. Newlands, Hrotswitha's Debt to Terence, TAPhA 116, 1986, 369–391.

[4] B. Stembler, Terence in Europe to the Rise of Vernacular Drama, diss. Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 1939; K. von Reinhardstoettner, Plautus und Terenz und ihr Einfluß auf die späteren Litteraturen, in: Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele, Part 1, Leipzig 1886, 12–111; H. W. Lawton, La survivance des personnages térentiens, BAGB 1964, 85–94; B. R. Kes, Die Rezeption der Komödien des Plautus und Terenz im 19. Jh., Amsterdam 1988; R. S. Miola, Shakespeare and Classical Comedy, Oxford 1994.

[5] France: H. W. Lawton, Térence en France au XVIe siècle. Editions et traductions, Thèse Paris 1926; Poland: B. Nadolski, Recepcja Terencjusa w szkołach gdańskich w okresie renesansu, Eos 50, 2, 1959–1960, 163–171; Hungary: E. Maróti, Terenz in Ungarn, Altertum 8, 1962, 243–251.

[6] A. H. Brodie, Anwykyll's *Vulgaria.* A Pre-Erasmian Textbook, NPhM 75, 1974,

Wise (d. 1525) established a professorship exclusively dedicated to Terence's works. Melanchthon (d. 1560) declared in the preface to his pioneering edition of Terence (1516) that this poet offered the most excellent examples of civic behavior. The high opinion held by the *praeceptor Germaniae* of Terence's pedagogical value exercised definitive influence on Protestant school timetables. In 1532, Erasmus (d. 1536) published his edition, which opened the way to a more profound understanding of meter. The preface recommended the poet to youthful readers.[1]

2. As a moral teacher and psychologist, Terence became an indispensable component of modern *humanitas*. He influenced satirists such as Sebastian Brant (d. 1521), preachers such as Bossuet (d. 1704), and moralists such as Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592). The last counted the 'urbane Terence' among his favorites, called him *liquidus puroque simillimus amni* and 'admirable à représenter au vif les mouvements de l'âme et la condition de nos mœurs'.[2]

Novelists felt the attraction of his depiction of human character. Cervantes (d. 1616) wrote a short novel modeled on the *Hecyra. La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas fils (d. 1895) is a successor of that same serious and sentimental comedy. Dumas knew Terence as a fellow-dramatist and, like him, contrasted human understanding with social prejudices. Following the *Andria* Thornton Wilder idealized another courtesan (*The Woman of Andros*, 1930).

3. Above all, however, in company with Seneca and Plautus, Terence presided at the rebirth of drama in the modern period. He offered lessons in dramatic technique and polished style. In the 16th century the writers on poetics recommended him with great success as a model in shaping a double plot.

Petrarch (d. 1374) came to Terence through Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (3. 30; 3. 65; 4. 76). He grew to like him (Petr. *fam.* 3. 18. 4), he read him, and in his youth tried his hand at a comedy.[3] Among the predecessors of *commedia umanistica* may also be counted the *Paulus*[4]

416–427; A. H. Brodie, Terens in Englysh. Towards the Solution of a Literary Puzzle, C&M 27, 1966 (1969), 397–416.

[1] Terence receives high praise elsewhere too from Erasmus: M. Cytowska, De l'épisode polonais aux comédies de Térence, in: Colloque érasmien de Liège, Paris 1987, 135–145, esp. 143.

[2] Highet, Class Trad. 650; 655.

[3] The *Philologia* is lost.

[4] Ed. by K. Müllner, WS 22, 1900, 232–257.

of Pier Paolo Vergerio (d. 1444). Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II, d. 1464) composed a comedy under the title *Chrysis*, frequently referred to Terence in his works, and encouraged the making of copies.

In Germany, modern Latin comedy in the ancient manner began with Jacob Wimpheling's *Stylpho* (1480) and Reuchlin's *Scenica progymnasmata* (*Henno*).[1] Georg Macropedius (d. 1558), a Dutch neo-Latinist and student of Reuchlin, wrote twelve comedies. The influence of Terence on the Latin school drama of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation is incalculably great.

Terence also influenced works written in modern languages. Italian translations with free intermezzi preceded the rise of original Italian comedies. Renaissance comedy is almost exclusively in the tradition of the Roman classical authors. The creators of the *commedia erudita* of the cinquecento were Publio Filippo Mantovano (*Formicone* about 1500) and Ariosto (d. 1533). Ariosto's *Cassaria* (1508) drew both on Plautine plays and on the *Hautontimorumenos*, while in his *I Suppositi* (1509) he echoed the *Eunuchus*. B. Varchi (d. 1565) and Angelo Beolco (called 'il Ruzzante'; d. 1542)[2] were also acquainted with Terence. Machiavelli (d. 1527) not only composed comedies[3] but personally transcribed the *Eunuchus* and translated the *Andria*.

Terence was translated into French relatively early, about 1466 by Guillaume Rippe and about the same time by Gilles Cybile. Around 1500, there followed the verse translation by Octovien de Saint-Gelas, and in 1542 there appeared the translation of the *Andria* by Charles Estienne. The first effort of La Fontaine (d. 1695) was to translate the *Eunuchus* into French verse (*L'Eunuque*, 1654).

In *L'école des maris* (1661), Molière (d. 1673) followed the *Adelphoe*, and the *Phormio* in *Les fourberies de Scapin* (1671). His mingling of Terence's classicism with popular elements is however not a flaw, as Boileau mistakenly supposed,[4] but a token of his greatness. In the 19th century, many dramatists looked upon the *Phormio* as a classical model.

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[1] First performed in 1497; first edition 1498.

[2] *Vaccaria* adapted from Plautus' *Asinaria* and Terence's *Adelphoe*; D. Nardo, La *Vaccaria* di Ruzzante fra Plauto e Terenzio, Lettere italiane (Firenze) 24, 1972, 3–29.

[3] *Clizia* and *Mandragola* (originally *Commedia di Callimaco e Lucrezia*); on the *Andria*: G. Ulysse, Machiavel traducteur et imitateur de l'*Andrienne* de Térence, AFLA 45, 1968, 411–420.

[4] Cf. Highet, Class. Trad. 318.

About 1520, John Rastell printed an English translation from the Tudor period. From such translations, which sometimes include the original text, lessons were drawn for the behavior and language of a gentleman. Shakespeare (d. 1616) used in *The Taming of the Shrew* an English adaptation[1] of Ariosto's *Suppositi*, but also quoted (1. 1. 166) a tag from the *Eunuchus* (74–75) in Latin.

Terence found creative imitators in George Chapman (d. 1634),[2] Charles Sedley (d. 1701),[3] Thomas Shadwell (d. 1692),[4] Richard Steele (d. 1729)[5] and Henry Fielding (d. 1754).[6]

The founder of Danish literature, Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754), was well acquainted with Terence.

The whole of Terence was translated into Spanish by Pedro Simon de Abril (1577) and into Portuguese by Leonel da Costa (17th century).[7]

Hans Nythart, burgermeister of Ulm, translated the *Eunuchus* into German as early as 1486.[8] A century later, Hans Sachs would take up this version again. In 1499 at Strassburg, the first complete German translation in prose, perhaps by the Alsatian humanists, Brant and Locher, was brought out by Hans Grünynger. Before 1600 there were already 34 translations into German of Terence's plays. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (d. 1781), the master of German comedy, owed his sound knowledge of Plautus and Terence to his Protestant education at St. Afra in Meissen. His emphasis on ethos and his lofty notion of the comic are more Terentian than Terence.

In his youth, Goethe read Terence in the original 'with great ease'.[9] He was vexed by Grotius' 'arrogant' remark that he read Terence differently from schoolboys. Later, in Weimar, Goethe put on German productions of the *Adelphoe* and *Andria*. In his old age, he admitted that Grotius had been right: 'Kept reading Terence. His extremely

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[1] George Gascoigne, *The Supposes* (1566), the first English prose-comedy; cf. also Highet, Class. Trad. 625–626.

[2] *All Fools* (presented 1599) adapted from the *Hautontimorumenos*, with borrowings from the *Adelphoe*.

[3] *Bellamira* (1687) adapted from the *Eunuchus*.

[4] *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) adapted from the *Adelphoe*.

[5] *The Conscious Lovers* (1722) adapted from the *Andria*.

[6] *The Fathers, or the Good-Natured Man* (appeared posthumously 1778) adapted from the *Adelphoe*.

[7] A. A. Nascimento, O onomástico de Terêncio na tradução de Leonel da Costa, Euphrosyne n.s. 7, 1975–1976, 103–123.

[8] Facsimile edition and commentary by P. Amelung, 2 vols., Dietikon-Zürich 1970 and 1972.

[9] *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, W.A. 1. 27. 39–40; Grumach 330.

sensitive theatrical elegance, ... highly admired, including his abbreviated dialogue ... generally the highest restraint, delicacy and clarity in the treatment. *Aliter pueri, aliter Grotius.*'[1]

Even in the 20th century, Terence gave lessons to an important dramatist. As a young man in Kiel, Carl Zuckmayer created a scandal with his audacious adaptation of the *Eunuchus*.[2]

Numerous sayings of Terence have become famous: *hinc illae lacrimae*, 'that's the source of these tears!' (*Andr.* 126); *nullum est iam dictum, quod non sit dictum prius*, 'nothing is said that has not been said before' (*Eun. prol.* 41); *homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*, 'I am a man, I hold that what affects another man affects me' (*Haut.* 77). The last mentioned remark is often cited as a proof of humane feeling, although in the play it rather testifies to a meddlesome and somewhat patronizing curiosity (περιεργία).[3]

The absence of complete Greek originals prevents a conclusive verdict on Terence's artistic qualities, and therefore at first it seems exaggerated when Benedetto Croce describes Terence as the 'Virgil of Roman comedy'.[4] Three reasons, however, justify this evaluation: Terence's achievement in language and style, pointing ahead to the future; the fact that, more than perhaps any other Republican poet, he remained for the Romans the classical perfecter of his genre; and, not least, the influence on European literature of his dramatic technique.

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1 'Kids read one way, Grotius another way' *Tagebücher.* 9 Oct. 1830; W. A. 3. 12. 315; Grumach 333; cf. also *Zahme Xenien* 4.

2 C. Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Erinnerungen*, Hamburg 1966, 411–414.

3 H. J. Mette, Die περιεργία bei Menander, Gymnasium 69, 1962, 398–406.

4 Intorno alle commedie di Terenzio, in: La critica 34, 1936, 422–423 = B. Croce, Poesia antica e moderna, Bari 1941, 2nd ed. 1943, 29–30.

Cambridge 1976; A. S. GRATWICK (TrC), Warminster 1987. * *Andr.*: A. SPENGEL (TN), Berlin 2nd ed. 1888; U. MORICCA (TC), Firenze 1921; R. KAUER (TC), Bielefeld 1930; G. P. SHIPP (TN), London 2nd ed. 1960, repr. 1970. * *Eun.*: P. FABIA (TC), Paris 1895. * *Haut.*: F. G. BALLENTINE (TN), Boston 1910; G. MAZZONI (TC), Torino 1926; K. I. LIETZMANN (C), Münster 1974; A. J. BROTHERS (TTrC), Warminster 1988. * *Hec.*: P. THOMAS (TC), Paris 1887; F. T. CARNEY (TC), Pretoria 1963; S. IRELAND (TTrC), Warminster 1990. * *Phorm*: K. DZIATZKO, E. HAULER (TN), Leipzig 4th ed. 1913, repr. 1967; R. H. MARTIN, London 1959. ** *Ancient Commentaries*: Aeli Donati Commentum Terenti, accedunt Eugraphi Commentum et Scholia Bembina, ed. P. WESSNER, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1902; 1905; 1908. * Scholia Bembina, ed. J. F. MOUNTFORD, Liverpool, London 1934. * Scholia Terentiana, ed. F. SCHLEE, Lipsiae 1893 (contains Scholia except for the Scholia Bembina). * *Glosses*: Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, ed. by G. GOETZ, vol. 5, Lipsiae 1894, 529–539. * *Vita*: Suetonio *De poetis* e biografi minori. Restituzione e commento di A. ROSTAGNI, Torino 1944, 26–46. ** *Lexicon*: P. MCGLYNN, Lexicon Terentianum, 2 vols., Londinii, Glasguae 1963–1967. * E. B. JENKINS, Index verborum Terentianus, Chapel Hill 1932. ** *Bibl.*: G. CUPAIUOLO, Bibliografia Terenziana (1470–1983), Napoli 1984. * K. GAISER, ANRW 1972 (s. Drama). * S. M. GOLDBERG, Scholarship on Terence and the Fragments of Roman Comedy, CW 75, 1981, 77–115. * H. MARTI, Terenz (1909–1959), Lustrum 6, 1961, 114–238; 8, 1963, 5–101; 244–247, with ind. 248–264. * D. NARDO 1969, s. Haffter. * M. R. POSANI, Orientamenti della moderna critica terenziana, A&R 7, 1962, 129–143. * S. PRETE, Terence, CW 54, 1961, 112–122; repr. in: The Classical World Bibliography of Roman Drama and Poetry and Ancient Fiction. With a New Introduction by W. DONLAN, New York, London 1978, 17–28.

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B. SATURA

ROMAN SATURA

General Remarks

Satura, a specifically Roman genre,[1] was originally a literary hybrid, an 'allsorts'.[2] Expressions such as *lanx satura* ('offering of a mixed plate of fruits') or *legem per saturam ferre* ('to bring in a compound law', i.e. a law containing another law) may be compared. In everyday life, *satura* meant a kind of stuffing or pudding.[3] (Culinary metaphors also lie behind the word *farce*). Its basic quality was therefore *varietas*, a content quite ill-defined.

Early *saturae* may embrace almost any theme. Originally, *satura* did not necessarily imply satirical in the modern sense ('a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured', Samuel Johnson, d. 1784). In Lucilius social criticism is clearly visible, but by no means omnipresent. Diomedes (4th century A.D.) gives the following description of the genre: *Satyra*[4] *dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae charactere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius.* '*Satyra*' is the name of a Roman type of poem which, at least by now, is foul-mouthed and apt to carp at the vices of men in the way of the Old Comedy; examples are the works of Lucilius, Horace, and Persius (*gramm.* 1. 485. 30–32 Keil).

It is difficult to give a more precise definition of the genre. Every author after all lives in different circumstances and has a strongly individual way of writing *saturae*. Lucilius criticized living and even well-known personalities, Horace only insignificant contemporaries, Persius tended more towards general philosophizing, Juvenal attacked only the dead. Lucilius handled the genre with a sharp scalpel, Horace with a gentle smile, Persius with a preacher's power, Juvenal with

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[1] *Satura quidem tota nostra est* (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 93).

[2] *Et olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satyra vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius* (Diom. *gramm.* 1. 485. 32–34 Keil).

[3] Festus p. 314 M. = p. 416 Lindsay.

[4] A false orthography on the basis of an incorrect Grecizing etymology.

Hercules' club. This led Wilamowitz to declare that there was no Roman satire, only Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal.[1] Nevertheless we will try to describe some basic features of form (Literary Technique) and content (Ideas II).

A literary type quite distinct from *satura* is the *Menippean satire*, which is traced back to Menippus of Gadara (first half of 3rd century B.C.). This is a mixture of prose and verse, in which the Cynic diatribe is enlivened by background drawn from the mime. The more-or-less fantastic narrative may serve as a guise for criticism of the contemporary world.

Greek Background

The *satura* is a native product (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 93; Hor. *sat.* 1. 10. 66), although more in general than in detail. The romantic assumption of pre-literary (Etruscan?) dialogue forms as a precursor must be considered with reserve. If the *satura* claims closeness to the language of everyday, that is an effect of literary art and proves nothing about the origin of the genre. Its title may be compared with Hellenistic counterparts such as Σύμμικτα or Ἄτακτα, but no poetic collections so disparate in content and form are known from Greek.

Satirical elements may be found in different genres of Greek literature, particularly in the *iambos*, but not in the form familiar to us from Roman literature. An ancient hypothesis derived Roman *satura* from Old Comedy. Criticism of the modern world and personal attack on named opponents were common to both genres; another parallel is, for example, the contest between Death and Life in Ennius, which recalls the *agon* of Old Comedy.[2] Lucilius at first made use of meters of comedy, the trochaic septenarius and the iambic senarius, before he decided in favor of the hexameter. Last but not least, both types of poetry employ elements of colloquial language. However, these analogies do not allow us to derive so complex a genre as *satura* is in its entirety from Old Comedy. An example of the blending of smaller genres with *satura* is provided by Ennius' fable of the lark. After Hesiod, and the efforts of Socrates, this is the first Aesopian fable in verse known to us. About a hundred years before Ennius, Demetrius of

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[1] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Griechische Verskunst, Berlin, 2nd ed. 1921 (repr. Darmstadt 1962), 42, note 1.

[2] It also recalls the Atellane.

Phalerum had produced a collection of fables which was perhaps in prose (Diog. Laert. 5. 80).

Roman Development

It is uncertain whether a pre-literary dramatic or dialogic *satura* ever existed (Livy 7. 2. 4–13). This may be an invention of ancient literary historians.[1] Of Ennius' *saturae* we know that they treated a multiplicity of themes in varying meters. Ennius may have introduced the title following Hellenistic precedent ('miscellany'). He used even fable and allegory which later played a part in *satura*. Pacuvius likewise is said to have written *saturae*.[2]

Lucilius was regarded as the founder of the genre, although the term *satura* is nowhere attested in him. At first he used different meters, but not within the same book. Later, the hexameter prevailed, and this set the trend for all subsequent satirists. Lucilius called his composition 'improvisations' (*schedia*) or 'playful chats' (*ludus ac sermones*). They contained political and personal criticism of respected contemporaries so frank as to find no parallel in later Rome.

Horace's satire was influenced by the diatribe. Ridicule was now confined to insignificant contemporaries and typical faults. There was a special artistry of form (see Literary Technique). After Horace, the hexameter became standard, and moralizing predominated.

In Persius, language and style were a mixture of crudeness and extreme refinement. In content, satire approached the moral tone of the sermon.

Juvenal's satire shows more rhetorical and emotional treatment than any other. In him, the satiric genre rose to the stylistic level of tragedy and epic.

Individual satirical elements are also found in authors of other genres, for example, in the fable (Phaedrus), in the epigram (Martial), in the novel (Petronius), and in other prose (for example, in the Church Fathers, especially Jerome).

The *satura* also influenced the *Menippea*, as may be seen from the

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[1] E. Pasoli, Satura drammatica e satura letteraria, Vichiana 1, 1964, 2, 1–41; an affirmative view is recently held by P. L. Schmidt, in: G. Vogt-Spira, ed., Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom, Tübingen 1989, 77–133 (partly hypothetical).

[2] Diom. *gramm.* 1. 485 Keil; Porph. *Hor. sat.* 1. 10. 46.

imitation of Lucilius by Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis*. His mixture of prose and meter is also found in Petronius' novel (who probably followed some tradition of Greek novel; cf. P. Oxy. 3010), but the mixture of prose and verse is not necessarily linked with a satirical intent. One may compare Accius' *Didascalica*, Martianus Capella, and Boethius.

Not the form, but the spirit of Roman satire underwent a rebirth in Jerome, in whom a great satirist was lost. He was himself aware of this: 'You accuse me of being a *satiricus scriptor* in prose (Hier. *epist.* 40. 2). Here in Latin the satirical content is clearly distinguished from the form of *satura*: this furnished the premise for the modern idea of satire as an attitude not confined to a particular genre of poetry.

Literary Technique

Humor,[1] wit and parody, along with the dialogic style and the use of everyday words, produced an innate kinship with comedy.[2] But satire is by no means limited to techniques of comedy.

Lucilius wrote dialogically. His poems create an extraordinarily fresh effect, they are rich in ideas, but seem to lack polish, at least in retrospective comparison with Horace.

In Horace, satire developed an extremely high degree of literary sophistication. We may distinguish between more narrative and more reflective *saturae*. Anecdotal tales and journey poems have a narrative character. Artistically, in his *Iter Brundisinum* (*sat.* 1. 5), Horace looked back to Lucilius' *Iter Siculum*, an author who, if combated, in general remained an important point of reference for Horace.[3] A subtle art of narrative was deployed, which was woven into the texture of the *satura*.

The reflective *satura* may take up themes such as *ambitio* or *avaritia*, in partial dependence on the tradition of the diatribe.[4] The unforced,

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[1] Hor. *sat.* 1. 10. 14–15 *ridiculum acri/fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res*; wit: *sat.* 1. 4. 7–8; 103–106.

[2] Cf. the (perhaps Varronian) theory in Hor. *sat.* 1. 4; Johannes Lydus (6th century) *mag.* 1. 41 alleges that Rhinthon (beginning 3rd century B.C.) was the first to write comedy in hexameters, and that Lucilius depends on him. Unfortunately, Lydos was not ignorant of Latin, his evidence, therefore, is not necessarily independent of Roman sources.

[3] Cf. G. C. Fiske, Lucilius and Horace. A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation, Madison 1920.

[4] The word diatribe (strictly 'spending time' in a larger group) describes a popular philosophical sermon, between a dialogue and an essay; on the diatribe

easy conversational tone is characteristic (see Language). The progress of thought is not pedantically indicated, but thesis and counterthesis may be recognized, while comparisons and examples help to establish conclusions drawn from analogy. Objections and wrong deductions occur at precise points. Smaller forms are organically entwined: anecdote, apophthegm, fable. In Horace's satires written as diatribes, mature techniques may be observed: priamel (a series of examples) that takes a surprising turn, disguised entrances, gliding transitions, half-ironic resumptions. From the 1st to the 2nd book, and later to the *Epistles*, an increasing inclination toward philosophical themes is matched by a parallel development of literary technique.

Post-Horatian satire confronted a tradition which had become overwhelming. Whole series of procedures and themes were taken over and varied. Stylistic rivalry was inevitable, but *aemulatio* with Horace does not explain everything. Persius created a personal language (see below) and developed the philosophical sermon independently. Juvenal imported emotion into satire, and in him rhetoric is particularly noticeable.

As a relatively open form, satire may adapt to changing periods and personalities. This ensures its vitality, although rendering difficult the task of describing it as a genre.

Language and Style

The language of *satura* employs a broad palette. Its content, so close to daily life, favors its use of words and constructions drawn from colloquial language. In this respect, *satura* is like comedy. In their acceptance of coarse expressions, the authors vary greatly. In Lucilius, an unaffected ease prevails, even if tempered by oldfashioned wit. His register reaches from gutter slang to epic and tragic parody. He also uses a macaronic mixture of Latin and Greek which he had heard in everyday talk, something which in Horace's eyes was quite unacceptable.

In his vocabulary, Horace from the outset is more selective and, in the course of his development, he becomes ever more restrained. In all genres, even if always within the limits of good taste, he sets his so-called 'unpoetic' words at the service of a powerful poetic effect.

A. Oltramare 1926; K. Berger, Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament, ANRW 2, 25, 2, 1984, 1031–1432, esp. 1124–1132.

Persius takes particular delight in incorporating everyday expressions into his artistic satires. Juvenal's diction is emotionally charged, even solemn.

The language of *Menippean satire* is related to that of *satura* because of its similar subject matter. It uses homely metaphors, proverbs, idioms. In the narrative portions, however, a careful prose style is found. Varro's *Menippeans* are no less rich in popular turns of phrase than his work on the Latin language. But their style is much more careful. Seneca and Petronius would develop further this urbane method of writing.

The style of *satura* is characterized by parataxis and apparent lack of art (parenthesis, *correctio*). Addresses and quotations produce animation. Rhetoric has its place, and for this reason, too, satire is a typically Roman genre. Behind this poetic form of literature, with its rhetorical background, stands the philosophical sermon, the diatribe. Rhetoric in Horace is still restrained by self-deprecating irony. In Juvenal, its presence is unmistakable. Even in this unpretentious genre, a lofty style gains the upper hand; actually, in Imperial Rome, nothing else was to be expected.

In early Lucilius, trochaic septenarii and iambic senarii still occur. As the poet develops, the hexameter begins to prevail and this sets the standard for later. Differences of style may be observed in cases where, as in Horace, the strictly constructed lyric hexameter may be compared with the somewhat freer use of the same meter in satire. However, neither in Horace nor in his successors should a contrived negligence be confused with formlessness.[1] Horace and Persius are great poets who compose each verse with care. Even Lucilius in his own time, the only standard against which it is fair to judge him, was *doctus et urbanus*. It would be foolish however to ignore the progress owed to Horace's file.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Lucilius wanted an audience that was neither unlearned nor too learned. He discussed in detail linguistic and even orthographical questions. Though he was an enemy of those enamored of things

[1] Horace, even in his *Satires*, handled elisions more strictly than Virgil did in the *Aeneid*.

Greek, he liked to indulge in Greek quotations and phrases.

Horace's reaction to Lucilius leads from initial detachment to a degree of recognition. This is shown by the evolution of his statements about the writing of satire and his predecessor, traceable from *sat.* 1. 4 through 1. 10 to 2. 1. Horace wanted his own satiric writing in the best case to be regarded as reflection, and in the worst as pastime.[1] Yet he could not conceal that for him such writing was an inner compulsion,[2] not to be resisted in spite of his best efforts.

Basically, for Horace and his readers, *satura* was related to colloquial language. To abandon the metrical framework was to be left with everyday speech (*sat.* 1. 4. 54–56). Just like comedy, with which he linked it, *satura* was for him different from genuine poetry.[3]

Horace excluded himself from the tally of poets (*sat.* 1. 4. 39–40). Naturally, if we consider his artistic mastery of the satiric form, this is a gross understatement. His own supposition that his verses are *bona carmina* (*sat.* 2. 1. 83) proves that his reluctance to assume the name of poet was not meant seriously. The inner relationship of *satis* (a theme of the *Saturae*), *recte* (*Epistles*), and *aptum* (*Ars poetica*), of the ethical and the aesthetic, turns Horace into a poet of moderation and mean.

Here, laughter must find a place as a human characteristic. Horace wanted to 'tell the truth with a laugh' (*sat.* 1. 1. 24). He developed his poetics in his letters and in the *ars.*

Satire's serious claim to truth was advanced in Persius' prologue and in Juvenal's first satire. It is the programmatic opposite of mythological poetry, which was then felt to be essentially untrue.

Persius, too, was aware of satire's position between everyday speech and poetry (prologue). Just like Horace (*epist.* 2. 2. 51–52), he explained that poverty and hunger are poetry's tutors. In this respect, too, *satura* takes pride in its down-to-earth Roman nature.

Juvenal drew inspiration from his indignation. The idea that emotion produces eloquence was a rhetorical principle, which he may have known from his training in the schools of declamation. By infusing satire with the large breath of indignation, he raised the genre stylistically to a higher level (cf. Juv. 6. 634–637). Like his predecessors,

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[1] *Ubi quid datur oti,/inludo chartis* (*sat.* 1. 4. 138–139).

[2] Cf. *epist.* 2. 1. 111–113.

[3] *Musa pedestris* (*sat.* 2. 6. 17); *sermones . . . repentes per humum* (*epist.* 2. 1. 250–251; cf. 2. 2. 60).

Juvenal set satire in opposition to deceptive mythological poetry. He defined his *saturae* from the point of view of their subject matter as a genre with a universal claim. Juvenal's emotionally laden satire rivaled Lucan's epic (which was equally animated by emotional commentaries made by its author) and Seneca's tragedy. Both these genres in Juvenal's day had come to an end, and were replaced, in their claims to come to serious terms with the world, by satire.

Juvenal displayed a keen eye for the place of literature in contemporary society. He recognized the crisis of Latin literature in his time. Rescue he expected to come from the emperor.

Ideas II

Lucilius was particularly energetic in his attacks on the living. Hate made him eloquent. Yet his urbanity must not be underestimated. He was an aristocrat, who had no need to prove his excellence by anxious conformity, as so many later authors found necessary.

The personal note, even going so far as apparent indiscretion, belongs to the genre. *Satura* is by intention a mirror of life or, more precisely, of the author's way of life. It is not then an unfiltered self-presentation, but to some extent an idealized picture. This is clear in Lucilius' well-known passage about *virtus*, in Horace's doctrine of *satis* and *recte*, and in Persius' idealization of his philosophy teacher Cornutus. In spite of this limitation, it must be accepted that in Roman satire there begins what may be called Roman personal poetry.

The mentality of the individual author and of his period lends a different stamp to successive works. Lucilius wrote with the carefree confidence of the free citizen of a republic. Horace lived in a time of transition. In spite of the emergence of new social links, he succeeded in maintaining his personal freedom. Though he had a thorough knowledge of Epicurean and Stoic philosophy, for him anything doctrinaire went against the grain. Persius was by no means a blindly doctrinaire poet, but in him the cultural atmosphere is visibly different. He is not free from the intention to convert, and his preaching is less restrained than that of Horace. A philosophical religious sense, which included loyalty to his teacher, became in Persius an important element of satire. Juvenal preached with fiery emotion, but still dared attack only the dead. Here, he resembled his contemporary Tacitus.

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LUCILIUS

Life and Dates

C. Lucilius was the great-uncle of Pompey the Great[1] and therefore the first Latin poet of social distinction.[2] He was not a freedman but a free man, like his countryman and spiritual kinsman Naevius, but one who enjoyed wealth and influence. Poetry, which at Rome had only very gradually risen in public esteem, was able with Lucilius to celebrate its elevation to knighthood. More importantly, at the same time, the poet's strongly marked individuality characterized the beginning of Roman personal poetry.

By birth Lucilius was a Roman knight from Suessa Aurunca on the border between Campania and Latium. He probably came quite early into contact with Scipio, whose estate at Lavernium was not far from Suessa. His warm friendship with Scipio[3] was reinforced by shared experience of war at the siege of Numantia (Vell. 2. 9. 4), but it had also a more material side, for, as unusual as it was, it was now the rich poet who lent aid to the politician and general. Scipio's

[1] Porph. *Hor. sat.* 2. 1. 75; A. B. WEST, Lucilian Genealogy, AJPh 49, 1928, 240–252.

[2] The proof that Lucilius was a Roman citizen was given by C. CICHORIUS 1908, 14–22.

[3] Schol. *Hor. sat.* 2. 1. 72.

friends[1] were also those of Lucilius: C. Laelius, Junius Congus, Rutilius Rufus, Manius Manilius, Q. Fabius Maximus. After Scipio's death, these were joined by C. Sempronius Tuditanus. Their common enemies were even more numerous; they included Scipio's chief opponent, P. Mucius Scaevola, the Pontifex Maximus. Along with him stood Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus[2] who, as censor, sought to force all Romans into marriage and procreation of children. This led Lucilius to write his 'satire on marriage'. Among his enemies was L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus,[3] *princeps senatus*, who was mercilessly ridiculed by Lucilius in his 1st book. Political[4] motives have been detected even in Lucilius' literary feud with Accius. Here, the tension between Terence and Luscius must have continued, fed by the antagonism between the Scipios and the *collegium poetarum*.[5] But Lucilius was more than a partisan. He certainly praised Scipio, but he also found sympathetic words for Tiberius Gracchus, although Gracchus was an opponent of the Scipios (691 and 694–695 M. = 738–740 K.). Conversely, he even attacked a philhellene like A. Postumius Albinus, who was not one of Scipio's enemies, and even castigated Scipio's affected pronunciation (964 M. = 972 K.). Where he found meritorious achievement, he was not sparing with recognition, without indulging social prejudices. In book 22, he created a memorial to his own servants. In general, Lucilius shows what for a Roman poet was an unusual degree of independence.

It speaks volumes for the reputation and philosophical training of Lucilius that the head of the Platonic Academy, Clitomachus, dedicated a treatise to him (Cic. *ac.* 2. 102). In answering the question when their acquaintance began, the enquirer thinks first of the famous

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[1] For criticism of the term 'Scipionic Circle' cf. H. Strasburger, Der Scipionenkreis, Hermes 94, 1966, 60–72; A. E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus, Oxford 1967 (Appendix VI: The 'Scipionic Circle' and the Influence of Panaetius); a balanced view in: K. Abel, Die kulturelle Mission des Panaitios, A&A 17, 1971, 122–127; earlier: R. Reitzenstein, Scipio Aemilianus und die stoische Rhetorik, Strassburg 1901; I. Heinemann, Humanitas, RE suppl. 5, 1931, 282–310; R. M. Brown, A Study of the Scipionic Circle, Scottdale 1934; M. Pohlenz, Antikes Führertum. Cicero *De officiis* und das Lebensideal des Panaitios, Leipzig 1934; L. Labowsky, Die Ethik des Panaitios, Leipzig 1934.

[2] Books 26–30; see F. Marx on 676 and 678–679.

[3] An opponent of Scipio was also Tiberius Claudius Asellus, 394 M. = 412 K.

[4] This interpretation of N. Terzaghi is criticized by E. Bolisani, Di una pretesa polemica contro Accio in Lucilio, RFIC 17, 1939, 225–237.

[5] W. Krenkel 1957–1958 (1970) passim; on Accius: C. Cichorius 1908, 205–206; J. Christes 1971, 132.

philosophers' embassy of 155 B.C. However it is not certain that Lucilius was alive at that time, or whether Clitomachus, whose leadership of the Academy dates from 127/126 to 110 B.C., took part in this embassy. There remains the supposition of a sojourn by Lucilius in Athens, strengthened by the poet's apparent firsthand acquaintance with circumstances there.

At the end of his life, Lucilius withdrew to Naples. There he died in 103/102 B.C. as *senex*, and received a public funeral reflecting his repute in his lifetime. His date of birth is contested. According to Jerome (*chron.* 1915), he died at the age of 46. This would imply that he took part in the Numantian campaign at the age of 14, and that he was 40 years younger than his friend Scipio. For this reason, the convincing suggestion[1] has been made that the consuls of 148 and 180 B.C., distinguished only by the initials of their praenomina, have been confused. Nevertheless, Jerome's dating has been defended.[2] The assignment to 167[3] is nowadays little regarded, but does fit with his participation in the campaign at the age of 33, and his confrontation with Accius.[4]

In any case, Lucilius began to write only after the capture of Numantia,[5] about the same time as Accius. His work falls into three periods; the earliest, consisting of books 26–30, was published after 129, perhaps about 123 B.C.

In the 2nd collection (books 1–21), the 1st book was written after the death of L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, therefore 125/124 B.C. The second followed the action for *repetundae* brought by T. Albucius against Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, and therefore may be dated to 119/118 B.C. Book 5 was written about 118 B.C., book 11 about 115/114 B.C., and book 20 about 107/106 B.C.

A third section, consisting of books 22–25, must have been added to a posthumous edition.

In its choice of meters, the collection moves from the trochaic

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[1] M. Haupt in Lucian Müller, Zu Lucilius und Tacitus (*dial.* 11), JKPh 107, 1873, 365.

[2] J. Christes 1971, 12–17.

[3] C. Cichorius 1908, 7–14.

[4] F. Della Corte's dating to 198 B.C. is less convincing: F. Della Corte, I. Mariotti, W. Krenkel, L'età di Lucilio, Maia 20, 1968, 254–270. *Senex* (Hor. *sat.* 2. 1. 30–34) is a flexible term.

[5] Lucilius 620–621 M. = 689–690 K. In line 963 M. = 971 K. Scipio is addressed as a live person.

septenarius (which also played a part in Ennius' satires) and the iambic senarius (possibly connected with Ennius and with Callimachus' *Iamboi*) to the hexameter. It is this which prevails in the second collection (books 1–21). It was at the beginning of his 2nd collection that Lucilius seems to have found the appropriate form. The 1st books of this group also show uniformity of content. Conversely, the earlier and later parts are more markedly differentiated and somewhat heterogeneous. If Lucilius did attain a classical[1] ideal of unity, it was obviously only a transitional phase.

The books are organized in metrical cycles, partly in reversed chronological order: 1–21 use hexameters, 22 shows a medley of meters, 23–25 employ hexameters, 26–29 are a medley, and the final book 30 returns to hexameters. This produces a 'Callimachean ring-composition'.[2]

Survey of Works

A detailed analysis of the contents of the thirty books cannot be given here for several reasons. First, the transmission varies greatly. For example, nothing remains of books 21 and 24, whereas relatively large amounts survive of books 26 through 30. Second, Lucilius' fragments unhappily consist mostly of one or very few lines, which means that the restoration of the context is left to the imagination of editors more often than they would like to admit. (The self-restraint of F. Charpin in this regard is praiseworthy). Finally, the themes are so varied that a mere paraphrase could only produce confusion (see Ideas).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Roman satire in its Lucilian form arose at a time which was felt by the Romans themselves to be one of crisis. Dominance of the western Mediterranean led to the amassing of wealth in the hands of a small number. This brought about plans for political reform and public criticism. Lucilius therefore was doing more than repeating Stoic commonplaces. His attack on luxury hit at an historical fact; if not at the economic roots of the trouble, at least its moral causes. In the political struggle, individual characters began to make a sharper

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[1] J. Heurgon 1959, 57.
[2] M. Puelma 1949, 322–323.

impression. The same may be said of literature. In both realms, a pugnacious spirit made itself felt.

The vehicle for the new experience just described was *satura*, a loose form on which Lucilius impressed the stamp of his own personality. His *satura* was distinguished from that of his predecessor Ennius, whose nephew Pacuvius had followed his uncle's example, by its aggressive nature. It was in Lucilius for the first time that the satirical element came to the fore, though without prevailing totally. In the surviving fragments of the poet, the word *satura* is never found in any literary sense;[1] he speaks of *poemata, versus, ludus*[2] *ac sermones* (1039 M. = 982–983 K.), *schedium* (improvisation 1279 M. = 1296 K.). *Saturarum libri* seems to have been the title chosen by the grammarians. This means that the much discussed term of *satura* has perhaps no great claim to antiquity.

Many varied impulses combine in Lucilius' work. Among native elements may be mentioned the Italian love of repartee, which also found expression in the so-called Fescennine verses. Since the days of Cato, Rome had known political pamphlets. For satire in the form of letters we have pre-literary examples from everyday. Spurius Mummius, the brother of the plunderer of Corinth, is alleged to have written witty letters in verse from the camp (Cic. *Att.* 13. 6. 4). An epistolary form was employed by Lucilius in his 3rd, 5th and 9th books. He thus became the ancestor at Rome of the poetic missive. The literary epistle as an open letter to the public was also a novelty.

In looking for Greek predecessors, scholars have long observed the proximity of the *satura* to the Stoic and Cynic diatribe, a popular sermon on morals. Lucilius' dependence on Menippean satire[3] is however a matter of controversy, since the Menippean was first introduced at Rome by Varro. The extensive parallels between the assembly of the gods in Lucilius' 1st book and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* could then only be explained in Lucilius as a parody of Ennius. The first scene of Virgil's *Aeneid* book 10 may also be compared.

Lucilius was well read in every literary genre. He knew aggressive poets, such as Archilochus and Aristophanes, but he also knew

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[1] Once in a legal sense: 48 M. = 34 K.

[2] H. Wagenvoort, Ludus poeticus, in: H.W., Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion, Leiden 1956, 30–42.

[3] Favored by F. Leo, Varro und die Satire, Hermes 24, 1889, 84; treated skeptically by M. Mosca, I presunti modelli del *Concilium deorum* di Lucilio, PP 15, 1960, 373–384.

Euripides and Menander, as well as Menander's Roman successors, Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence. The proximity to comedy later emphasized by Horace (*sat.* 1. 4. 1–8) is to be found more in perspective than in detail. Lucilius is linked to Old Comedy by his pleasure in personal attack, and with the New by his vivid presentation of human weaknesses and foibles, which philosophically may be understood as deviations from the golden mean.[1]

His relationship to epic is complex. While Lucilius himself refused to write any such work, he certainly paid homage to Homer and Ennius, if by nothing else than by his increasing preference for the epic meter and his numerous epic parodies, as in his assembly of the gods.[2] He even translated a passage of Homer (1254 M. = 1272 K.). He rejected, therefore, the heroic poem, not in principle, but only as alien to the bent of his personal talent.[3] In fact, our satirist proves to have a sense of the niceties of the epic style when he scolds Ennius for often falling short of the dignity of his topic (cf. Hor. *sat.* 1. 10. 54). This means that line 4 M. = 6 K., on the basis of its resemblances to Virgil *Aeneid* 9. 227, is certainly Ennian, and Jupiter's exclamation over human cares and the worthlessness of earthly things is reminiscent of Zeus' speech in the 1st book of the *Odyssey* (Lucilius 9 M.,[4] cf. 2 K.; *Odyss.* 1. 32).

In his confrontation with tragedy, Lucilius rejects topics removed from reality,[5] reminding the reader of Terence's criticism of Luscius Lanuvinus. He also parodies bombastic language.[6] The question of Lucilius' relationship to Callimachus, and in particular to the *Iamboi*, is difficult. M. Puelma (1949) sees Lucilius and Horace as the heirs

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[1] M. Puelma 1949, esp. 53–66.

[2] We find an element of humor in assemblies of the gods as early as Homer: W. Nestle, Anfänge einer Götterburleske bei Homer (1905), now in: W.N., Griechische Studien. Untersuchungen zur Religion, Dichtung und Philosophie der Griechen, Stuttgart 1948, 1–31; R. Muth, Die Götterburleske in der griechischen Literatur, Darmstadt 1992; Epic parody in the *Iter Siculum*: E. A. Schmidt, Lucilius kritisiert Ennius und andere Dichter. Zu Lucil. *frg.* 148 Marx, MH 34, 1977, 122–129, esp. 124.

[3] J. Christes 1971, 76–78 and 117; Lucil. 621–622 M. = 689 K.; 679 K.

[4] The fragment is not found in W. Krenkel (*frg.* 2) and is replaced by the neighboring verse in Persius.

[5] E.g. winged serpents 587 M. = 604 K. borrowed from Pacuvius trag. 397 R.; criticism of the *Cresphontes* of Euripides: 1169 M. = 1189 K. (implausibility).

[6] E.g. 653 M. = 616 K. after Pacuv. *trag.* 112 R.; Lucil. 597–598 M. = 605–606 K. after Pacuv. *trag.* 20a R.; Lucil. 599–600 M. = 620–621 K. after Acc. *trag.* 617; cf. also W. Barr, Lucilius and Accius, RhM 108, 1965, 101–103.

of the latter, while Ennius and Varro are the representatives of the satirical diatribe. The principal objection raised has been that Lucilius is not concerned with theoretical principles, but with a poetry that is subjectively true, adapted to his theme and his poetic gift. Even so, it is noteworthy that to formulate these thoughts Lucilius picked up the Μοῦσα πεζή of Callimachus which became the mirror of the artist's personal world. Lucilius consciously adopted a strict ideal of form and created a simple and elegant style. This is why he was perceived by Varro as the exponent of *gracilitas*. The objection that in Horace's view Lucilius' satires were like a 'muddy river' is not compelling. The Augustan poet later revised his verdict, which was based on a particular context, and recognized that in his own period Lucilius could claim to have more culture and erudition (*doctus*), urbanity of manners (*urbanus*), and stylistic skill than all his predecessors (*sat.* 1. 10. 64–71). Here we find that shifting of phases which renders the judgment of early Roman poetry so difficult. The critic who starts from Horace observes Lucilius' archaism, and evaluates it, according to his personal taste, as a shortcoming or, conversely, as a particular merit, while the perspective of Lucilius himself was exactly the reverse. He was attracted by the progress in the refinement of language and form which was his aim. Since others outshone him in this regard, we must make a fresh attempt to open our eyes to his achievement. In his effort, only Callimachus could serve as a guide.

One important influence has not yet been mentioned, that of philosophy. *Satura* is not a philosophical genre, but it is constantly preoccupied with the question of the conduct of life and, for this reason, assimilates a multitude of inspirations from philosophy. Being a friend of Clitomachus, Lucilius was acquainted with Plato's writings. He mentioned Carneades (31 M. = 51 K.), and quoted the Socratic Euclides (518 M. = 519 K.). In particular, he took up thoughts of the Middle Stoa as represented in Scipio's circle by Panaetius. In Lucilius' theory of character and ethics, Peripatetic elements have been observed. It would be something remarkable if a poet noted for so much reading and adaptation had not been a reflective artist.

Literary Technique

Some of the poet's books were self-contained, consisting of individual large-scale satires. Others were made up of several pieces. Lucilius seems to have preferred the larger form at the beginning of his sec-

ond phase (i.e. in the 1st books of the edition of his works). In the 1st book, as in the 26th (at the beginning of his earliest collection), there may have been an 'introductory satire'. The brevity of the fragments preserved makes it almost impossible to evaluate the artistic structure of larger sections, whether of narrative or argument. Doubtless, his range of forms was wide: proverb, fable, anecdote, reminiscence, lecture, letter, dialogue. Among his literary procedures may be mentioned parody and travesty. Lucilius also employed the methods of the diatribe: address, rhetorical question, objection, apparent dialogue.[1]

We possess a fragment in which Lucilius' art may be observed over the span of several verses: his description of the nature of *virtus* (1326–1338 M. = 1342–1354 K.). The beginning and end of this extract are emphasized by a larger sentence or context which in each case extends over two lines (1342–1343; 1353–1354 K.). The use of a tricolon lends a particular force to the final section (1352; 1353–1354 K.). Before the antepenultimate verse, and after the third verse, there are two pairs of lines related to each other by verbal reminiscences and antithetical content (1345–1346: *utile quid sit, honestum,/ quid inutile, turpe, inhonestum*', what is useful . . ., what is shameful, useless, dishonorable'; 1350–1351: *inimicum hominum morumque malorum/ defensorem hominum morumque bonorum*, 'an enemy of bad men and manners, a defender of good men and manners'). The idea that wealth must be properly valued is placed in the center of our text (1348). This nucleus is surrounded by two complementary expressions: restraint in acquisition (1347), and right giving (1349). Anaphora provides this symmetrical structure with the dynamic it had lacked. The tricolon at the end gives the necessary weight to the conclusion. This self-contained passage, then, shows a coexistence of symmetry and linear progression which may be recognized as characteristic of Latin Neoteric and Augustan poetry and, at the same time, of the Hellenistic manner. Lucilius' literary technique therefore confirms his indebtedness to Callimachean artistry. It also proves his mastery of rhetorical methods and of their blending into poetry.

Finally, the fragment also attempts to render philosophical thoughts in pure Latin. The poet at will can avoid Greek words. The Grecisms which he employs elsewhere either act as quotations or as a realistic

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[1] J. Christes 1971, 51–52.

reflection of colloquial language. They thus serve quite specific purposes.

Language and Style

We already mentioned that Lucilius ridiculed the philhellene A. Postumius Albinus. He criticized Greek words not demanded by the occasion (15–16 M. = 16–17 K.). Lucilius' striving for *Latinitas* is shown by his attack on the provincialisms used by a certain Vettius (1322 M. = 1338 K.). For him, good Latin is the language of the capital city. Lucilius experienced language 'largely as a social phenomenon'.[1] This explains his rejection of orthographical reforms proposed by Accius who wanted to write *scena* to correspond to the Greek original. Since the pronunciation of *-ae* as *-e* was widespread in the countryside, Lucilius reproached this aristocrat of the stage with introducing country speech to Rome: *Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat*, 'let's not make Caecilius yokel pretor' (1130 M. = 1146 K.). Even if Accius were not directly meant, the jesting alteration of the title *praetor urbanus* into *pretor rusticus* would remain an unmistakable allusion to urbanity as the norm. In this regard, many an unusual word formation in Lucilius may be seen as a caricature of the stilted language of tragedy (e.g. a truly monstrous adjective *monstrificabilis*, 608 M. = 623 K.). While Lucilius sought uniform criteria both for language and life, he rejected the leveling proposed by the Analogists, unlike the Scipios (963–964 M. = 971–972 K.; cf. Cic. *orat.* 159). He also assailed the use of rhetorical figures of the Asian type, even though sometimes Scipio himself was not averse to them.[2]

In his search for a simple, clear style,[3] as in his preference for the *mot juste*, Lucilius stood with Terence and the purist tendencies of the following century. His preference for the language of the capital, even in the face of exaggerations by Analogists, links him with Varro. But he outdid these authors in his creative linguistic gift. His feeling for style was everywhere alert to what was appropriate, and showed itself also in pithy apophthegms, such as *vis est vita*, 'force is life' (1340

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[1] M. Puelma 1949, 28.
[2] On this Leo, LG 303–304. Lucilius 84–85 M. = 74–75 K.
[3] Especially technical terms: Fronto p. 62 N. = 57,4 V.D.H.

M. = 1356 K.) or *non omnia possumus omnes* (218 M. = 224 K., imitated by Virgil, *ecl.* 8. 63).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Lucilius was not so much a theoretician as a critic of style, a thoughtful, pugnacious poet, taking sides in disputes of the day. His feud with Accius was only the tip of an iceberg, and may generally be compared with features of modern literary life: text—review—response, and so on.[1] The definition of the simple style of the *satura*, by contrast with epic and tragedy, was already mentioned. In dialogue, Lucilius speaks loosely, his partner in exalted tones (book 26). However, this is a studied negligence guided by the principle of a simple, subtle way of writing. Lucilius has in fact been called 'the first to demonstrate a nose for style' (Plin. *nat. praef.* 7). 'Nose' here is a metaphor for taste and wit. In his day Lucilius was what in the 18th century was called a 'connoisseur'. He was not concerned with particular persons, but with clear ideas and with general questions. This is why he distinguishes between *poesis* and *poema* (338–347 M. = 376–385 K.). But he did not disdain questions of orthography and gave them an almost philosophical interpretation. In the dative or 'giving' case, the word is 'given' one more letter.[2] This was the moment when literary criticism at Rome first saw the light of day, and Lucilius championed the requirements of simplicity and adaptation of words to facts. These were ideas touching on Stoic theories.

An important feature of his demeanor as a critic was the rejection of any claim to superiority. Lucilius spoke of himself 'not as if he were superior to the one he was criticizing' (Hor. *sat.* 1. 10. 55). In this self-belittling, the student of the Academy showed an element of Socratic irony. As a rule, the presence of irony in Lucilius should not be disputed by reference to his high opinion of his poetry. Of course his self-awareness was beyond all doubt (1008 M. = 1064 K.; 1084 M. = 1065 K.), but may not the same be said of ironical Horace? Moreover, an enrichment of 'lower' literary genres with elements of high poetry, particularly in praise of rulers (as was found in the

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[1] W. Krenkel 1957/58 = 1970, passim, esp. 245 with note.

[2] The idea that words reflect facts is Stoic: Norden, *Aen. VI*, pp. 413–414; W. Krenkel 1957/1958 = 1970, 249.

memorial to Scipio in Lucilius' book 30), is consistent with the practice of the crossing of the genres found in Callimachus and Theocritus. Whether beyond this there is evidence for a link to Callimachus, especially in the iambic portions, should be considered.[1] This genre binds simple style with an aggressive stance, with variety of themes and parody. It embraces therefore a whole collection of Lucilian features in one. It is improbable that so many shared similarities depend on pure coincidence. In so educated a writer as Lucilius, it is easier to assume that he chose his model deliberately.

Ideas II

Lucilius' satires range widely in theme. With emphatic frankness, he speaks of his own life, as well as that of his friends and enemies. Erotic themes[2] occupy much space. There are ladies of the *demimonde*, and boys. The patterns of amorous behavior he describes anticipate many features of later erotic didacticism, as found in Horace, Tibullus, and Ovid. Lucilius speaks of marriage from the point of view of a confirmed bachelor. Woman is a 'sweet evil' (*dulce malum*).[3] What made his *satura* for the first time satiric, by contrast with that of Ennius, was his criticism of society. Lucilius dispensed praise and blame freely on the leading men of the Republic, and did not spare even the people (1259–1260 M. = 1275 K.). Contemporary challenges often formed a starting point, to which were repeatedly added themes drawn from ethics, physics, dialectic, and the philosophy of language.

At the outset, Lucilius distinguished his work from extreme positions taken by philosophers. He had no concern with 'investigating the hour of birth of heaven and earth' (1 M. = 1 K.), but rather with presenting real life. In order to understand life, the so-called sage (cf. 515–516 M. = 500–501 K.) could not be of much use to him. He could, however, find great use for the types of eccentric behavior pictured by Theophrastus in his *Characters*,[4] with the aim of defining the mean by using two antithetical extremes. Examples are

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[1] R. Scodel, Horace, Lucilius, and Callimachean Polemic, HSPh 91, 1987, 199–215.

[2] Collyra (book 16), Phryne (book 7), Hymnis (book 28 or 29); Sexual techniques (303–306 M. = 302–305 K.).

[3] D. Korzeniewski, *Dulce malum*. Ein unbeachtetes Sprichwort und das Lucilius-Fragment 1097 M., Gymnasium 83, 1976, 289–294.

[4] M. Puelma 1949, 54–60.

avarice and extravagance in Horace's first *Satire*, or in Lucilius' 26th book. Lucilius did not try to find the virtuous life, like Horace, in withdrawal, but, after the fashion of the disciples of Plato and Aristotle, in the midst of practical life. In dialogue, he liked to juxtapose contrary characters, such as the Stoic Scaevola, who rejected all bombast, and the Epicurean Albucius, an affected Graecomaniac (book 2). Here the truth certainly lies in the mean between the extremes although, in a confrontation of the satirist with the tragic poet, it lies on the side of the former and his simple style (books 26 and 30).

The notion of the mean is also evident in the previously mentioned *virtus* fragment, even in its form. Virtue pertains not only to moderation in gain but also to right giving. This shows as well some influence of Panaetius (Cic. *off.* 1. 58; Diog. Laert. 7. 124). Since *virtus* includes the right attitude to country and parents, it borders on *pietas* although, surprisingly in this context, no mention is made of the dead and of the gods. Fulfillment of duty in Lucilius is directed, with Roman sobriety, towards life in this world. It is to Greek philosophy, however, that Lucilius owes his liberation from fear of the gods. 'The people trembles before scarecrows and witches, introduced by the likes of Faunus and Numa Pompilius. It puts its faith in them. Just as small children believe that all bronze statues live and are men, so these people regard the inventions of dreams as true, and think that bronze statues have heart and understanding...' (484–488 M. = 490–494 K.). Here it seems that we have an anticipation, not merely of a thought of Lucretius, but also of the accompanying simile (Lucr. 2. 55–58). In this passage, Lucilius puts up particular resistance to the assumption that images of the gods have life, but it is remarkable even so that his assault goes beyond mythical theology (480–483 M. = 482–485 K.) to the State religion introduced by Numa Pompilius, an act of boldness which Epicurus and Lucretius do not permit themselves.

Like Lucretius, Lucilius is one of the few poets taking an interest in natural science. Questions of health and illness and of the relationship of body and soul are also treated in his work. The influence of Epicurean, Stoic, and Aristotelian values is differently assessed.[1] To judge by the evidence of Lucretius' commentators, we may perhaps conclude that Lucilius, too, drew on the scientific and medical

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[1] Epicurean elements: W. Krenkel (edition) on 660–661 and on 658; Stoic elements: J. Christes 1971, 62 and 71.

knowledge commonly available in his day. His discussion of medicine includes biological and psychological aspects of sexuality (e.g. book 8), and is of a piece with his philosophy of life, his search for man's behavior in his social context. In this respect Lucilius is the first of the great Roman diagnosticians, psychologists, and students of the physiognomy of civilization. Like the essayists of later times, he shows an unflinching attention to facts, a complete lack of system, and an inimitable amalgam of generosity with a carefree spirit.

Lucilius had a strong sense of the uniqueness of personality (671–672 M. = 656–657 K.) and, in spite of his assumption of the mask of the Cynic clown, we may recognize in him the beginning of Roman personal poetry. The poet tried to define his attitude to life by asking what suited his individuality and what did not. It is with this in mind that he assimilated the legacy of the past, and this was the star that guided his behavior and poetry. Lucilius rejected with indignation the suggestion that he might surrender his personal freedom in order to make money (671–672 M. = 656–657 K.). In literature, his decision against epic and in favor of satire was a result of the same evaluation of his abilities. Equally, Panaetius, who brought Stoic philosophy closer to real life, understood self-knowledge not so much in abstract ('recognize that you are not a god but only a man') as individually ('recognize where your talent lies, what is within your grasp'). This means that the poet was not concerned with offering a photograph of his own life. When Horace said that in Lucilius' work his 'whole life' lies open before us (*omnis vita* Hor. *sat.* 2. 1. 32–34), we must think less of biography than of a way of life, and the comparison with diaries or votive tablets transcends the bare facts to include the struggle with life's problems. Lucilius' relation to philosophy is characteristic for many Romans. Roman philosophy may not be separated from practical life. But even if the *satura* does not indulge in theory, it is still concerned with reflection.

Influence

Before publication, Lucilius' works circulated among his close friends, where they were most truly at home. The poet jestingly explained that he wished to be read neither by the most highly educated nor by those completely uneducated, but by Junius Congus and Decimus Laelius. This was obviously not because he seriously regarded them as not very educated, but because they were his friends (592–596

M. = 591–594 K.).[1] Conversely, Lucilius knew 'that now, out of many, only my poems are on everybody's lips' (1013 M. = 1084 K.). This means that a large discrepancy opened between the circle of readers which he professed to seek and that which in fact he reached. (His large circulation as such does not refute the poet's allegiance to Callimachus any more than it does in the case of Ovid.) Among the poet's numerous friends were also numbered the grammarians, Q. Laelius Archelaus and Vettius Philocomus. In all probability, is was they who later edited the satires (Suet. *gramm.* 2. 4; cf. Lucil. 1322 M. = 1338 K.). In the next generation, we find the famous Valerius Cato as Lucilius' defender (ps.-Horace *sat.* 1. 10. 1–8). He was a pupil of Philocomus, and along with Pompeius Lenaeus, a pupil of Archelaus, and with Curtius Nicias, he belonged to the circle of Pompey the Great, who was Lucilius' great-nephew. It was here that a revised edition of the poet's works was made, and that collections of glossae perhaps began. In the early imperial period, editions are also known accompanied by critical signs, which may have been owed to Probus of Berytos. There were also commentaries (cf. Gell. 24. 4).

Horace felt a profound need to come to terms with Lucilius. *Satires* 1. 4, 1. 10, and 2. 1 trace the path from criticism conditioned by his own literary position towards a calmer evaluation. In particular, the 1st satire of the 2nd book is linked with Lucilius' programmatic poem in book 26.[2] The next great satirist, Persius, is said to have been drawn to poetry by reading Lucilius' 10th book (*vit. Pers.* appendix). It was Lucilius who taught the poets of Roman satire how to present themselves, and he gave them their range of topoi.[3] Even apart from this, in the 1st century A.D., there were still readers whose favorite poet was Lucilius (cf. Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 93). Some of them indeed preferred Lucilius to Horace (cf. Tac. *dial.* 23). In the transmission, *florilegia* must also be taken into account. It was such a collection that Lactantius may have used in giving us the self-contained fragment on virtue. The list of authors who cite Lucilius at first-hand is long.[4] The last who may have read Lucilius in the

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[1] He also mentions as readers inhabitants of Tarentum, Consentia, and Sicily (594 M. = 596 K.). His family may have possessed estates there.

[2] J. Christes 1971, 72–99.

[3] E. J. Kenney, The First Satire of Juvenal, PCPhS 188, n.s. 8, 1962, 29–40.

[4] Cicero, Varro, Pollio, Horace, Virgil, Persius, Petronius, Seneca, Pliny, Martial, Quintilian, Juvenal, the Archaizers. Aulus Gellius names the first 21 books, but it is not known whether he had read them personally. The Horatian commentator

original is Nonius Marcellus. By analyzing his method of selecting quotations, it has been hoped that the sequence of citations within the books could be determined. Unfortunately, he cites books 26 to 30 backwards, which makes it impossible to know whether *within* each of these books, too, the order of quotations is reversed. However, in this area there are skeptical voices as well.[1] Most other citations by the grammarians, traceable partly to Verrius Flaccus, are made at second-hand.[2]

The preservation of his work in extremely small fragments which usually lack a context makes Lucilius difficult of access. The disappearance of one who was perhaps the most original and 'most Roman' of Roman poets is a particularly regrettable loss. Without wishing to underestimate Ennius' achievement, we must recognize in Lucilius the real founder of Roman *satura*, indeed of European satire in general. It was he who for the first time gave it its satirical impress. At the same time, he was the founder of Roman personal poetry, a character with a strongly individual stamp, stimulating and animating even later poets, without intimidating them by excess of dignified authority. Furthermore, we find in Lucilius the beginnings of an analysis and diagnosis of Roman life from a point of view which is quasi medical and scientific, and which seems to anticipate positions taken by Lucretius. Finally, Lucilius embodies in one person both poet and critic. The quarrel between him and Accius indicates a new stage in self-awareness for Roman literature. This was the time when the parallel treatment of Greek and Roman literature began. There is no reason to underestimate the Greek training and sensibility of Lucilius and to trivialize Horace's criticism of the poet. Horace is speaking on his own behalf in an argument of his day, and the criticism was exchanged among authors in agreement over their goals. Great progress has been made in the reconstruction of Lucilius' outlook as it was determined by his Hellenistic education, of his cultural surroundings in Rome and of his Roman concern with realism. The poet taken as a whole is the assembly of these disparate elements united in a strong and original individuality. The dominance of the person over theories and traditions used as means of expression is a

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Porphyrio may likewise only have known books 1–21. Information about Lucilius' life took the following route: Varro, Nepos, Atticus, Velleius, Suetonius, Jerome.

[1] F. Charpin (edition) 58–62.

[2] On new fragments: R. Reiche, Zwei unbekannte Fragmente des Lucilius?, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 28, 1975, 281–292.

feature, characteristic of Roman writers, which meets us in Lucilius in a pure form. His attention to language and artistic shape, his achievement as a philosopher of life, psychologist and student of civilization, and as the ancestor of later moralists and essayists, are matters still awaiting evaluation.

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C. THE DIDACTIC POEM

ROMAN DIDACTIC POETRY

General Remarks

To begin with, three general points might be made. Didactic poetry is based on facts in a particular way; thus in Aratus, Quintilian[1] recognized the conflict between intractable material and the poet's task; while Cicero turned this antithesis into a compliment in noting that Nicander treated a rustic theme in urbane fashion.[2] The difficulty of 'weaving a work out of knowledge and imagination, of uniting two opposed elements in one living body' is rightly explained by Goethe as stemming from the essence of the genre, which means that psychological speculations about inner tensions in the author (such as the 'anti-Lucretius in Lucretius') become superfluous. In Goethe's eyes, 'good humor'[3] is the surest way to reconcile knowledge and imaginative power. This remark, which originally was made about English didactic poets, is valid also for Horace or Ovid, although less so for Lucretius.

Since didactic poetry sets out to convince others by means of words, it is a 'creature half-way between poetry and rhetoric'.[4] The Ancients intimated this connection by making Gorgias, the founder of rhetoric, a student of the didactic poet Empedocles. In didactic poetry the word is at the service of the subject matter and is subordinate to an overriding aim of persuasion. Prooemia and digressions,[5] forms of argument and methods of proof, may be interpreted rhetorically. For the early Greeks, this is true in hindsight, but all Roman authors of didactic poems have progressed through the school of rhetoric.

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[1] *Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus adfectus, nulla persona, nulla cuiusquam sit oratio; sufficit tamen operi, cui se parem credidit* (*inst.* 10. 1. 55).

[2] *Poetica quadam facultate, non rustica, scripsisse praeclare* (*de orat.* 1. 69).

[3] Goethe, *Über das Lehrgedicht*, W.A. 1. 41. 2, 1903, 227.

[4] Ibid., 225.

[5] *Excursus, ut laus hominum locorumque, ut descriptio regionum, expositio quarundam rerum gestarum, vel etiam fabulosarum* (Quint. *inst.* 4. 3. 12); the description of plague was regarded as an even too popular topic for digressions (Dion. Hal. *rhet.* 10. 17).

Didactic poetry strives for a large public. Readers of good didactic poems were undoubtedly more numerous than those who endured the toil of studying esoteric philosophical texts. Even Goethe[1] demanded that the best authors should not disdain to write didactic poems. Unhappily, to the majority of his countrymen, the author who handles scientific topics in intelligible or even attractive form seems rather an object of suspicion.

The aesthetic evaluation and generic categorization of didactic poetry accordingly presents difficulties. Antiquity had three ways of solving them:

1. *Denial of poetic status.* According to Aristotle (*poet.* 1. 1447 b 18), Empedocles, for all that he wrote in hexameters like Homer,[2] was a natural philosopher rather than a poet. In this definition the determining factor is the (didactic) purpose, not the (poetic) means.[3]

Unlike Plato, who took poetry's didactic claims seriously, Aristotle believed that poetry should produce pleasure, and that each type of poetry produced its specific type of pleasure (for example, tragedy produced fear and sympathy, *poet.* 14). Goethe took up a more moderate position: 'All poetry should teach, but imperceptibly.'[4] The dismissal of didactic poetry from poetry was encouraged in modern times by an exaggerated notion of the autonomy of poetry.[5] But adherence to facts or to a particular purpose cannot be criteria proving absence of literary merit.

Plutarch used the concepts of μῦθος and ψεῦδος to define poetry, and separated didactic poetry from this, on the grounds that it only borrows poetic form (*De audiendis poetis* 16 CD). What is poetic in the didactic poem is subservient. The scholia to Hesiod describe the metrical form as a 'sweetener' (ἥδυσμα), which charms the mind,

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[1] Goethe, ibid., 226.

[2] The thought recurs in Lactantius (*inst.* 2. 12. 4), where the question is still raised: *Empedocles, quem nescias utrumne inter poetas an inter philosophos numeres.* Further material in VS 31 A 24–25. Later, the too convenient antithesis of *poetae* and *versificatores* prevailed (Scaliger, poet. 1, 2, cf. Aristotle's word ἐποποιός): Lessing, for example (along with his co-author Moses Mendelssohn), says 'Lucretius and those like him are versifiers rather than poets' (*Pope ein Metaphysiker: Vorbericht: Vorläufige Untersuchung*, Werke 24, 100 Petersen). But Lessing rejects the title 'poet' even for himself (cf. also the 103rd and 51st literary letter).

[3] In the dialogue Περὶ ποιητῶν (*frg.* 70 Rose, 3rd ed. = p. 67 Ross), Aristotle however recognizes that Empedocles' style is markedly Homeric.

[4] Goethe, *loc. cit.*, 225.

[5] Cf., for example, Kayser (s. abbreviations).

keeps it prisoner and so serves a didactic purpose (σκοπός).[1] This means that they think of it as an incidental item justified by its pedagogical purpose. Even the Epicurean Lucretius, though being a born poet, modestly expressed it the same way.

2. *Assignment to Epic.* According to an old and widespread interpretation,[2] most didactic poems, in accordance with their meter, are simply ἔπη.

A consideration of content must also be made. Under the influence of Stoic theories of utility, even learned readers regarded Homer as a serious source for scientific and geographical facts.[3] For an audience looking for scientific instruction even in narrative epic, the difference of genre between epic and didactic poem became blurred. Conversely, for Eratosthenes, in poetry the didactic aim (διδασκαλία) is displaced by a purely emotional influence (ψυχαγωγία). Even Aristarchus (3rd–2nd century B.C.) was not inclined to exaggerate Homer's knowledge, but at Rome the Alexandrians had less influence than the Stoics of Pergamum.

3. Even so, there are efforts towards a special view of didactic poetry as a genre in its own right. The Tractatus Coislinianus[4] somewhat violently assumes that besides mimetic poetry (in the Aristotelian tradition) there is a non-mimetic poetry, to which 'educative' (παιδευτική) poetry belongs. It is divided[5] in turn into an 'instructive' (ὑφηγητική) and 'contemplative' (θεωρητική) category.

Diomedes,[6] following Plato's *Republic* (3. 392 C–394 C), distinguishes dramatic, expository and mixed poetry. Within the *genus enarrativum* there is a subcategory of 'didactic poetry' (διδασκαλική), whose representatives are Empedocles, Aratus, Lucretius, and Virgil. This division is only attested at a late date, but perhaps already of Hellenistic origin.[7]

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[1] *Schol. vet. in Hesiodi Opera et dies*, ed. Pertusi, pp. 1–2; cf. p. 4; similarly, Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 25–26, but this does not mean that Lucretius 1. 936–942 must be derived from the diatribe; cf. already Plato *leg.* 660 A; on Hesiod: W. Stroh, Hesiods lügende Musen, in: Studien zum antiken Epos, FS F. Dirlmeier and V. Pöschl, eds. H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt, Meisenheim 1976, 85–112.

[2] Already Aristotle challenges it in the *Poetics*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus however and Quintilian still unite everything that is metrically alike (see above p. 76, note 7).

[3] So Hipparchus (2nd century B.C.) and Strabo (1st century B.C.).

[4] CGF 50–53 Kaibel.

[5] According to T. Bergk's rearrangement.

[6] GL 1. 482. 14–17 and 483. 1–3 Keil.

[7] E. Pöhlmann 1973, 829–831; a different and more reserved view in B. Effe 1977, 21.

Greek Background

The founder of didactic poetry was Hesiod (8th–7th century). The *Theogony* influenced *Orphic cosmogonies* in which the 'last things' were revealed. Thus they became the models for Empedocles' *Katharmoi*. In the Orphic *Katabaseis*, narrative took precedence, but they contained matters of doctrine as well. The poems ascribed to Epimenides and Musaeus also dealt with theogony and myth, traditions which the 6th book of the *Aeneid* would eventually pick up. A late echo of Greek religious poetry is found in the Chaldean oracles put in the mouth of Hecate. Gnomic poetry and catalogues, which later exercised a distant influence, for example, on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, are left out of this account.

The decision of the great Eleatic philosophers, Parmenides and Empedocles, to proclaim their philosophical teachings in verse became definitive for Lucretius.

In Hellenistic times, the relationship of the poet to his subject matter was different. Any topic could now be presented in verse form, for school purposes to aid the memory of students or to advertise the author's learning. Often the writer no longer had expert knowledge of his topic, but borrowed it from others and contributed only decoration. This is true even of the most significant and influential work of the Hellenistic period in the didactic manner, the astronomical poem of Aratus (first half 3rd century B.C.), later adapted into Latin by Cicero and Germanicus. The *Aetia* of Callimachus may be mentioned, although they were didactic only in appearance. Nicander (perhaps 2nd century B.C.) treated somewhat remote and arid topics, turning *inter alia* medical prescriptions into verse. Similarly, at Rome Ovid would later write a poem about women's cosmetics.

Roman Development

A native inclination towards teaching and learning is already shown in one of the earliest works of Latin literature, the Elder Cato's prose treatise on agriculture. To the oldest stratum of the written record at Rome there also belong traditional sayings ascribed to worthy persons. In many literary genres at Rome, we find a didactic tinge. Examples are the sections on the migration of souls in the epics of Ennius, Virgil, and Ovid. However, Ennius' *Euhemerus*, a rationalist's interpretation of gods, was composed in prose. In considering the

didactic poem in the narrower sense, it may be noted that its development at first reverses the course it took in Greece. It proceeds from 'modern' to 'classical' or 'archaic' models. Its first beginnings follow the playful route of the Hellenistic manner. It is only later that this poetry discovers a perfect harmony between form and content, thus corresponding to the general line of development followed by Roman literature. Since it is a literature of 'apprenticeship', it is only by fruitful assimilation of a foreign culture that it gradually realizes its own identity.

At the start we find, for example, the treatment of delicatessen (*Hedyphagetica*) by Ennius, in succession to Archestratus of Gela, or of grammatical themes by Accius and Lucilius. Accius, like Apollodorus in his Χρονικά (2nd century B.C.), employed the trimeter. Whereas in the Greek didactic poem, academic and scholarly topics, such as medicine and astronomy, prevailed, Latin authors quite early turned the didactic poem into an informed companion for high society. Cicero's *Aratea*, which is less difficult reading than its Greek model, belongs here, as do P. Varro's *Chorographia*; the poems on ornithology and pharmacology by Aemilius Macer; or that on herbs by Valgius Rufus. Lucretius wrote for Memmius, a member of high society. The 'student' turns into the patron.

The Romans valued in literary genres their relation to real life. Just as Martial[1] chose the epigram or Juvenal the satire, Lucretius chose the didactic poem. He spoke as an expert, treating didactic poems as poetry related to truth and close to reality. In this regard, his situation resembled that of Hesiod or Empedocles. But more than this. Through his choice of topic—*De rerum natura*—and of form, Lucretius gave to his didactic poem a universal significance. Just as Roman epic, after its Hellenistic beginnings, only grew towards Homeric greatness in Virgil, so the didactic poem in Lucretius attained Empedoclean status.

The Augustan period produced three totally different but equally important didactic poems: Virgil's *Georgics*, Horace's *Ars poetica* and Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. They opened three worlds which with the end of the Republic gained in meaning for the Romans: nature, poetry, love.

[1] In comparison with his Greek predecessors, Martial in the epigram obscures the element of fantasy, and refers readers who, instead of real life and self-knowledge, are looking only for abstract mythology to the *Aitia* of Callimachus (10. 4).

Virgil assumed a place more in the tradition of Aratus than in that of Lucretius, although he did compete with the large-scale form created by the latter. The *Georgics* exercised considerable influence on all following didactic poetry, actually extending as far as narrative epic. Even in modern times, Virgil's *Georgics* were considered the culmination of poetry: 'the best Poem of the best Poet' (Dryden).[1] Horace expressed, in the apparently loose form of the *sermo*, or of a letter, profound thoughts on poetry without ever falling into the pedantic tone of a schoolmaster. Ovid, with considerable irony, turned the topics of love elegy into an elegiac didactic poem concerned with *eros*.

In the imperial period, Horace's poetic and Ovid's didactic poem of love enjoyed no direct successor, the former because of the difficulty of its topic, and the latter because of its riskiness. However, as might have been expected, earth and sky continued to attract the interest of the emperors as it did didactic poets. The *Astronomica* of Manilius, composed under Augustus and Tiberius, projected a Stoic picture of man and the world, corresponding to the atmosphere of their time. Germanicus corrected his Greek model, Aratus' *Phaenomena*, in factual matters, which had long been needed for a textbook enjoying such a broad audience. At the same time he modernized its style by comparison with his Roman predecessor Cicero. For the poet of the *Aetna*, an emphasis on relation to fact is characteristic; the same is true for Grattius, who taught the art of hunting.

Didactic poetry in late antiquity was fostered by its links with two basic institutions: church and school. Biblical epic (Juvencus, Sedulius) occupied a middle place between epic and didactic poetry. Christian doctrine was taught by Commodianus' *Carmen apologeticum* and *Instructionum libri* (3rd or 5th century) as well as by some works[2] of Prudentius (d. after 405). With his *Psychomachy* the latter produced a new type of work in this radical style: a completely allegorical poem with a didactic, moral content.

The virtuoso didactic poetry for school purposes continued to flourish. Terentianus Maurus wrote *On Meters*. Among other didactic poets of late antiquity, Nemesianus and Avienus may be mentioned.

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[1] L. P. Wilkinson, The *Georgics* of Virgil. A Critical Survey, Cambridge 1969, 1; cf. 4; 299; 305–307.

[2] *Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, Psychomachia, Contra Symmachum.*

Literary Technique

Didactic appears in various literary genres. There are easy transitions to proverbial poetry, fable, satire, epistle, panegyric, invective, epigram, and other genres. Here, where we are concerned with Roman literature, the discussion concentrates on longer didactic poems, usually written in hexameters, although occasionally also in iambics or elegiacs.

Didactic poetry may grow from quite varied roots: from epic, elegy, satire, and epistle. Its poetic form may be determined by the need of its audience for an aid to memorization, or by the desire of an author to demonstrate his skill. But it may also arise from inner compulsion.

Nevertheless, the genre of 'didactic poetry' rests on a solid tradition: Aratus is linked with Hesiod, Nicander with Hesiod and Aratus, Empedocles with Homer and Hesiod, Lucretius with Empedocles, Virgil with Hesiod, Aratus, Nicander and Lucretius. This fosters the awareness of belonging to a particular 'group'. But, as may be seen for example in the case of Horace and Ovid, there is the continuous possibility of new developments.

Greek didactic literature witnessed an increasing superficiality. At first in Rome, the opposite development may be observed. It is by the method of poetic treatment that Lucretius and the Augustan poets raised their specific topics to universal validity. Their didactic poems gained an artistic form of their own. These authors developed their subject with the aid of suggestive metaphors, presenting facts or theories in a new light and setting them within a contemporary frame of reference.

Poetic technique in the didactic poem took its lessons chiefly, although not exclusively, from epic. It was from epic that most often, although not always, the hexameter was adopted. To myth, which had been reduced to the status of a 'deception', was opposed the truth of science, and into the place of numerous characters came the character of the teacher and, although not always pressed to its logical conclusion, that of the student.

In Latin didactic poems the detailed prooemia opening each book deserve prime consideration. Both in form and content they may correspond to similarly arranged conclusions at the end of particular books. A definitive influence on the form of these prooemia was exercised by such disparate models as the hymn at one extreme and, at the other, prose prefaces to technical works.[1]

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[1] Archimedes (d. 212 B.C.) makes a thoroughgoing use of personal prefaces. In

In them the theme is announced and at least one deity addressed *which is especially appropriate to the topic in hand.* This creates a difference from the epic address to the Muses, although that too may also occur in didactic poems. In addition we find here the dedication to the addressee who, in contrast to early Greece, is usually at Rome superior in rank to the writer. Virgil's *Georgics* and subsequent poetry also allow the ruler to appear as the source of divine inspiration.

During the course of the work, a kind of dialogue may be sought with the particular addressee[1] or with the general reader by means of apostrophe, encouragement or admonition.

A certain systematic order is required in the presentation of the material. The division of presentation and argument may be marked by different degrees of emphasis. In Lucretius it is more than clear, while in Horace it is concealed by the art of the *sermo.*

In detail, the poets present natural phenomena in epic language and lend them nobility and significance with the aid of metaphors and similes taken from human life.

A hymnic introduction, the shifting of address between the dedicatee and the general reader, inserted narratives: these are features already found in Hesiod and recurring in Roman didactic poems. Later, the excursus plays an important part. It may be a narrative episode, such as the story of Orpheus in Virgil's *Georgics,* a description, such as that of the plague in Lucretius and Virgil, or a rhetorical meditation, such as Lucretius' diatribe against the fear of death and Virgil's *Laudes Italiae.* Such longer sections often mark the conclusions of books. Lucretius sets a trend by his establishment of mutual links between his prooemia (where there is much detail and employment of opening topoi even shared with prose) and his conclusions; by his use of narrative and exhortatory digressions; and by the formation of a uniform whole out of several books.

An attempt has been made to distinguish between different types[2] of didactic poem. In the type most closely tied to content, as in Lucretius, the form is subservient. In the opposite type, a topic, sometimes abstruse, is forced into a brilliantly treated form, which is the

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the *De sphaera et cylindro,* every book has an introductory dedicatory epistle. From Cato's *De agricultura* on, every Roman technical work is equipped with a prooemium.

[1] His role is emphasized by Serv. *georg. praef.* p. 129 Thilo; a dedication to the *princeps* or to anyone else is missing in the *Ars amatoria.*

[2] B. Effe 1977.

main interest, as in Nicander. In the middle is the 'transparent' type in which the topic certainly has its own significance but points beyond itself, as, for example, Virgil's *Georgics* use their topic to teach 'civilization'. This effort at grouping is interesting, but open to objection since it presupposes unanimity in the judgment of the form, content and intention of each individual work. In particular instances, however, the relationship of these elements, even within the given poem, is often different, thus affording a special charm. For example, Lucretius' and Ovid's didactic poems are simultaneously concerned with their content, display virtuosity of form, and teach civilized behavior, meaning that they belong to all three types. More might be said along these lines.

For the most part the Romans did not imitate the brevity of Hesiod's poems. In shaping a didactic epic from several books Lucretius was the first poet of this kind to master a large-scale form which paved the way for Virgil's *Georgics*, and even for the *Aeneid*. The didactic poem on the large scale structured in several books is a Roman creation.

In Lucretius' case, his imitation of the pre-Socratics was not a parade of classicizing or archaizing taste, but a consequence of the fact that he was profoundly impressed with the greatness and significance of his topic. Parallel phenomena in a later period are Juvenal's impassioned satires and the Christian poetry of Prudentius. The transformation of the literary elements of love elegy into didactic by Ovid attracts attention. From the beginning, the elegy had contained didactic features. Solon, Theognis, and Xenophanes illustrate the point. In Ovid's development, the didactic poem corresponded to a growing need for 'universal' presentation. The entire theme of love, traversed as it were empirically by Ovid in the *Amores*, was now to be treated comprehensively in a *Techne*. Comedy, satire and parody[1] each play their part. The *ars amatoria* is influenced by the *ars oratoria* and its doctrine of *decorum* (πρέπον) reminiscent of Panaetius. Stories interspersed in Ovid's *Ars* and *Remedia* already pointed ahead to his longer narrative works.

Prudentius strongly emphasized elements which are characteristic of Roman literature: personification of ethical qualities; the use of the visible to express the invisible; enigmatic narrative expecting decodification; poetry intended to lead to recognition, that is to teach,

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[1] The element of parody in Ovid must not be overestimated. On the term, E. Pöhlmann ΠΑΡΩιΔΙΑ, Glotta 50, 1972, 144–156.

and therefore involving the linking of an 'exoteric' story enjoyable for its own sake with a background to be understood 'esoterically'.

In their didactic poetry the Romans 'defeated the Greeks on their own most cherished ground, partly by their greater seriousness and partly by their freshness and their poetic talent.'[1]

Language and Style

Homer's poetic and artistic language offered to early Greece a means of expression laying claim to general validity. Since Anaximander had written in prose as early as 547/546 B.C., the Eleatic philosophers felt no external compulsion to employ verse. For Parmenides and Empedocles epic form was much more than a convenient vehicle. Their choice was not determined merely by the fact that the language of poetry was more developed than that of prose. Heraclitus' 'obscurity' also reflected the stage reached by prose in his time. Poetry and philosophy were closely linked, since at that date even philosophical thought was often filled with metaphorical ideas[2] of a strongly visual and imaginative character. Even so it was a novel conception to proclaim purely philosophical doctrines in verse. The Eleatics thus raised the claim to drive the cosmology of Homer and Hesiod from the field, or to outdo Orphic mysteries with those of philosophy.

Typical of Empedocles are numerous repetitions and a wealth of devices which dwere later to be called 'rhetorical'. Both would be adopted by Lucretius. Greece's greatest philosophical epic poet, Empedocles, was not for nothing made by legend into the teacher of Gorgias the rhetorician and stood on the threshold of the age of prose.

In didactic poetry the hexameter largely prevails. Occasionally, Greek didactic poetry also makes use of the iambic trimeter which permits a less ceremonious language.

Lucretius employed the epic language created by Ennius and boldly developed it further. In his lofty style he follows Ennius. To Lucretius we owe the most impressive reflection of the prooemium to the *Annales*. His philosophical content favored the formation of long periods and the use of coordinating and subordinating particles. Lucretius' formulas of transition were to be definitive for the future.

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[1] W. Kroll, RE 24, 1925, 1857.

[2] This visual background is even felt in words such as 'theory' and 'idea'.

The later didactic poets followed the standards he had set, although for the most part they did not imitate the long sentences which he had preferred. Virgil replaced these ample periods with shorter, independent cola. Transitions were made by association. Virgil lent to language a subtlety previously unknown in Latin, allied with a quality of melody and harmony.

In Horace the style of the *sermo*, the concealment of structure and the mixture of seriousness and humor (σπουδογέλοιον) set the tone.

Ovid's *Art of Love*, along with the *Remedia*, forms a cycle of four books which may be compared with the *Georgics*. It is, however, written in elegiacs, appropriate to its erotic theme.

Ovid, Manilius, and Germanicus adapted the technical achievements of the epic language of their day to their didactic poems.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature[1]

In Hesiod the Muses summon the poet and bestow on him knowledge, for they can proclaim fine appearance (lies) but also truth. The poet however is not simply a mouthpiece. He comes forward with his own individuality; actually, in the *Works and Days* he speaks in the first person and gives his name.[2]

For the pre-Socratics the epic form was not simply a sort of 'honey' intended to sweeten the bitter cup of truth. Rather, for the readers of those days, a valid statement about the nature of the world was hardly conceivable except in rivalry with and challenge to Homer and the founder of didactic poetry, Hesiod.

Parmenides undertakes a spiritual chariot journey, where his doctrine is imparted to him by the god, which means that here the poet also plays the part of student. The initiation of the poet and his indoctrination are one and the same. Accordingly, by an important variation from the statement of Hesiod's Muses, he is able to make valid assertions not only in the realm of truth but also in that of appearance. Empedocles entreats the Muse for her help (VS 31 B 3, 5; 31 B 131), but presents his thoughts to his addressee Pausanias with great self-confidence and on his own responsibility. The superhuman

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[1] VON ALBRECHT, Poesie 44–62.

[2] W. KRANZ, Sphragis. Ichform und Namensiegel als Eingangs- und Schlußmotiv antiker Dichtung, RhM 104, 1961, 3–46; 97–124, now in: W.K., Studien 27–78.

figure of Pythagoras may be added. He was praised as an eminent teacher, and offered a model for Lucretius' 'divinization' of his master Epicurus. The praises of the wise man (VS 31 B 132) were to be taken up by Virgil (*georg.* 2. 490).

Aratus began, like Hesiod in the *Works and Days*, with a hymn to Zeus. The Muse was invoked only at the end of the prooemium, and in the course of the work remained without significance. No one was named as addressee, but there were editions[1] with dedication to the ruler, as became customary later at Rome.

The prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* enunciated the principle of 'fine-spun' poetry, which exercised influence on many later poets. The 'dialogue with the Muses' which he employed was an important artistic device recurring in Ovid and others.

Nicander was aware that he was a fellow countryman of and successor to Homer, but he abandoned the Muses. His prooemia, written in personal tones, are directed to named friends. It is from him that, in many cases, Roman didactic poets from Virgil on adopted the concluding personal '*sphragis*'.

Unlike the practice in the narrative epic, in Roman didactic poems it was not primarily poetic deities such as the Muses or Apollo that were invoked, but gods who were patrons of the topic in hand. In his *Georgics* Virgil turned to the protectors of agriculture: in the *Art of Love* Ovid invoked Venus,[2] and in the *Metamorphoses* the heavenly authors of change, which means that in this respect the *Metamorphoses* are close to didactic poetry. Even Lucretius, in spite of his Epicureanism, invoked Venus, who governed the cosmos. At the same time, however, he also honored his true inspirer, his quasi-divine teacher, Epicurus. By contrast Horace, given the closeness of his *Letter to the Pisones* to the *sermo*, kept his feet firmly on the ground, actually ridiculing at the end of the *Ars Poetica* (false) claims to inspiration.

The didactic poets' views of their function vary in accordance with the political change from Republic to Empire. Lucretius, like Calli-

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[1] Achilles, *Commentarii fragmentum*, pp. 80–81 Maass.

[2] In the course of the work, however, the Muses and the language of inspiration gain in importance. In the *Remedia*, Apollo is god both of healing and of poetry. The *Fasti*, a composite poem in succession to the *Aetia* of Callimachus (on which J. F. Miller, Ovid's Elegiac Festivals. Studies in the *Fasti*, Frankfurt 1991, esp. 8–13: The Poetics of the *Fasti*) and the *Halieutica*, whose genuineness is disputed, can only be mentioned in passing here. Ovid sees his *ingenium* as a *counter-instance* to Augustus (*trist.* 3. 7).

machus, felt that he was breaking new ground in poetry. He hesitated between a concept of inspiration which converted rudiments of Bacchic imagery to the purposes of secular fame, and a picture of the poet as physician. Somewhat in the fashion of the diatribe, he declared that poetic adornment was just a means to make palatable to the reader his dose of the bitter medicine of philosophical instruction.[1] At the same time Lucretius in retrospect created a stylized picture of the Hellenistic poet Ennius, the disciple of Homer, as the father of didactic poetry at Rome.

Virgil's creativity was not based on the confidence of freedom, but on the power of humility; he felt himself to be a priest of the Muses. Not a teacher of wisdom, but Augustus was his source of inspiration; in this respect, Virgil reversed the *intellectual* emancipation which had animated his predecessor. The invocation of the ruler in the imperial period was to spread from didactic poetry to narrative epic.

An appeal to the 'competent' gods,[2] the promotion of the addressee to an inspiring divinity, was already found in Virgil. He invoked the Muses,[3] and he saw himself as their priest, in contexts which rise beyond the narrow limit of the *Georgics.* The Nicandrian sphragis (Verg. *georg.* 4. 563–566) also belongs to tradition, as does his rejection of mythical topics already exhausted (3. 3–4).

Horace's *Ars Poetica* has its own, quite different background. Its subject links it to Neoptolemus of Parium, its place in the history of its genre to the literary discussions in Lucilius. Within Horace's œuvre, it grows from the same soil as the *Satires* and *Epistles,* in which literary themes became increasingly more important. On this path, the *Ars Poetica* marked a particular stage, although not perhaps the last.

In Manilius the *princeps* was the source of inspiration, although the Muses also played their part. His reflections on subject matter and form reveal a Lucretian awareness. In Germanicus, too, the ruler acts as inspirer.

The poet of the *Aetna* was inspired by reality (*res oculique docent; res*

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[1] von Albrecht, Poesie 44–62.

[2] In this way, Grattius, who wrote the *Cynegetica,* would appeal to Diana as goddess of the hunt, and Ovid to Venus as goddess of love. Neither of them however needed a Maecenas. For *editions* of the *Cynegetica,* see P. I. Enk (TC), Hildesheim 1976 (with index); R. Verdière (TTC), 2 vols., Wetteren 1963 (with index); C. Formicola (TTC), Bologna 1988. *Concordance:* C. Formicola, Bologna 1988.

[3] Hesiod's Muses could proclaim truth and/or falsehood. Horace finds perfection in the mixture of the sweet with the useful.

ipsae credere cogunt./Quin etiam tactus moneat..., 'Facts and your eyes instruct you; facts unaided compel belief. Nay, they would instruct you by touch'; 191–192). Here he showed himself the successor of Ovid, but he also followed Lucretius and Manilius. The rejection of poetic fantasy recalls satirists such as Persius and Juvenal.

Prudentius formulated an idea of the Christian poet.[1]

Ideas II

The world of ideas in didactic poetry is not exhausted by its particular subject matter. Beyond differences caused by topic, this poetry raises shared questions of cultural history and cultural philosophy.

In the *Theogony*, the element of reflection was more strongly emphasized than in Homer. Hesiod attempted to use thought to grasp the world of the gods as a system of genealogies. His epic narrative was linked with science.

The intellectual set-up of the *Georgics* may be compared with that of the *De rerum natura.* The objective teaching of a particular topic enlarges its compass to take in the presentation of the world and of man in general. In this, Virgil forgets as little as Lucretius the material side. His didactic poem deals primarily, not with the fate of man and of the Roman people, but with that of nature under man's hand.

Such disparate works as Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, Virgil's *Georgics*, and even Ovid's *Ars amatoria* display connecting themes: the behavior of man in various natural and cultural contexts, his exposed nature or again his ability to master his fate by reflection and planning.

Should we conform to nature or conquer it? The answers given to such questions differ according to the object of the work and the attitude of the author, but in general didactic poetry shows an anthropological approach predominantly determined by reason. The modern theme of 'man and technology' is already rehearsed against different backgrounds.

Horace and Ovid in their specialized didactic poems employed a largely secular language, although it may be that in their demand for self-knowledge, expressed in varied ways, a piece of secularized religion may be detected.

A dedication to the princeps or to any other single person is missing in the *Ars amatoria.*

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[1] von Albrecht, Poesie 266–276.

It was Lucretius who showed the greatest strictness in excluding the traditional theological dimension. He denied the divinity of the universe, and in courageously modern tones he ascribed to his teacher Epicurus the role of intellectual liberator which secured for the latter in popular parlance the divine rank of a redeemer. For Lucretius, Epicurus had a function similar to that of Pythagoras for Empedocles. Trying to liberate thinking men through philosophy, Lucretius became the most radical of all Roman didactic poets. The emancipation from static institutions in this case went unusually far for ancient notions. Only the late Republican period and, in another way, pre-Constantinian Christianity, granted the individual so broad an area of freedom.

In the wide-ranging didactic works of Virgil and Manilius, the philosophical basis was differently compounded in each case from Stoic and Platonic or neo-Pythagorean elements. This corresponded to the efforts at restoration propagated by the early Imperial period; in any case, religious elements were once again quite clearly in evidence. The natural universe and the political ruler of the world were divine. In the late Imperial period, the intriguing influence of Lucretius' theology of liberation on Christian authors fell precisely into the time before the Church became an organ of state. The Christian renewal of didactic poetry was, however, no longer marked by the spirit of Lucretius. Late antiquity and the Middle Ages built further on the self-contained political and natural universe described by Virgil.

In its highest expressions, didactic poetry preserved its task of offering instruction about a particular topic, but beyond this gave in poetic form a picture of the world and of man as a whole.

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185–201. * E. PÖHLMANN, Charakteristika des römischen Lehrgedichts, ANRW 1, 3, 1973, 813–901. * RUTTKOWSKI: s. List of Abbr. * SENGLE: s. List of Abbr. * C. SIEGRIST, Das Lehrgedicht der Aufklärung, Stuttgart 1974. * B. SPIECKER, James Thomsons *Seasons* und das römische Lehrgedicht. Vergleichende Interpretationen, Nürnberg 1975.

LUCRETIUS

Life and Dates

T. Lucretius Carus was born at the beginning of the 1st century B.C. and died in the middle of the fifties.[1] The dedication of his work to Memmius, who may well be the propraetor of Bithynia mentioned by Catullus, need not point to a relationship of client and patron or to the poet's lowly origin. Lucretius assumes the tone of a Roman speaking to Romans. He was still young when he experienced the civil war between Marius and Sulla, along with its proscriptions (cf. 3. 70–71). He was in his thirties when Pompey was campaigning in the east and the Catilinarian conspiracy was suppressed by Cicero. Towards the end of his life, Caesar was winning successes in Gaul. This serious climate of contemporary events helped to stamp Lucretius' work. It begins with a prayer for peace and ends with a description of the plague written in the gloomy language of Thucydides.

The links which had bound Roman society of old were now loosening, and all paths were open to the individual, if he had the desire. The hour appeared to be at hand for a doctrine whose liberating message could only now, if at all, be understood at Rome. Lucretius became a convert to philosophy. With the same free choice, Catullus embraced love, Caesar absolute power, and Nigidius mysticism. Each of these extraordinarily unconventional Romans discovered and fash-

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[1] According to Jerome (*chron.* 1923 p. 49 and 2 p. xxiv HELM), Lucretius was born in 96 B.C. (so MS A) or 94 B.C., and died at the age of 44. Donatus' *Life of Virgil* asserts (p. 8) that this happened when Virgil assumed the *toga virilis* 'during the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus' (55 B.C.) and, in fact, 'at the age of 17' (53 B.C.). This points with great probability to dates for Lucretius' life of 96–53 B.C. (P. GRIMAL, Le poème de Lucrèce dans son temps, in: Lucrèce. Huit exposés... 233–270). Others prefer 98–55 B.C. However, Cicero's letter (*ad Q. fr.* 2. 10 [9] 4) of 54 B.C. does not prove that Lucretius was already dead. Quite conjectural remarks about Lucretius' homeland are found in L. A. HOLLAND, Lucretius and the Transpadanes, Princeton 1979. The so-called *Borgia Vita* was composed in the Renaissance.

ioned for himself his own world. The choice by Lucretius was not the worst, and in his decision he was not unique. Businessmen like Atticus, who financed the great men of politics and literature alike; bookworms like Philodemus wavering between venomous prose and flirtatious epigrams; penpushers like Amafinius who produced bad Latin with good intentions; snobs like Memmius who sought from the Epicureans not edification but ground for an edifice (Cic. *fam.* 13. 1); bonvivants like Caesar's stepfather Piso Frugi, frugal in name only; and even active politicians such as L. Manlius Torquatus and, not least, Caesar himself and his assassin Cassius: each of these men during those troubled times in his own way inclined towards Epicureanism, although none of them with the heartfelt commitment of Lucretius.

Though it is not clear whether Lucretius was still alive when Memmius threw in his lot with Caesar, the poet must not be viewed in isolation. He was a part of the circle of Epicureans who would soon gather around the dictator. Piso's 'father confessor' Philodemus would place himself at the dictator's service and write a treatise *On the Good King in Homer. Aeneadum genetrix* in Lucretius' prooemium, which certainly belongs to the latest portions of his work, strikes a prophetic note to be echoed later by Virgil.

Like a sensitive instrument, the poet reacted to the intellectual and moral situation of his time. A keen observer, he was by no means detached from life. In the theater, he liked to mingle with the audience,[1] and he was appreciative of music. Jerome's anecdote (*chron.* 1923) that Lucretius was driven mad by a love potion, that he wrote his poem in lucid moments, and that he eventually committed suicide, must be classed with a thousand other edifying tales about philosophers. The recipe is simple: take a polemical metaphor in Lactantius (*opif.* 6. 1) literally (*delirat Lucretius*); then mix it tastelessly with the *noctes serenae* of Lucretius 1. 142 and the description of *eros* in the 4th book.

In 54 B.C. the work was already in Cicero's hands (*ad Q. fr.* 2. 10 [9] 4), who for this reason, at least since Jerome,[2] has been assigned the role of reviser or even editor. The double statement of subject matter ('table of contents') in the 1st book[3] and the reference back to

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[1] L. R. Taylor, Lucretius and the Roman Theatre, in: FS G. Norwood, Toronto 1952, 147–155.

[2] In his supplement to the *chron.* of Eusebius, ed. Helm 1913, 149.

[3] 1. 54–57 correspond to books 5, 2 and 1; 1. 127–135 to books 6, 5, 3 and 4.

the 2nd book in the 4th (4. 45–53), which may have been allowed to stand by an oversight, seems to speak in favor of another sequence of books in the original concept[1] in which 4 would have followed 2. But Lucretius was not obliged to produce precise tables of contents to his work. Many scholars believe that books 1, 2, and 5, containing addresses to Memmius, are older than 6, 4, and 3.[2] However this does not take us very far, since the author must have revised his work several times. There is no doubt that the work as a whole is unfinished: for example, Lucretius never keeps his promise to discuss the gods in detail (5. 155)[3] (s. also Transmission).

Survey of Work

1: After an invocation to Venus, Lucretius announces his theme: atoms; coming to be and passing away. Epicurus is the great conqueror of fear of the gods (*religio*). As further themes, without precisely anticipating their later sequence, Lucretius mentions the nature of the soul (whose immortality was accepted for example by Ennius), along with meteorology and the doctrine of sense perceptions. He emphasizes further the difficulty of handling scientific questions in Latin (1–148).

Nothing can arise from nothing, and nothing can disappear into nothing (149–264). There must be invisible atoms and empty space: a third principle is excluded. Time itself has no independent significance (265–482). The atoms are solid, eternal, and indivisible. The original matter is neither fire (as wrongly believed by Heraclitus), nor any other individual element. Nor is it Empedocles' four elements. The *homoiomeria* of Anaxagoras is also to be rejected (483–920).

In a new prooemium, the poet presents himself as a 'physician' (921–950). Space and matter are infinite, and the atoms do not move towards a center (951–1117).

2: Wisdom and freedom from fear are attained by the knowledge of nature

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[1] Or for a planned re-ordering? In that case, the transmitted sequence of books must have been the original: L. Gompf 1960.

[2] An account of research on this question in A. Mühl, Die Frage der Entstehung von Lukrezens Lehrgedicht, Helikon 8, 1968, 477–484. G. B. Townend, The Original Plan of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, CQ 73, n.s. 29, 1979, 101–111, assumes that books 3 and 4 were intended to conclude the work and only at a late stage shifted to its center (1. 127–135); 3. 1 would be linked with the end of 6. This means that he must regard 5. 55–63 as the result of a later revision.

[3] Cf. Gerh. Müller, Die fehlende Theologie im Lukreztext, in: Monumentum Chiloniense. FS E. Burck, Amsterdam 1975, 277–295, esp. 277–278.

(1–61). Atoms are in continual motion either individually or in groups, although their speed is different (62–164). The world was not made by the gods, for it has too many defects (165–183). Atoms fall downwards because of their gravity.[1] Collision which leads to conflict and union is brought about by a small swerve (*clinamen*) from their vertical course. They are in constant movement, which is not however observable because of their small size (184–332).

As far as the atoms' shape is concerned, the number of forms is limited, but there are infinitely many examples of each type of form (333–568). There is a constant coming into being and disappearance (569–580). No object consists only of atoms of a single kind. The earth, called in myth the mother of the gods, contains many kinds of atoms. Every species of animal draws from its food the nourishment it requires. Not everything may join with everything (581–729). Atoms have no color or smell, and so on. Sentient beings are made up of atoms without sentience (730–1022).

After a linking proem comes the revelation that our world is not unique. No gods are at work in nature, and the earth is in its old age (1023–1174).

3: It was Epicurus who opened Lucretius' eyes to the secrets of nature (1–30). The topic is the essence of the soul and the conquest of the fear of death (31–93).

The *animus*[2] is a part of man, and not a mere 'harmony' between the parts. Its seat is the human breast. The subservient *anima* is linked with it and dwells in the whole body (94–160). Both are material. The *animus*, which is so mobile, is made up of particularly small atoms, a homogeneous mixture of air, wind, warmth, and a fourth nameless substance, the *anima animae*. The varying proportions of different constituent parts give rise to different temperaments. Body and soul are closely linked. Lucretius rejects the notion that only the soul and not the body is endowed with perception and that, as Democritus believes, the atoms of body and soul are available in equal numbers. The *animus* is superior to the *anima* (231–416).

The soul is mortal, for its fine atoms quickly dissolve in the universe. It arises, grows and decays along with the body; and, liable to suffering and divisible as it is, it cannot function without the body. If the soul were immortal, it would have to have five senses. Since amputated limbs at first continue to live, the soul is divisible. We have no memory of previous existences. The soul does not come from outside into the body, but is closely joined to it. Metempsychosis presupposes change, but this contradicts the notion of immortality. The idea that immortal souls at conception stand waiting at the door is laughable (417–829).

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[1] Against Aristotle, for whom air and fire move upwards. That in an infinite space there is no upwards and downwards is not recognized.

[2] The capability of thinking and feeling.

Since the soul is mortal, death does not concern us. It is simply the end of perception. The assumption of an afterlife only creates illusions. Nature herself admonishes us to abandon life like satisfied guests. The so-called punishments in the next world are actually pictures of life in the present world. Even the greatest had to die. Restlessness does not bring happiness. What is the point of clinging to life? Death is inescapable (830–1094).

4: The proem here (1–25) was perhaps introduced by the first ancient editor from 1. 926–950. Lucretius now turns to sense perception. Images are emitted from the surface of bodies, and consist of the finest atoms (26–126). There are even pictures which of themselves form in the air (127–142). These pictures can pierce porous materials such as glass, but not thick materials, and they are thrown back by mirrors. They move very quickly (143–215). Without them, sight would be impossible. Lucretius explains why we can estimate the distance of an object from us, and why we see, not the images, but the objects themselves; why the mirror image seems to be behind the mirror; why it is reversed; how mirages come about; why square towers appear round in the distance; and why our shadow follows us (216–378).

In the case of so-called optical illusions, it is not the senses, but the mind interpreting them that goes astray. Whoever believes that we can know nothing, can himself on his own admission know nothing, and so is not entitled to present theories of knowledge. The perceptions of our senses are trustworthy (379–521).

After discussing hearing, taste, smell, and instinctive aversions (522–721), Lucretius examines both mental images and dreams (722–821), and rejects teleological anthropology (822–857). Next come experiences affecting body and soul, such as hunger (858–876), movement as an act of will (877–906), sleep, dream once more and, closely linked with this, sexual love (907–1287).

5: Lucretius hails his master Epicurus as a god and announces the topics of the book (1–90).

The world is transitory, not divine. The gods cannot dwell anywhere in it and did not make it, since it is full of defects, and affords conditions of life unfavorable for man (91–234). Even the elements are subject to change. Our historical memory is short, and new inventions and discoveries continue to be made such as hydraulic organs, Epicurean philosophy and its proclamation in Latin verse. A further proof of the transitoriness of everything is the fact that because of catastrophes knowledge of older periods has been lost to us. Only atoms and the void are eternal. The struggle of the elements may end, for example, in a universal conflagration such as that caused by Phaethon, or in a Flood (235–415).

The world arose in a tempest from a mixture of the most varied atoms. They flew apart and like found like. The elements are organized according to their weight (416–508). Neglecting the serious science of his own time,

Lucretius gave a 'multi-causal' explanation of astronomy with the aid of Epicurus and his sources. The sun is hardly bigger than it appears to us, and perhaps is born anew at every dawn. The moon possibly has its own light. Its phases may also be determined by the interposition of another heavenly body, and so on (509–771).

The discussion turns to the origin of plants, birds, and beasts. The last were formed by primal conception in the maternal womb of a still fertile earth. Many creatures were not capable of life, and only the strong, cunning or quick survived. There were never composite creatures such as centaurs (772–924).

After the time of primal men, a civilized life began with houses, clothing, hearth fire, and family (925–1027). Language was not created by an individual, but arose gradually in accordance with the principle of utility (1028–1090). Once man had learned to control fire, wise kings founded cities. After the discovery of gold, riches came to replace strength and beauty. Following the fall of kings, law and legal institutions began to develop (1091–1160).

Men receive knowledge of the gods by visions of their exalted forms. By contrast with true piety, which is accompanied by inner tranquility, ignorance produces erroneous fear of the gods, as for example in the face of lightning and other threats to our existence (1161–1240).

Metallurgy, riding, war chariots, even those equipped with scythes, were invented, and elephants and other beasts were employed in battle (1241–1349). At the end came weaving, agriculture, music, astronomy, literature, and the plastic arts. But greed and the frenzy of war darken the picture of progress (1350–1457).

6: Athens is the home of agriculture, of laws and of the great teacher Epicurus (1–41). The topic of the book is meteorology, and the poet begs the Muse Calliope for her help (43–95).

There follow explanations of thunder and lightning (96–422), waterspouts (423–450), clouds, rain, snow, hail (451–534), earthquakes (535–607), the circulation of water (608–638), and volcanic activity (639–702). After an incidental remark about multi-causal explanation (703–711), Lucretius discusses the flooding of the Nile, Avernus and certain remarkable springs (712–905), as well as the magnet (906–1089). In conclusion, Lucretius discusses sicknesses, notably the Athenian plague (1090–1286).

Sources, Models, and Genres

With religious fervor (e.g. 5. 1–54) Lucretius declares his allegiance to Epicurus. It is natural that there should be numerous points of contact with the writings of the master and with his model,

Democritus.[1] It is furthermore likely that Lucretius knew lost works of more recent Epicureans, and it may be to these that he owes his scientific knowledge, which often goes beyond that of Epicurus. He may perhaps also draw partly upon works from other philosophical schools, or from scientific handbooks. Whenever some of his interpretations are in contradiction with Epicurus' basic doctrines, the last alternative offers the most plausible explanation.

We should also consider medical sources. Lucretius shared with Empedocles his interest in medicine and, more generally, in physical explanation of nature, and Empedocles had been the subject of 22 books written by the Epicurean Hermarchus. Lucretius found a precise medical description of the Athenian plague in Thucydides. There are striking agreements in his poem with the doctor Asclepiades[2] of Bithynia who visited Rome shortly before 91 B.C., and whom therefore Lucretius may have met. It is to him that Lucretius owed his corpuscular explanation of illnesses (4. 664–671), his corpuscular doctrine of nutrition (6. 946–947; 1. 859–866) and many another telling detail.[3] There are also medical parallels to the experiment with woollen cloths (1. 305–310) and to the proof of the materiality of air (1. 271–279). Ultimately, such information goes back in part to older sources, for example, to Democritus.

Lucretius is critical of Heraclitus, but also of Empedocles, Anaxagoras and the revered Democritus. It is plausible to suppose that doxographers acted as intermediaries here, just as Epicurus had drawn on Theophrastus. The poet challenges Stoic theories (e.g. 3. 359–369) and, even when he uses Heraclitus' name it is perhaps at them that he is aiming. He criticizes Plato's mistrust of sense perception (4. 379–468) and rejects the cosmological proof for the existence of God propounded by the followers of Aristotle (2. 1024–1043). It is true that he rejected teleological patterns of thought as developed by the Peripatos and of the Stoa, but even so, through his metaphors and the ideas he drew from ancient natural science, features of vitalism and hylozoism crept in.

As a didactic poem, the *De rerum natura* is part of a venerable generic tradition, going back to Hesiod (8th/7th century) and the pre-Socratics. His choice of verse form was not a foregone conclusion, given the

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[1] E.g. 2. 1–3 Epicurus *apud* Cic. *fin.* 1. 62; Democritus VS 68 B 191.
[2] A. Stückelberger 1984, esp. 149–156.
[3] Cf. 2. 760–771; 4. 680–681; 6. 794–796; 6. 1114–1115.

ambivalent attitude of Epicureanism to belles lettres, although in the eyes of Roman readers naturally a grand topic demanded an appropriate form. Hellenistic didactic poetry, often dedicated to insignificant themes such as cosmetics and snake poisons, could in this respect be of no use to the poet. Even so, Callimachean poetics left its traces in him, and his introductory hymn to Venus is comparable to the Hymn to Zeus opening Aratus' *Phaenomena.* By contrast with Aratus, however, Lucretius was an expert in his field. Convinced as he was of the importance of Epicurean physics for humanity, he had no choice but to follow the grand style of the pre-Socratics. It was in the 'epic' meter that Parmenides (5th century B.C.) and Empedocles (d. about 423 B.C.) offered their picture of the world. Lucretius' title *De rerum natura* is a Latin form of the Greek Περὶ φύσεως. Empedocles, the poetic master of physics was, in spite of the differences of doctrine, much more for Lucretius than a mere literary model. Assured of the importance of his message for his readers, Lucretius chose a 'high' style, sometimes giving it a religious tone by evoking, for example, the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite (1. 1–61). Thus he came to create a philosophical didactic poem on the level of those of the pre-Socratics. It was appropriate that in Latin, Ennius, the founder of hexameter poetry at Rome, should be his admired predecessor.

An unusual feature is the mixture of the 'high' style with that of the popular philosophical sermon, the diatribe. This sub-literary genre, which can be traced to Bion of Borysthenes (d. about 255 B.C.), favors colorful expressions and imaginary dialogue. Superficially it could be described as a moral, admonitory *thesis*[1] or as a declamation with dialogical overtones. Sections written in the style of diatribe, for example, at the beginning of the 2nd and at the end of the 3rd and 4th books, are reminiscent of Lucilius and Philodemus, and prepare the way for Horace and Juvenal. The end of the 3rd book is a diatribe rather than a *consolatio.*[2]

The fact that each book has its own proem possibly reflects a Hellenistic mannerism which had been adopted by Roman technical writers from the very start.[3]

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[1] H. Throm, Die Thesis. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Entstehung und Geschichte, Paderborn 1932; s. also Bonner, Declamation; a survey of research on the diatribe and related questions is found in: K. Berger, Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament, ANRW 2, 25, 2, 1984, 1031–1432, esp. 1124–1132.

[2] B. P. Wallach 1976.

[3] E. Pöhlmann, Charakteristika (s. The Didactic Poem) 888.

It may be mentioned incidentally that Lucretius was also acquainted with tragedy, comedy, and epigram.

Literary Technique

A comparison with Epicurus shows that Lucretius was original in lending to his work clear structure, striking argumentation and a uniform style. His literary achievement is considerable. There are three pairs of books. The first and last pair deal with the world around us and basically take a stand against fear of the gods.[1] The central books are concerned with human psychology. But this 'central' structure is overlaid by one that amounts to a progression effecting a carefully calculated climax from proem to proem: Epicurus appears successively as man and liberator (book 1), as a father figure in the Roman sense (book 3), as a god (book 5), and finally as the culmination of history and the noblest flower of Athens (book 6). As far as we know, a hexameter poem of such dimensions had never before been conceived in Rome in such calculated and convincing terms. This achievement would become a point of departure for Virgil.

Each book is carefully composed as a whole. The arrangement of the material and of the arguments, like the choice of images, is Lucretius' own work. In the 5th book, which sets out to combine the results of science with Epicurean philosophy, a particularly difficult literary task was successfully accomplished.

Each book has its own proem, with the exception of the 4th, which draws its proem from the 1st book. The proems are solemn. Sometimes, as in the hymn to Venus (1. 1–61) or in the eulogy of Epicurus (5. 1–54) the tone is religious. The reader must be prepared to listen to a sublime discourse that will change his life. After the proems in the narrower sense there follows the *propositio*, sometimes developed by digressions. Thus in the 1st book the introductory prayer to Venus gives over to the dedication to Memmius (50–53; 136–145). The similarly divided announcement of the themes of the entire work fits into this framework (54–61; 127–135). In the center is the defense against the reproach of *impietas* (80–101), flanked by the praise of Epicurus (62–79) and the warning against the *dicta vatum* with the praise of Ennius (102–126). The whole displays an artistic ring-composition.

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[1] The final theme of the 2nd book signposts that of book 5.

Throughout the whole work certain leitmotifs, such as the creative power of nature, the emancipation from *religio* through scientific study of nature, along with problems of method, are introduced step by step. Especially in transitional paragraphs and intermediate proems, Lucretius continually develops his thoughts concerning the significance of conclusions leading from the visible to the invisible, the task of poetry in philosophical teaching, the finding of adequate Latin for philosophical terms, and the progressive absorption of the subject matter by the reader. In the 1st and 2nd books the finales are set apart by intermediate proems (1. 921–950; 2. 1023–1047).

Usually the proems are followed by transitional passages, announcing the theme of the book. They are fixed components of the total structure and connect the proem closely with its book. But the proems also are interconnected, and composed one in the light of another. These observations leave little hope for any analysis aiming to detect layers of composition.

Just as the proems serve to prepare the reader for the book to come and guide him through the work, the excursuses in their turn are both points of rest and occasions for deeper reflection. Examples are those dealing with the Mother of the gods and the punishments in the underworld, and the detailed description of the plague in the last book.

Passages in the style of the diatribe break up the monotony of scientific presentation. The second proem is an example, as are the long concluding passages of the 3rd and 4th books. The combination of the style of diatribe with epic dignity turns Lucretius into a harbinger of the 'tragic' satire of Juvenal. In such sections, there is rich use of rhetorical devices. To combat the fear of death, nature is personified (3. 931); or, to destroy erotic passion, there is rhetorical division (μερισμός, cf. 4. 1072–1191) and distraction (*avocatio*, cf. 4. 1063–1064; 1072). Long parts of the 5th book have a vividness seldom found even in science fiction (*evidentia*).

Proems and conclusions are interrelated, often by contrast, as for example in books 2, 3 and 6, and even in book 5.[1] There are also links between different books. The story of civilization in the 5th book culminates in the praise of Athens at the start of the 6th, and the theme of the end of the 1st book acts as a preliminary to the

[1] H. Klepl, Lukrez und Virgil in ihren Lehrgedichten. Vergleichende Interpretationen, diss. Leipzig 1940, 127–128.

2nd. The effort to analyze each book 'rhetorically' by using the scheme *prooemium, narratio* or *argumentatio, peroratio,* does not add anything to what has been already observed, and, above all, a separation of *narratio* and *argumentatio* would be artificial.

In the principal portions of his work, Lucretius uses an attractively clear structure. As a teacher, he guides his readers carefully. Signposts indicate divisions. *Nunc age* is often used to introduce a new section, while subsections begin with terms such as *praeterea.* He shows a masterly control of the art of disputation. His technique of analogy may be emphasized, especially his conclusions leading from the large to the small scale and from the visible to the invisible.[1] But his 'apagogic proof' must also be mentioned, showing that if the opposite is assumed absurd consequences follow. Since in such cases the criterion is not contradiction of an accepted premise but empirical impossibility, Lucretius may show a certain humor. An example would be the laughing atoms (2. 976–990).

Each thesis is illumined from different sides, for example by positive and negative formulation, by illustration, by resumption, refutation of the opposite, contrary example, summary as a return to the beginning. As means of discovery and proof, Lucretius employs numerous similes. They are derived partly from philosophical traditions, as, for example, the dust particles dancing in the sunshine owed to Democritus (2. 109–141), and partly from medical sources (s. Sources). Yet he is able to lend them the life and charm springing from observation. The power of visual suggestion is more strongly developed in him than in many other Roman poets. Occasionally, he allows proofs to make their effect by sheer quantity, as when he adduces some 30 arguments for the mortality of the soul (3. 417–829). In accordance with rhetorical principles, he likes to set the most impressive proof at the end.

Acoustic suggestion is accomplished by a consciously employed technique of repetition. Like Empedocles, Lucretius uses this method to drive home what is important. Since such repetition continually happens on the small scale, we should perhaps take into account the possibility of deliberate repetitions even in the case of larger sections. However, the resumption of the whole of the intermediate proem of the 1st book at the start of the 4th book can hardly be justified in this way.

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[1] Cf. P. H. Schrijvers 1978.

Language and Style

Language and style are primarily at the service of the subject matter. As a linguistic innovator[1] and as a master in creative semantic close copies of Greek terms out of Latin components (*calques*), shown in such examples as *rerum natura* and *primordia rerum*, Lucretius may be compared only with Ovid or Cicero.

His chief aim in style, in agreement with Epicurean principles, is clarity (cf. Ideas I). He takes this demand very seriously. Content and linguistic form in him are indivisible. For example, tmesis (1. 452 *seque gregari*) is a linguistic illustration of the idea that division is impossible. Rhythm and sound closely mirror the message. Play on words has a deeper sense, as when fire (*ignis*) seems to be concealed in logs (*lignis*).

In Lucretius' language and style, a modern Hellenistic awareness of art unites with the tradition of Ancient Latin to form a new and indissoluble whole. An example of a syntactic novelty, gaining ground simultaneously in both Lucretius and Catullus, is the 'Greek accusative'. Conversely, Lucretius looks archaic to us since he sparingly uses the patterns of verbal architecture abounding later in the lines of Cicero and the Augustans. As in Ennius, though contrary to classical usage, more than one adjective may be used with a noun.[2] The long periods stretching over several verses also have the 'old-fashioned' air of earlier Latin.[3] This feature must be connected with his 'prosaic' and argumentative content. To this corresponds a wealth of connecting particles only rarely found in poetry. The tension between the passion and vivacity of the language and the lavish

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[1] Abstracts formed with *-men* and *-tus*, noun formations with *-cola* and *-gena*, adverbs with *-tim* and *-per*, adjectives with *-fer* and *-ger*; J. Perrot, Observations sur les dérivés en *-men*. Mots en *-men* et mots en *-tus* chez Lucrèce, REL 33, 1955, 333–343; on language and style: W. S. Maguinness, The Language of Lucretius, in: D. R. Dudley, ed., 1965, 69–93; L. Wald, Considérations sur la distribution des formes archaïques chez Lucrèce, Helicon 8, 1968, 161–173; J. Vonlaufen, Studien über Form und Gebrauch des lateinischen Relativsatzes unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Lukrez, Freiburg (Switzerland) 1974; G. Carlozzo, L'uso dell'ablativo assoluto in Lucrezio, Pan 4, 1976, 21–49; C. Salemme, Strutture foniche nel *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio, QUCC n.s. 5, 1980, 91–106; G. Carlozzo, L'aggettivo esornativo in Lucrezio, Pan 8, 1987, 31–53; G. Carlozzo, Il participio in Lucrezio, Palermo 1990.

[2] E.g. 2. 1–8; 3. 405, 413; 5. 13; 24–25.

[3] The thesis of an increase of enjambement between books 1, 2, 5 on the one side and 4, 3, 6 on the other (K. Büchner 1936) has not remained unchallenged, e.g. L. Gompf 1960.

employment of logical connections, with their element of restraint, produces an effect of 'restrained energy' which opens for Latin a new dimension of sublimity.

The numerous and carefully placed spondees[1] make an essential contribution to this effect. They are a decorative feature of τὸ σεμνόν. Lucretius' preference for the pure dactyl[2] in the first foot was to set a trend. His care in the handling of the fourth foot prepares the way for Virgil's art. In the use of archaisms, metrical convenience plays a part, as for example in the interchange between *sorsum*, *seorsum*, and *sorsus* within four lines (4. 491–494), although it may have struck ancient readers as a particular 'Hellenistic' refinement. As a *poeta doctus*, Lucretius still ventures, as did Ennius, literally to 'split up' words, a license which Augustan taste would find unacceptable.[3] Occasionally, although not too often, he uses the old mannerism of allowing final *-s* not to make position, or he uses the ponderous feminine genitive singular in *-ai*, the elegant genitive plural in *-um* (instead of *-orum*) and the dactylic infinitive in *-ier*. Even so, the 'regular' forms are incomparably more frequent. Words of four to five syllables at the end of the line are not strictly avoided.

Although Lucretius' style as a whole is not archaic, again and again we find archaizing effects which serve to emphasize the importance of his teachings by lofty diction in the tradition of Ennius or Empedocles. A work περὶ φύσεως has the character of a revelation. Particularly in his proems, Lucretius employs elements of the language of prayer and of the mysteries. In this context we may mention that, in hymnic sections, out of pious deference he avoids using the name of his 'god', Epicurus; he names him only when dealing with the mortal nature of his teacher (3. 1042).

For Lucretius poetry and rhetoric were not mutually exclusive. It was quite natural for a didactic text to contain numerous rhetorical elements; this had been true ever since Empedocles who, for this very reason, was regarded a teacher of the rhetor Gorgias. Lucretius, to whom everything commonplace is alien, can even ennoble the diatribe, just as conversely he animates scientific language with imagi-

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[1] J. Paulson, Lucrezstudien 1. Die äußere Form des lucretianischen Hexameters, Göteborg 1897.

[2] C. Dubois, La métrique de Lucrèce comparée à celle de ses prédecesseurs Ennius et Lucilius, Strasbourg 1933; W. Ott, Metrische Analysen zu Lukrez, *De rerum natura* Buch 1, Tübingen 1974.

[3] *Inter quaecumque pretantur* (4. 832).

native life. Cross-connections between physics and ethics arise because of the uniform vocabulary he applies in both these disciplines. The poet's store of metaphors is particularly telling, as when, for example, he employs images of weaving to describe the atomic structure of the world, or of rivers to denote the movement of atoms. Images from the organic world, human society,[1] and war are drawn into the world of atoms. The breath of poetry lends to macrocosm, nature, and Mother Earth a greater life than Epicurean doctrine allows (e.g. 5. 483–488; cf. 5. 827), a language occasionally reminiscent of Posidonius. This helps the reader to get rid of his fear of the physical universe. Metaphors and similes are artistically interwoven. Here, too, Lucretius displays a mastery of persuasion and conviction.

The poet's art of repetition, learned from Empedocles, also aims at psychological effect. It is found throughout the work, both on the large scale (s. Literary Technique) and on the small. Examples are the 'musical' echos using word repetition (e.g. 3. 11–13). The poet uses as leitmotifs, for example, his picture of children in the dark,[2] his simile of letters,[3] and the polarity of decay and growth.[4]

It is tempting to draw a distinction between the more sober style of scientific exposition and the emotional character of other sections, as for example the conclusion of book 3. But there are overlaps. The 'everlasting charm' (1. 28) cannot be imparted to individual sections but rather permeates the whole like a dye (1. 934). Even in the argumentative portions, the voice is that of a poet, on whose lips nothing resounds more loftily than the language of facts.

As a stylist, Lucretius combines Ennius' gift of evoking motions and gestures through rhythm with the sharp eye of Ovid, and the grand sweep of Virgil or Lucan. The collaboration of sight, sound, and gesture produces in the dance of sounds a plastic movement of language which both promotes the message and yet possesses its own inimitable nobility.

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[1] E.g. *concilium, leges, foedera.*

[2] 2. 55–61; 3. 87–93; 6. 35–41.

[3] 1. 817–829; 908–914 (interpolation?); 2. 760–762; 1007–1018; 2. 688–699 (interpolation?).

[4] 1. 670–671; 792–793; 2. 753–754; 3. 519–520.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Lucretius' understanding of poetry is different from the playful hedonism displayed in the verses of the Epicurean Philodemus. He adapts the ancient language of inspiration, partly in Callimachean terms.[1] He moves along untrodden paths.

Religious motifs are used for secular purposes. Lucretius is inspired by *laudis spes magna* (1. 923), and therefore not by Dionysus. Even so, at the beginning (1. 1) he appeals to Venus as the goddess appropriate to his theme, as is proper for a didactic poet drawing inspiration from his topic. Yet the thought of the persuasive charms of this goddess is also influential (1. 28; 39–40). Only in the last book does he turn to the Muse Calliope, already invoked by Empedocles,[2] who is to show him the road to fame (6. 92–95).

His declarations on language and literature are couched in sober terms. Language in the beginning developed naturally, always according to the standard of utility. In his eyes, poetry has no value of its own. Its only purpose is to sweeten the message to be communicated to his readers. Here he employs the metaphor of the healing cup of bitter medicine with honey around its edge (1. 936–941).[3] This means that Lucretius, in harmony with an old tradition, thinks of himself as a physician rather than, like Virgil later, as some sort of priest. As the most important quality of his poetry, he emphasizes, in agreement with Epicurus' stylistic demands,[4] clarity (*lucida . . . carmina*, 1. 933–934). Poetry seems to merge into rhetoric.

In his capacity of good teacher, his aim is to make difficult scientific topics transparent. In this respect his purpose however is to influence a much larger audience than that of Epicurus, although he adapted his text to his Roman audience less thoroughly than Cicero did in his philosophical writings. His employment of myth, metaphors, and

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[1] E. J. Kenney, *Doctus Lucretius*, Mnemosyne 23, 1970, 366–392; the antithesis between swan and crane 4. 180–182; 909–911 is Hellenistic; the meadow of the Muses is from Choerilus 1. 1–2 Kinkel.

[2] B 131. 3; cf. 3. 3–5 Diels-Kranz.

[3] The closest analogy is in *Schol. vet. in Hesiodi Opera et dies*, p. 1 and 4 Pertusi; cf. Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 25–26; Jerome, *epist.* 128. 1 (not necessarily from Horace. Why not from life?). Somewhat differently applied in Strabo, *geogr.* 1. 2. 3 (C 15–16), to poetry as philosophy for beginners (Stoic).

[4] Clarity and application of the *mot juste* (Diog. Laert. 10. 13). Lucretius criticizes Heraclitus for the opposite quality (*obscuram linguam* 1. 639).

similes is also meant to render his teaching intelligible to his public. Through the visible, Lucretius wants to guide his readers towards the invisible (e.g. 4. 110–122). The reader is to recognize one thing after and from another (*alid ex alio* 1. 1115). He is to be made aware of the implications of his use of words and myths. Names of gods may be used, if at all, metonymically, as Lucretius himself says when explaining his Stoicizing allegory of the Magna Mater (2. 655–659; 680). The displacement of the punishments of the next world into this sounds like a 'secular exegesis', but is perhaps intended as a rationalizing derivation and dissolution of those myths (3. 978–1023).

Along with Epicurus, he holds in awe two great poets in particular. One is a Greek, Empedocles, and the other a Roman, Ennius. He has a profound admiration for both of them, although he does not share their philosophical views. It was with their aid that he formed his sublime style, in their school that he became a poet, and even more is he conscious of being linked with them in the task of bringing enlightenment.

More personal tones, which may indicate self-reflection, are perceptible in his allusions to his sleepless nights,[1] during which he works on his poem. The loneliness[2] of the individual creative artist is an experience of the late Republican period, which finds its voice here. The author may also be observed in the act of writing when he, as it were, looks over his own shoulder, when, as an illustration of his theory of dreams, he tells us that in dreams he sees himself working on his poem (4. 969–970), or giving as an example of modern discoveries the presentation of Epicurus' philosophy in Latin (5. 336–337).

In all this, Lucretius is compelled to wrestle with his native language, which he criticizes for 'poverty'[3] (*egestas* 1. 139; 3. 260) and which in fact he enriches (s. Language and Style). His awareness of language is attested by his illustration of atomic theory from the varied combinations of the letters expressing sounds. He may have entertained the notion of not only communicating the content of his doctrine theoretically, but giving to it concrete and acoustic form.

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1 Writing at night is naturally a topos, but nevertheless often true. Lucretius breathes personal life into the theme.

2 As a writer, Lucretius is alone, although this proves nothing whatsoever about his everyday existence.

3 Here, he had to deal with a prejudice on the part of Memmius, who entertained small regard for Latin literature (Cic. *Brut.* 247).

His poetic achievement therefore is not limited to some superficial trappings or embellishment, as may at first be suggested by his simile of the cup smeared with honey. In so great a poet, his practice is better than his theory: were the case reversed, he would not be a poet. Epicurus certainly wanted close attention to the *vis* lying at the basis of words (Cic. *fin.* 2. 6; cf. Epicurus' *Letter to Herodotus* 37). He demanded therefore an agreement between word, thought, and object. Poetry, however, had no appeal for him.[1] This is what challenged Lucretius.

He certainly followed literally Epicurus' advice 'to behold as it were, with one's own eyes the idea behind each word' (*Letter to Herodotus* 38).[2] Epicurus called his philosophy 'prophecy'. For Lucretius, this claim quite naturally joined the Empedoclean interpretation of natural philosophy as prophecy.[3] To the role of the prophet also belongs criticism of false beliefs. This feature, too, links Lucretius to the early Greeks. At his consecration as poet, Hesiod had learned from the Muses and their prophetic (*Theog.* 31–32) inspiration that they could not only proclaim many credible lies, but, when they wanted, also truth (*Theog.* 27–28). Just like Empedocles (and also Xenophanes), Lucretius tried, in an audience still expecting mythology, to produce something quite novel, a poetry of truth and reality. His aloofness from myth confronted Lucretius with fundamental problems of poetics similar to those encountered later, in each case in a different context, by Juvenal and in a quite special way by Prudentius.

Lucretius' imagery, teeming with organic life, often stands in marked contrast with the sobriety of Epicurus' view of the world. His poetic nature led him to overcome the Epicurean hostility to culture. This is why in the long run he was the only one to guarantee the survival and influence of Epicureanism. Even more, his poetic images survived the disappearance of Epicureanism.

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[1] Epicurus teaches that the wise man will not devote himself to the writing of poetry (Diog. Laert. 10. 121 b; cf. also Cic. *fin.* 1. 71–72). That he was not wholly disinclined to rhetoric is shown by his carefully polished (exoteric) letter to Menoeceus.

[2] On language as a mirror of reality, cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* 1. 24, p. 18 Hoesch; Procl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* 17, p. 8 Boiss. Philodemus thought otherwise.

[3] D. Clay, The Sources of Lucretius' Inspiration, in: J. Bollack and A. Laks, eds., Études sur l'épicurisme antique, Lille 1976, 203–227.

Ideas II

Lucretius suffered because of the troubled times in which he lived. Given the poet's theoretical disbelief that the gods intervene in human destiny, his prayer to Venus for peace is a human feature which especially moves the reader. Venus is the patron deity of the Romans, and especially of Memmius. At the same time, she represents the eternal power of nature, bringing all that is into being, and is addressed as *hominum divomque voluptas* and implored to give peace, which means that she represents the highest value of the Epicureans, pleasure at rest.[1] Memmius is challenged to abandon cares with the help of contemplation.[2]

In philosophy Lucretius hoped to find the tranquillity which contemporary history could not offer. At a period of changing regimes, the Roman poet turned away from everyday events and discovered in contemplation the physical universe, along with the world of the isolated human soul. Even if physics was the 'elementary course'[3] for Epicureans and so tempted Lucretius to concentrate on it alone, it is still astonishing in the case of a Roman to find what small compass in the *De rerum natura* is occupied by his countrymen's favorite philosophical topic, ethics.

Lucretius found Epicurus' doctrine attractive because of the close relation it established between man and universe, microcosm and macrocosm. Inner peace was to grow from the proper observation of the external world. He observes reality with a clear eye, more sharply than certain other Roman poets. Even in self-awareness, he dispenses with palliatives or illusions. The soul is mortal, the world beyond and its punishments have no existence.

Unlike the late Greek Epicurus, who with an imperturbable smile adapted to the inevitable, Lucretius and his nation belonged to a 'less mature' stage of cultural development; so he loudly proclaimed

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[1] This does not exclude an allusion to the Philia of Empedocles and the Aphrodite of Parmenides.

[2] Prayer for the Epicurean is the tranquil contemplation of the gods in their perfection (as a way towards a life worthy of the gods). To this extent, verses 1. 44–49 which outdo *Odyssey* 6. 42–49 are not out of place here, even if they are not quite satisfactorily integrated with the text. K. GAISER's suggestion deserves consideration, that the verses should be introduced after verse 79: Das vierte Prooemium des Lukrez und die 'lukrezische Frage', in: Eranion, FS H. HOMMEL, Tübingen 1961, 19–41.

[3] K. KLEVE 1979, 81–85.

his doctrines. Should he have believed that they would become in this way more comforting than they sounded at first? With the same vehemence he unmasked love. Rarely in pre-Christian times has so much passion thundered against passion.[1] In the emotion of these passages, nature and art blend into one.

One of the poet's chief aims was to overcome the paralyzing fear of the gods, superstition. Unlike most ancient critics of religion, including Epicurus, he did not stop even at the official religion of the state, although he largely avoids taking any too clear stand about specifically Roman cults. For him, Epicurus was the great liberator who dared to look firmly in the eye of the threatening specter of *religio* (in other authors, *superstitio*). He paid homage to him as earlier Empedocles had to his teacher Pythagoras. Lucretius found memorable words for the dwelling place of the gods, free from all mortal cares (2. 646–651). His theory of perception explains how the notion of god reaches men from the gods themselves (e.g. 6. 76–77). But this notion is so lofty that he prefers to keep it away from all that belongs to earth. *Pietas* even so retains its significance, but it consists not in the restless practice of external sacrifices and rites, but in the ability to contemplate all things with a calm mind (5. 1198–1203). Even though therefore we can make no contribution to the happiness of the gods, just as directly they can contribute nothing to ours, a tranquil contemplation of all things, particularly of divine perfection, has a beneficial effect on our soul.[2] It would then be incorrect to maintain that Epicurus' theology is a crypto-atheism.[3]

Nevertheless, our poet evokes mythical characters in powerful images: Iphigenia (1. 80–101), Phaethon (5. 396–405), the sufferers in the world beyond (3. 978–1023), Hercules (5. 22–42), and the Great Mother (2. 600–660). Thus Lucretius sets the power of religion and myth at the service of his persuasive purpose, to some extent retaining it as a sort of 'stage'. But he warns us not to take this figurative language literally. The listener must take lessons in reading, and be able to distinguish token and reality. The 'anti-Lucretius in Lucretius',[4] however, is a phrase to be handled with

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[1] Cicero (*Tusc.* 4. 74–75) is perceptibly cooler, and naturally so is Ovid in the *Remedia*. Lucretius deviates here from Epicurus and Philodemus more in tone than in content.

[2] Cf. also Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 56 *pie sancteque colimus naturam excellentem atque praestantem.*

[3] This reproach against the Epicureans is old: Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 43; Plut. *Adv. Col.* 31.

[4] M. Patin, Études sur la poésie latine, vol. 1, Paris 1868, 117–137.

care. Even though the poet may imbue myths with a life of their own, for the thinker they are, at best, flints from which the mind's spark may be struck.

Lucretius himself calls Epicurus a god (5. 8); it must be remembered that the term 'god' often denotes not a substance but a function: 'god' in antiquity often is a giver of life, savior, liberator; and here: conqueror of fear of the gods and author of blissful life. Strictly speaking, this notion of god is un-Epicurean, but it is in this sense of godhead that Epicurus gave greater gifts to mankind than Ceres, Bacchus, and Hercules, the latter the favorite hero of the Stoics. Lucretius' veneration for Epicurus as a redeemer, in whose footsteps he follows, has religious features.[1] It must be said again that Lucretius assails, not religious feeling, but mistaken notions about the gods and the resulting fears. In the Epicurean sense, he can venerate his master as the mediator of a right idea of the divine (5. 52–54). In praising Epicurus, Lucretius lends an intellectual dimension even to Roman military language and its notions of bravery and conquest. The union of the language of the mysteries with the praises of Alexander and with the Roman concept of the triumph[2] prepares the ground for Christian late antiquity. In his praise of Augustus, Virgil was once again to move back from the purely intellectual to the political domain.

Lucretius' marked interest in science was something new and peculiar in his period and society. Even though for him, as a Roman, psychological problems such as the fear of death repeatedly occupied the center of attention, this does not alter his pioneering importance, given Roman conditions, in the realm of physical science, something which the Romans' distaste for speculation and their fear of a conflict with the state religion often led them to avoid.

Epicurus' philosophy in many respects undermined the picture of the world offered by ancient physics. Following the principle of 'multicausal' explanation, Lucretius, like Epicurus before him, was snobbish enough to combat even established results of the science of his time. The alternatives he proposed were in part quite naive: for example, the sun is perhaps created afresh every day; or: because I cannot imagine what the Antipodes are like, they cannot exist. But

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[1] Struggle by the hero with the monster, liberation, ascent, revelation, imitation: W. Fauth 1973.

[2] V. Buchheit, Epikurs Triumph des Geistes (Lucr. 1. 62–79), Hermes 99, 1971, 303–323.

other features are imposing, even grandiose, although not completely carried to their logical conclusion even by Epicurus. In Epicurus' philosophy Lucretius found the notion of the infinite; and so became the first poet of infinity at Rome. But we should not be surprised that even so he adheres to views that are only valid if space is finite; nor should we turn him into a mystic troubled by anxiety.[1]

As a philosopher of culture, following his models, Lucretius divides the development of mankind into two phases. In the first, man was taught by external need; in the second, by his own reflection. In both of them, Lucretius observes social and technical change. He steadfastly avoids idealizing the world and our place in it, or explaining it by final causes. While political structures continually adapt to technical evolution, moral maturity lags behind, as is shown in the later cultural stage (book 5). In particular, Lucretius refuses to accept the custom of blood sacrifices. The series of accusatory sacrificial scenes extends from Iphigenia (1. 80–101) to the lowing of the heifer for her slaughtered calf (2. 352–366). The 'mutinous' Ovid was to give more lively assent to this criticism of sacrifice and war than the 'gentle' Virgil, who accepted such social necessities with veneration and grief.

In spite of all his gloomy realism, Lucretius is not a 'pessimist'. Like Epicurus, Lucretius took for granted the freedom of the human will. In fact, to illustrate the possibility that falling atoms swerve from the vertical (2. 251–293), he uses the example of man's freedom to move in accordance with personal decision. This notion of an 'unmotivated' or 'voluntary' deviation was long dismissed as unscientific, but today it has found support. In the atomic realm certain behaviors cannot be explained causally but only statistically predicted. Lucretius rejects a hard and fast determinism, for one of his basic principles is intellectual freedom.

Transmission

The transmission of Lucretius comes down to us on a very thin paper bridge. The peculiarities of the errors show that a now lost manuscript in capitals of the 4th/5th century was recopied[2] in minuscules around 800. Our whole

[1] E. de Saint Denis is right, Lucrèce, poète de l'infini, IL 15, 1963, 17–24.

[2] This recopying gives rise to confusions in our transmission of I, T, and L; F, P, and T; O and Q; C and G; AL and N.

tradition is based on a lost copy[1] of this copy. In its turn, the tradition is twofold. One branch is represented by the preserved Leidensis 30 Vossianus Oblongus (9th century) along with the Itali[2] which, in the last analysis, depend on it. On the other side is the Leidensis 94 Vossianus Quadratus (9th century), supplemented from the same source by the schedae Gottorpienses and Vindobonenses (9th century).[3] The Oblongus and Quadratus originated in France. The Oblongus is more carefully written than the Quadratus and more trustworthy.

Certain passages may be corrected with the aid of the secondary tradition: 1. 70 *effringere* (Priscian); 1. 84 *Triviai* (Priscian); 1. 207 *possint* (Lactantius).

The work is unfinished. Efforts have been made to explain contradictions by the analysis of different layers of composition or by the assumption of interpolations. Many textual difficulties go back to the author's own manuscript. In 21 places Lachmann assumes the existence of 'free-floating' verses, written by Lucretius for his basic text, but not yet incorporated. Perhaps an ancient edition contained critical marks later lost. Among the numerous problems may be mentioned the proem to the 4th book which repeats word for word a long passage from the 1st book and perhaps was introduced here by an ancient editor.

Influence

In February 54 the *De rerum natura* was in the hands of Cicero and his brother.[4] The editor (could it have been the great orator

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[1] This explains the confusion in our tradition of a/u, n/u, o/e, s/f, p/r/n/s, n/ri.

[2] After a re-examination of the manuscripts, Konr. Müller convincingly supports Diels against Bailey, Martin, Lachmann, who wanted to trace the hyparchetype of the Itali (discovered by Poggio in 1418, perhaps at Murbach, but now lost) directly back to the archetype. The Itali display the same gaps as the Oblongus, and even repeat its corrections. As to the exact position of the Itali within the stemma, L. D. Reynolds is reserved: Texts and Transmission, Oxford 1983, 218–222; on transmission and text: F. Brunhölzl, Zur Überlieferung des Lukrez, Hermes 90, 1962, 97–107; V. Brown, The 'Insular Intermediary' in the Tradition of Lucretius, HSPh 72, 1968, 301–308; Conr. Müller, De codicum Lucretii Italicorum origine, MH 30, 1973, 166–178; W. Richter, Textstudien zu Lukrez, München 1974; G. F. Cini, La posizione degli 'Italici' nello stemma lucreziano, AATC 41, 1976, 115–169; E. Flores, Ecdotica e tradizione manoscritta lucreziana (da Pasquali a Büchner e Müller), Vichiana n.s. 7, 1978, 21–37; E. Flores, Le scoperte di Poggio e il testo di Lucrezio, Napoli 1980.

[3] A part of the schedae Vindobonenses comes from the same codex as the Gottorpienses.

[4] Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 2. 9 (10). 3–4. Generally on Lucretius' influence: G. D. Hadzsits 1935; Leeman, Form 139–159; V. E. Alfieri, Lucrezio tra l'antico e il moderno, A&R 29, 1984, 113–128; L. Alfonsi, L'avventura di Lucrezio nel mondo antico . . .

himself?)[1] did his work with restraint, and did not make substantial alterations in the text. The antithetical link of *lumina ingeni* with *ars*, hinted at in Cicero's Delphic verdict, also preoccupied later generations: Statius, in his appraisal of Lucretius, yoked artistry and inspiration pointedly together: *et docti furor arduus Lucreti*, 'and the towering frenzy of learned Lucretius' (*silv.* 2. 7. 78). Along with Catullus, Lucretius was regarded as a leading poet of his time (Nep. *Att.* 12. 4).

Lucretius established new standards for the didactic poem. In the *Georgics*, Virgil set against his a different interpretation of the poet's role. Ovid paid homage to him (*am.* 1. 15. 23–24), and entered into rivalry with him in the speech given by Pythagoras (*met.* 15. 75–478). Even the Stoicizing astronomer Manilius could not ignore Lucretius. Differences of philosophical outlook evidently did not impair admiration and imitation.

Seneca shared Lucretius' interest in natural science, and often quotes him. Even the satirist Persius drew inspiration from him.

From Verrius Flaccus on, scholarship took an interest in Lucretius, and the great grammarian Probus was credited with a recension of the text, which need not, however, have been an edition in the genuine sense of that word. The technically competent paragraph headings, with their references to Epicurean doctrine, were added perhaps in the 2nd century.

Quintilian doubted the utility of Lucretius in rhetorical instruction because of the poet's difficult style (*inst.* 10. 187), and therefore did not belong to those readers who caused Tacitus to smile for their habit of preferring Lucretius to Virgil (Tac. *dial.* 23). The marked interest

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e oltre, in: Lucrèce. Huit exposés... 271–321; Wolfg. SCHMID, Lukrez und der Wandel seines Bildes, A&A 2, 1946, 193–219. Individual studies: L. RAMORINO MARTINI, Influssi lucreziani nelle *Bucoliche* di Virgilio, CCC 7, 1986, 297–331; C. DI GIOVINE, Osservazioni intorno al giudizio di Quintiliano su Lucrezio, RFIC 107, 1979, 279–289; T. AGOZZINO, Una preghiera gnostica pagana e lo stile lucreziano nel IV secolo, in: *Dignam Dis*, FS G. VALLOT, Venezia 1972, 169–210; E. GOFFINET, Lucrèce et les conceptions cosmologiques de saint Hilaire de Poitiers, FS Peremans, Louvain 1968, 61–67; I. OPELT, Lukrez bei Hieronymus, Hermes 100, 1972, 76–81; K. SMOLAK, Unentdeckte Lukrezspuren, WS 86, n.s. 7, 1973, 216–239.

[1] Jerome *chron.* 1923 *Cicero emendavit*; see however D. F. SUTTON, *Lucreti poemata* Once Again, RSC 19, 1971, 289–298. On Lucretius in Cicero: J. PRÉAUX, Le jugement de Cicéron sur Lucrèce et sur Salluste, RBPh 42, 1964, 57–73; G. C. PUCCI, Echi lucreziani in Cicerone, SIFC 38, 1966, 70–132; J.-M. ANDRÉ, Cicéron et Lucrèce. Loi du silence et allusions polémiques, in: Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. BOYANCÉ, Rome 1974, 21–38; T. MASLOWSKI, The Chronology of Cicero's Anti-Epicureanism, Eos 62, 1974, 55–78; T. MASLOWSKI, Cicero, Philodemus, Lucretius, Eos 66, 2, 1978, 215–226.

of the Archaizers, who perhaps even made him a school author, would still persist in Nonius, Macrobius, and Christian authors.

Tertullian (d. after 220) found in Lucretius (1. 304) confirmation for his (Stoic) belief in the materiality of the soul (*anim.* 5. 6). Minucius Felix (3rd century) introduced into his apologetic treatise, in surprising allegiance to Lucretius, a physical dimension. Arnobius (around 300), whose Christian piety was quite independent, praised Christ in the style of Lucretius' hymn to Epicurus (1. 38; Lucretius 5. 1–54). He also adopted numerous Epicurean doctrines: God's freedom from emotion, the mortality of the soul, the nonexistence of punishments in hell, the pointlessness of rites. For him, Christ became the teacher of a pure disposition and of scientific contemplation of the world. Arnobius is a proof of how an intellectual in a period of break-up, on the very eve of Constantine's establishment, experienced Christianity as a spiritual liberation from the yoke of Roman *religio* and accordingly felt the parallels with Lucretius much more strongly than the differences. His pupil Lactantius (d. after 317) was certainly more circumspect, but in his writings employed an extraordinary number of Lucretian arguments against other philosophical schools. He adorned the final chapter of his *Institutiones* with lines from Lucretius (6. 24–28) which are applied to Christ,[1] and in his poem, the *Phoenix*, he conjured up (15–20) Lucretius' memorable picture of the dwelling place of the gods (Lucr. 3. 18–24). Lucretius therefore acted as godfather at the birth of Christian artistic poetry, which was as bold a novelty as had been in its day Epicurean poetry. He was the great victor over prejudices, even those of one's own school. Linguistically, Lucretius exercised even stronger influence on the great Christian poet of late antiquity, Prudentius (d. after 405). Verses surviving under the name of Hilary of Arles (d. 449) adapt to God the basic form of Lucretius' eulogy of Epicurus.[2]

Traces of Lucretius are understandably found at places where Christianity touches on natural philosophy: in the exposition of the story of creation in Ambrose and Augustine and in writings on the purposeful nature of the human organism (Lactantius and Ambrose). Isidore of Seville (d. 636) still cites Lucretius in a scientific context at first hand.

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[1] To preserve a distance from Epicurus he remarks on *viam monstravit: nec monstravit tantum, sed etiam praecessit.*

[2] *S. Hilarii in Genesim ad Leonem papam.*

In the Middle Ages, there is little clear evidence of our poet's influence. He is not entirely unknown,[1] but rarely cited. Even so, a search for hidden allusions may promise success.[2] On the other side, Lucretius does not suffer any censure for being an Epicurean,[3] since Epicureanism did not present to Christianity any serious threat.

Lucretius' influence in modern times has been particularly fruitful, since it follows different paths. His content has affected natural philosophy: not only cosmogony, cosmology and atomic theory, but also methods of proof. Even doctrines of the origins of civilization owe something to him. Beyond this, in philosophy he became a 'patron saint' of materialists (rightly) and atheists (not entirely rightly), or again, more frequently, the target of pious efforts at refutation. Other influences have nothing to do with his philosophy, and depend on his moral and literary qualities. His insights into the human soul have swayed the thinking of moralists and satirists. As an observer of detail and poet of suggestive visual power, he has influenced poets and painters. As a master of the didactic poem, he set his stamp, along with Virgil, on this literary genre in the modern period.

In Italy,[4] it was Poggio Bracciolini who made Lucretius known. In 1417, he sent a transcript from Germany to N. Niccoli. At first, interest in Lucretius was expressed in scientific or allegorical poems: the didactic poem *Urania sive de stellis* of Pontanus (d. 1503); the *Hymni naturales*[5] of Marullus (d. 1500); the picture of spring given by Politian (d. 1494) in his *Rusticus* (1483) adapted from Lucretius 5. 737–740, which provided the model for the *Primavera*[6] of Botticelli (d. 1510). About 1460, Lorenzo di Buonincontri composed his *Rerum naturalium et divinarum sive de rebus coelestibus libri.* G. Fracastoro (d. 1553) explained the effect of the magnet according to Aristotle and Lucretius 6. 906–1089.[7] Giordano Bruno (d. 1600), although basically a math-

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[1] The Venerable Bede (8th century) seems to have known him, Hrabanus Maurus (9th century) explained both physics (in his 22 volumes '*De rerum naturis*') and the Bible with Lucretius.

[2] M. Gordon, to whom I owe this reference, is preparing a publication on this topic.

[3] Rightly A. Traina, Lucrezio e la 'congiura del silenzio', in: *Dignam Dis.* FS G. Vallot, Venezia 1972, 159–168.

[4] On Petrarch: G. Gasparotto, Ancora Lucrezio nel *Bucolicum carmen* (XII *Conflictatio*) del Petrarca, in: *Dignam Dis.* FS G. Vallot, Venezia 1972, 211–228.

[5] C. F. Goffis, Il sincretismo lucreziano-platonico negli *Hymni naturales* del Marullo, Belfagor 24, 1969, 386–417; A. Kreutz, Poetische Epikurrezeption in der Renaissance: Studien zu Marullus, Pontano und Palingenius, diss. Bielefeld 1993.

[6] A. Warburg, Sandro Botticellis *Geburt der Venus* und *Frühling*, Straßburg 1892.

[7] *De sympathia et antipathia rerum*, esp. ch. 5.

ematical and Pythagorean thinker, took up individual physical doctrines of Lucretius, and disseminated his thoughts partly, like Lucretius, in didactic verses (*De minimo; De immenso*). In his work written in Italian *De l'infinito* (1584), he used Lucretius 1. 951–1113 against Aristotle. In *De triplici minimo* (1591), he looks back to, among other material, Lucretius 4. 110–122—an enthralling passage, destined to be taken up in turn by Sennert and Pascal. Bruno's intellectual courage was rewarded by Christians of different denominations (showing rare unanimity) with persecution, imprisonment and the stake. Vanini, one of Bruno's Italian disciples, an adherent of pantheistic materialism and an Epicurean, was burned in 1619 in Toulouse. Galileo (d. 1642) knew the atomic theory and defended Democritus against Aristotle, spending the last eight years of his life under house arrest. Calvin (d. 1564), anxious not to fall short of Rome in his pious zeal, described Lucretius shortly and succinctly as *canis*.

In Italy, Lucretius' influence was furthered by the frequently reprinted translation (1717) owed to Marchetti. Leopardi (d. 1837) understood Lucretius' materialism, did not believe in the intervention of the gods in our life, and was an even profounder pessimist than the Roman poet.

A milestone in the spread of Lucretian influence in France[1] was formed by the edition and commentary (1563) of D. Lambinus.[2] It inspired its addressees, Ronsard, Muretus, Turnebus, and Doratus. The hymn to Venus had been translated even earlier by Du Bellay (d. 1560). The prologue to the 2nd book was read as the expression of a new wisdom of Erasmian stamp. Along with Horace, Lucretius was Montaigne's[3] (d. 1592) favorite poet, being quoted by him 149 times, as one might expect from his Epicurean leanings. In this, the (psychological) 3rd book plays a special part. The 7th satire of Mathurin Régnier (d. 1613) is partly based on Lucretius (4. 1133–1134).

Molière (d. 1673), who enjoyed an excellent classical education, paraphrased in his *Misanthrope* (711–730) a Lucretian tirade about lovers' blindness (4. 1153–1169). He is said to have attempted a translation of Lucretius which, however, has not been preserved. Probably

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[1] G. R. Hocke, Lukrez in Frankreich, diss. Köln 1936; P. Hendrick, Lucretius in the *Apologie de Raymond Sebond*, Bibl H&R 37, 1975, 457–466.

[2] Lambinus called Lucretius *elegantissimus et purissimus, gravissimus atque ornatissimus* of all Latin poets (cf. G. Conte, LG 172).

[3] B. Mächler, Montaignes *Essais* und das philosophische System von Epikur und Lukrez, Zürich 1985.

he used the translation by the Abbé de Marolles which was corrected by Pierre Gassendi (d. 1655). With his renewal of Epicurean philosophy, Gassendi may be taken as a representative of many French materialists of the 17th and 18th centuries. His opposition to Lucretius, in clinging stubbornly to the immortality of the soul, is typical for many readers of Lucretius in the modern period. Gassendi's *Syntagma* of Epicurus' philosophy, based on Lucretius, influenced Newton and Boyle, thus allowing the poet to act as godfather to modern physics and chemistry. Newton declares: *Epicuri et Lucretii philosophia est vera et antiqua, perperam ab illis ad Atheismum detorta.*[1]

Cardinal de Polignac (d. 1741) raised objections to materialism. His *Anti-Lucretius, sive de Deo et natura* appeared posthumously in nine books (Paris 1747).[2] This work exercised influence also in England and was in essence directed against Pierre Bayle (d. 1706), who, in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique,* which prepared the way for the critical Encyclopedists of the 18th century, had *inter alia* taken Epicurus under his wing. Helvetius (d. 1771) and Holbach (d. 1789), both philosophers of the Enlightenment, had close links with Lucretius, although at times without naming their source.[3]

Blaise Pascal (d. 1662) employed in his *Pensées* (no. 72) the Lucretian image of a 'tiny creature' (Lucr. 4. 110–122) for the un-Lucretian purpose of showing the limitless progression towards the infinitely small.[4]

La Fontaine (d. 1695), the famous author of fables, called himself a 'disciple de Lucrèce'. Just like the wise Montaigne, he was an Epicurean in a sublime sense. Lucretius' history of civilization influenced the doctrine developed by Rousseau (d. 1778) of the *contrat social.* Voltaire (d. 1778) turned Lucretius' patron Memmius, in fictitious letters to Cicero, into the champion of deism, refuting mechanistic physics. Of Lucretius, for whose 3rd book he shared the preference of Montaigne and Frederick the Great, he remarked: 'S'il n'était pas un physicien aussi ridicule que les autres il serait un homme divin.' Diderot (d. 1784) showed in his materialist pamphlet *Le rêve de d'Alembert,* first printed as late as 1830, a good acquaintance with

[1] D. T. Whiteside, ed., The Mathematical Papers of Isaac Newton, vol. 1, Cambridge 1967, 388.

[2] E. J. Ament, The *Anti-Lucretius* of Cardinal Polignac, TAPhA 101, 1970, 29–49.

[3] Generally on the 18th century: A. Fusil, Lucrèce et les littérateurs, poètes et artistes du XVIIIe siècle, Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France 37, 1930, 161–176.

[4] von Albrecht, Rom, 135–144.

Lucretius. He called the hymn to Venus 'le plus grand tableau de poesie que je connaisse'.

André Chénier (d. 1794) intended to present the doctrines of the Encyclopedists in a Lucretian didactic poem *Hermès*. The principal work of the French revolutionary poet Maréchal (d. 1803) is entitled *Lucrèce français*. Victor Hugo (d. 1885) was familiar with Lucretius as with many Latin authors. In the France of 1866, Lucretius became a school textbook. The Parnassian poet Sully Prudhomme (d. 1907) composed an adaptation of Lucretius' 1st book and in this way developed a poetic language of extraordinary precision. No less an author than Henri Bergson (d. 1941) edited a frequently reprinted selection from Lucretius (1884). The novice work of this philosopher dealt with the philosophy of poetry and bore the subtitle 'The Genius of Lucretius' (1884).

In central Europe,[1] the Bohemian humanists were interested in Lucretius. The German physician and chemist Daniel Sennert (d. 1637) renewed the atomic theory and referred several times to Lucretius. Sebastian Basso[2] compared, like the Roman poet (2. 114–131), atoms to motes in the sunshine.[3]

The physicist and moralist Lichtenberg (d. 1799) discovered in Lucretius a kindred spirit. In succession to Voltaire, Frederick the Great (d. 1786) confessed: 'Quand je suis affligé je lis le troisième livre de Lucrèce; c'est un palliatif pour les maladies de l'âme.'[4]

Winckelmann (d. 1768) in his preference for 'the ancient majesty of Catullus and Lucretius',[5] was also a precursor of nineteenth-century taste. Kant (d. 1804) developed in succession to Lucretius his well-known scientific cosmogony.[6] Herder[7] (d. 1803) and Wieland (d. 1813)[8] showed familiarity with the poet.

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[1] J. Heijnic, Zu den epikureisch-lukrezischen Nachklängen bei den böhmischen Humanisten, LF 90, 1967, 50–58; Wolfg. Schmid, De Lucretio in litteris Germanicis obvio, in: Antidosis. FS W. Kraus, Wien 1972, 327–335.

[2] *Philosophiae naturalis adversus Aristotelem libri XII* (1621), p. 14.

[3] Johannes Chrysostomus Magnenus, strongly influenced by Lucretius, employs the same image as well as the comparison with letters and the tiny creature (*Democritus reviviscens*, Pavia 1646; Leiden 1658, esp. 268–269 and 206–207).

[4] Gesammelte Ausgabe der Werke Friedrichs II. von Hohenzollern, Berlin 1848, vol. 15, 32.

[5] C. Justi, Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen, 1, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1898, 151.

[6] Preface to *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*.

[7] H. B. Nisbet, Herder und Lukrez, in: G. Sauder, ed., J. G. Herder (1744–1803), Hamburg 1987, 77–87.

[8] H. Böhm, Die Traditionswahl der Antike und ihre Funktion im Werk des jungen Wieland, Altertum 17, 1971, 237–244.

Goethe[1] took great interest in the progress of K. L. von Knebel's classical translation of Lucretius (1821), and made a serious reading of the poet at a level deeper than any previously unattained. Not only did he find the proper place for Lucretius in the development of Roman literature,[2] but he also recognized his specifically poetic qualities: 'a lofty, vigorous and sensuous ability to perceive, making him capable of powerful presentation', and 'a lively force of imagination . . ., enabling him to follow what he has seen into the inscrutable depths of nature, even beyond the senses, into the most secret recesses.'[3] Goethe valued Lucretius' use of the principle of analogy, and with perfect plausibility called him a 'poetic orator'. The staggering proclamation of mortality (3. 1045) reminded Goethe of Frederick the Great, who in the Battle of Collin called out to his grenadiers: 'You dogs, do you want to live forever?'[4] The *De rerum natura* appeared to the poet as 'a prologue to the history of the Christian church . . . in the highest degree remarkable.'[5] Had not Lucretius, just like the Christians later, who indeed partly used his own arguments, thoroughly disposed of the pagan fear of the gods, including the state religion? Does he not preach with the passion of a neophyte? And does he not embody, as Goethe noted with a keen eye, the type of man later described as a 'heretic'?[6] The archheretic Nietzsche (d. 1900) saw Lucretius' function as 'prologue' to Church history in an even more radical light: 'Lucretius should be read in order to understand what Epicurus assailed, not paganism but 'Christianity', that is, the destruction of souls by the notion of guilt, of punishment, and immortality.'[7]

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[1] F. Schmidt, Lukrez bei Goethe, Goethe 24, 1962, 158–174; H. B. Nisbet, Lucretius in 18th-Century Germany. With a Commentary on Goethe's *Metamorphose der Tiere*, MLR 81, 1986, 97–115.

[2] 'It may well be said that Lucretius appeared in the period—and helped to form it—when Roman poetry had reached its high style. The old, sturdy, bearish roughness had been softened. Broader perspectives on the world, deeper practical insight into significant characters, observed in action around and beside themselves, had brought the Romans' culture to that remarkable point at which strength and seriousness could be wedded with grace, and strong and powerful utterances with charm' (1822) W.A. 1, 41, 1st ed., 361.

[3] To Knebel Feb. 14, 1821.

[4] F. von Müller, Feb. 20, 1821 (cf. the note after the next).

[5] W.A. 1, 41, 1st ed., 361 (37, 216).

[6] F. von Müller, Feb. 20, 1821, Gespräche, ed. F. von Biedermann 2, 499; Gedenkausgabe, ed. E. Beutler, Zürich 1950, 121–122; Grumach 343.

[7] *Der Antichrist* 58, Werke, ed. by Schlechta 2, 1229–1230.

Friedrich Schlegel (d. 1829) said of Lucretius: 'In inspiration and sublimity he is the first among the Romans. As singer and presenter of nature he is the first among all surviving poets of antiquity.'[1] But he laments that 'so great a soul' chose 'the system most worthy of rejection'. Karl Marx (d. 1883) in his dissertation made use of Lucretius as a most important source. Bertolt Brecht (d. 1956) attempted to turn the *Communist Manifesto* into a didactic poem along Lucretian lines.[2]

Hofmannsthal (d. 1929) translated passages from the *De rerum natura*.[3] Mommsen (d. 1903), in an otherwise accurate estimate,[4] surprises the reader by the remark that the poet 'had chosen the wrong subject' (595). Albert Einstein (d. 1955) wrote a rather crushing preface to the translation of Lucretius by Hermann Diels (Berlin 1923–1924).

In *England*[5] the Renaissance poet Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) imitated, in his allegorical work *The Faerie Queene* (4. 10. 44–45), the beginning of the *De rerum natura*. Its influence is also seen on the Allegory of Nature in the 7th book and in the *Prothalamion*.

The first English translation of Lucretius (about 1640) was made by the Puritan Lucy Hutchinson.[6] Immediately afterwards (1656) came the translation by J. Evelyn (d. 1706), accompanied by a commentary drawn from the writings of modern adherents of the atomic theory. Both these were in heroic couplets. In 1682 appeared the excellent translation by Thomas Creech.

Hobbes (d. 1679) undertook to refute Lucretius' proofs for the existence of a vacuum. Naturally Boyle (d. 1691), an atomist and pious Christian, was acquainted with the poet. Newton (d. 1727) declared that although the philosophy of Epicurus and Lucretius was old it was true, and that it had been wrongly twisted towards atheism.[7] He possessed a text of Lucretius, and tried in his correspondence with

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[1] F. Schlegel, Geschichte der alten und neueren Literatur (1815), crit. ed., vol. 6, ed. H. Eichner, München 1961, 74.

[2] W. Rösler, Vom Scheitern eines literarischen Experiments. Brechts *Manifest* und das Lehrgedicht des Lukrez, Gymnasium 82, 1975, 1–25.

[3] R. Hirsch, ed., Hofmannsthal. Übertragungen aus Lucrez' *De rerum natura* (1887/1888), in: K. K. Polheim, ed., Literatur aus Österreich—Österreichische Literatur. Ein Bonner Symposium, Bonn 1981, 239–241.

[4] RG 3, 7th ed., 1882, 594–598.

[5] Apart from Highet, Class. Trad., see also B. A. Catto, Lucretius, Shakespeare, and Dickens, CW 80, 1987, 423–427.

[6] The 1st book was published in: I. Warburg, Lucy Hutchinson. Das Bild einer Puritanerin, diss. Hamburg 1937.

[7] A. W. Turnbull, ed., *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, Cambridge 1961, vol. 3, 335.

Richard Bentley (Dec. 10, 1692) to refute Lucretius' view (2. 167–181) that the world arose from mechanical causes without divine intervention. In succession to Lucretius' hymns to Epicurus, the astronomer Edmond Halley (d. 1742),[1] to whose unselfish friendship the origin and publication of Newton's *Principia* is owed, composed a Latin encomium on Newton. An English pendant to this comes from the poet of the *Seasons*, James Thomson (d. 1748).[2] In his *Essay on Man*, Pope (d. 1744) took account of Lucretius,[3] while Dryden (d. 1700) translated selected passages.

As didactic poets, both Lucretius and his opponent Polignac found successors in England.[4] Thomas Gray (d. 1771) began the 2nd book of his unfinished poem *De principiis cogitandi* with an invocation of Locke, the enlightener of human reason. In his two books *De animi immortalitate* (1754), Isaac Hawkins praised his teachers, Bacon and Newton, in Lucretian tones. Erasmus Darwin (d. 1802), the grandfather of the biologist, composed *The Temple of Nature or The Origin of Society*.

The great lyric poet of nature Shelley (d. 1822) is said to have become an atheist in his schooldays through his reading of Lucretius. The epigraph of *Queen Mab* is derived from Lucretius, whom he regarded as the best of Roman poets. Coleridge (d. 1834) appreciated the intimate union of poetry with science in Lucretius. Even Byron[5] (d. 1824) and Wordsworth (d. 1850) were acquainted with the poet (To Landor, April 20, 1822). Lucretius 'denied divinely the divine': this sonorous line of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (d. 1861)[6] reflects a widespread misunderstanding (s. however Lucretius 6. 68–79). The *Lucretius* of Tennyson (d. 1892) is a fantasy combining physics with eroticism. Matthew Arnold (d. 1888) adapted Virgil's com-

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[1] B. Fabian, Edmond Halleys Encomium auf Isaac Newton. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Lukrez, in: *Renatae litterae*, FS A. Buck, Frankfurt 1973, 273–290; cf. also B. Fabian, Lukrez in England im 17. und 18. Jh. Einige Notizen, in: R. Toellner, ed., Aufklärung und Humanismus, Heidelberg 1980, 107–129.

[2] *Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton* (1727).

[3] K. Otten, Die Darstellung der Kulturentstehung in den Dichtungen von Lukrez, Ovid und im *Essay on Man* von Alexander Pope, in: Antike Tradition und Neuere Philologien, Symposium zu Ehren des 75. Geburtstags von R. Sühnel, Heidelberg 1984, 35–56.

[4] T. J. B. Spencer, Lucretius and the Scientific Poem in English, in: D. R. Dudley, ed., Lucretius . . ., 131–164.

[5] *Don Juan* 1. 43; *Childe Harold* 4. 51.

[6] *Vision of Poets*. Gottfried Hermann (d. 1848) called Lucretius 'Godless but divine'.

pliment to Lucretius in his own homage to Goethe (*Memorial Verses*, April 1850). Swinburne (d. 1909) immortalized Giordano Bruno along with Lucretius and Shelley in his atheists' heaven (*For the Feast of Giordano Bruno, Philosopher and Martyr*).

The founder of modern science in Russia Michael Lomonosov (d. 1765) translated a passage of Lucretius (5. 1241–1257) and trenchantly described the character of the poet as 'audacious'.[1] The only country in the world to celebrate the second millennium of the poet's death in 1946 was the Soviet Union.[2]

Of the many quotable phrases in Lucretius may be mentioned: *De nihilo nihil* (adapted from 2. 87 et al.); *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, 'so potent was superstition in persuading to evil deeds' (1. 101): it is not always remembered that Lucretius is not attacking religion here but superstition and human sacrifice. Lucretius would be even less happy if smug and self-satisfied delight in others' misfortunes were to conceal itself behind the sublime beginning of his 2nd book: *Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis/e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem*, 'Pleasant it is, when on the great sea the winds trouble the water, to gaze from the shore upon another's great tribulation' (2. 1–2). His bitter-sweet image of love is magnificent: *medio de fonte leporum/surgit amari aliquid*, 'from the very fountain of enchantment rises a drop of bitterness' (4. 1133–1134).

It is only in the 20th century that Lucretius' doctrine of the indivisibility and impenetrability of the atoms was refuted. The interpretation of reality given by wave mechanics also makes untenable the notion of an absolutely empty space. It was known far earlier that Lucretius was not an atheist. Nonetheless, his keen observation, his cogent argumentation, and his power of language have lost nothing of their freshness. More than ever, it seems high time to rediscover the poet in Lucretius. It was he who opened to Roman poetry and to the Latin language spiritual heights previously inaccessible. It was he who set standards for all those who later wanted to compose poetry about the universe which were quite independent of differences of outlook. What Empedocles had been for him, he became for posterity.

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[1] Z. A. Pokrovskaya, Antičnyj filosofskij èpos, Moskva 1979, 93.

[2] There appeared an edition and translation by T. (= F.) Petrovskij, complemented by a second volume containing essays by different authors (including I. Tolstoy), commentary, and the fragments of Epicurus and Empedocles, Leningrad 1947.

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D. LYRIC AND EPIGRAM

ROMAN LYRIC

General Remarks

The modern notion of lyric became established about 1700 in Italy, and from there was transferred to Germany.[1] 'Epic presents an event developing from the past; drama, an action extending to the future; lyric, a feeling enclosed in the present.'[2] For today's sensibility therefore, lyric addresses a much smaller public than epic and drama. However, this distinction, based on content, is not precisely suited to ancient lyric, and has in fact done more harm than good to the understanding of the Roman lyric poets.

Conversely, ancient definitions of lyric mainly start from the formal aspect, particularly from meter.[3] Whereas epic and dramatic dialogue consist of spoken verse, lyric is composed of verses that are sung. At least in theory, and in antiquity also in practice, the musical element plays in it a greater role than in other poetic genres. Under the rubric of sung poetry or 'melic', ancient theory includes both sung monody[4] and choral lyric without distinction. Μέλος means both limb and song, musical phrase, melody; μέλη are lyric verses as distinguished from those of drama and epic. Elegy and iambus by contrast at an early stage already were only recited, and therefore do not count as lyric in the strict sense.

In Latin, *melos* and *melicus* were rare technical words. *Carmen lyricum* is the fixed antithesis to epic, which was treated by the *grammaticus* in his lessons. Originally, lyric meant something sung to lyre accompaniment. The word λυρικός belongs to musical theory. In literary theory, it appears at first in connection with the canon of the nine lyric poets, and so emphasizes the classical rank of the authors in

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[1] I. Behrens 1940.

[2] Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, edition and commentary by N. Miller, München 1963, 272 (§ 75).

[3] P. Steinmetz, Gattungen und Epochen der griechischen Literatur in der Sicht Quintilians, Hermes 92, 1964, 454–466.

[4] Either continuous (stichic) or in strophes of two to four lines.

question. The lyre is the instrument of domestic music and of musical instruction. The term 'lyric' is explained by the fact that the poet-composers of this genre were treated by the teacher of 'music' (i.e. the 'lyre') and not by the *grammaticus*.[1] Monodic lyric was linked with the lyre. For public performances, the cithara, 'invented by Apollo', was the principal instrument. Dramatic choruses were accompanied by 'flute' (αὐλός) music.

Along with this, there were efforts to categorize literary genres according to methods of representation. Plato (d. 349/348 B.C.) distinguished narrative, dramatic and mixed form, though without mentioning lyric (*rep.* 3. 394 b–c). Aristotle (d. 322 B.C.) left out the mixed form (poet. 3. 1448 a 19–24). Proclus (5th century A.D.) linked both schemes by subsuming the mixed form under the narrative. Melic appeared in theoreticians of the Aristotelian school, along with epic, elegy and iambus, as a subdivision of the *genus enarrativum* or *mixtum*.

Further divisions of lyric took into account its subjects (gods, men, both); the movement involved (towards the altar, in dance around the altar, at rest); its strophic structure (monostrophic, triadic).

Lyric, a combination of word, rhythm, meter, and melos, had several pre-literary roots which gave it a primitive force. It named things and made them available, harking back to magic and ritual. The musical rhythm provided a link with work-song and festive dance. The stimulating or calming effect on the minds of the listeners, exemplified by Orpheus, pointed to a basic connection between lyric and rhetoric, a relationship significant in antiquity.

Greek Background

Lyric is one of the tenderest blossoms of literature. In Ionia, with its openness to experience of the world, it was not long before personal tones were heard. In the European part of Greece, the links with the community persisted longer. The greatest poetess, Sappho (about 600 B.C.), influenced Catullus (*carm.* 51). Alcaeus (about 600 B.C.) and Pindar (who died some time after 446) influenced Horace. He, like Lucilius, also owed something to Archilochus, who in the 7th century B.C. had written both iambics and lyrics.

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[1] H. GÖRGEMANNS 1990 with reference to Plat. *leg.* 809 c–d.

Some expectations felt by the modern reader of lyric require qualification in the case of early Greece.[1] Originality and freely created imagery may not always be found. Early Greek lyric is part of a tradition of linguistic craftsmanship, and consciously takes note of previous models. It employs an inherited store of images. Metaphors serve as abbreviations, myths as illustrations of typical destinies and situations. These features help to make the lyric texts understandable for the society for which they were sung.

Likewise, the concept of absolute poetry may not be applicable. Early Greek lyric has for the most part a precise social context, a purpose in society[2] or in the service of the gods. It is meant for a festival. It is a poetry predominantly concerned with an occasion, a particular application. It is closely linked with music and dance and, in the absence of these elements, it is hard for us to judge it. It may be imagined what would happen if we now had only the texts of the masterpieces of European vocal music.

Is there a reluctance to reflection? But early Greek lyric wishes to communicate insight. The maxim or gnome is part of it. Just like the elegists, the lyric poet too presents himself as a wise man. Even enjoyment of life is recommended because it is the more reasonable course.

Mere atmosphere and reluctance to exert an influence on others are also inapplicable criteria. The early Greek lyrist aims at effect. This explains his frequent apostrophes and his closeness to speech. If misfortune is mentioned, it is mainly in the search for deliverance.

Is it personal poetry? The 'I' which exercises judgment in choric songs is meant to be representative of the society, enabling singer and listener to recognize themselves in the song. A parallel is provided by Medieval and Baroque lyric, reaching all the way to the 'I' in 17th and 18th century hymnbook poetry. The employment of the first person in poems the speaker of which is evidently not identical with the poet is also relevant: for example, Walther von der Vogelweide's *Under der linden* is spoken by a girl. It is true that in early Greek monodic lyric the individual begins to express himself, a fact

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[1] Basic study by R. PFEIFFER 1929 and (less commendable) F. KLINGNER 1930.

[2] 'The highest form of lyric is decidedly historical. The effort to separate the mythical/historical elements from Pindar's odes would amount to totally cutting off their inner life. Modern lyric is always more inclined toward the elegiac' (Goethe, *Adelchi. Tragedia,* Milano 1822. A review, 1827, WA 42, 1, 1904, 173).

not to be underestimated. But the expression of subjective feeling is not the chief purpose. The objective circumstances of life, nature, and society help to determine the consciousness of the poet. Alcaeus reflected a male society, Anacreon the world of the symposium, Sappho her company of girls. It is she who is relatively closest to the modern notion of lyric; yet, precisely in this respect Horace did not follow her.

Before early Greek lyric made its impact, it was Hellenistic poetry that was influential at Rome. In it the attention of the artist was concentrated on the world of emotions and passions. The particular situation became less important. Mood appeared as an aesthetic value in its own right, and playful effects were sought for their own sake. In Euripides, poetry came to despair of its previous role as guide. In the Hellenistic period it gained its aesthetic values from widely different objects and may even affirm what is foolish and irresponsible.[1] These 'human' features bring it closer to the modern reader.

Roman Development

Doubtless there were Roman work-songs and popular songs, and there are even references to popular choric songs. Although these preliterary songs had no influence on literature, they show that right from the beginning the Romans did not lack lyrical talent and musical feeling. Ancient religious hymns are known to us. Livius Andronicus wrote a ritual song for a maidens' choir. A rich store of lyric poetry, not yet evaluated as such, is found in the Plautine cantica. In general, Roman drama, because of the dominant role of music, must have contained an abundance of lyrical elements.

Nevertheless, many Romans may well have agreed with Cicero (*apud* Sen. *epist.* 49. 5) in his remark that he could not find time to read lyric even if he had two lives.

Personal poetry appeared in older Latin literature in the first instance not as lyrical song but as iamb or *satura*. Catullus drew the traditions of iamb, epigram and other Hellenistic genres into a unique amalgam that is all his own. United only by the poet's individuality, his book stands like an isolated boulder on ancient literary landscape. In Horace, Roman lyric made its first appearance as a genuinely

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[1] F. KLINGNER 1930, 71–72.

independent genre (*carmina*), sponsored by both Hellenistic and early Greek lyric. Horace lent to the genres of iamb, ode and satire previously mingled in Roman personal poetry, a shape that was in each case organic and independent. The compromise between aesthetic demands of the Greek type and a Roman individuality bursting generic limits is his quite personal achievement.

Antiquity distinguished epigram and occasional poem from lyric. Even so, Statius, Martial, Ausonius, Claudian, along with the poets of the Latin Anthology and of the *Pervigilium Veneris* (2nd to 4th century A.D.) have to our way of thinking many points of contact with this genre. For lyric in the strict sense, there was at Rome no genuine generic tradition.[1] There were only individual achievements. The first high point after Plautus' cantica was found in Catullus, although his poems for ancient readers were mostly to be categorized as epigrams. The second was Horace, the third the Christian lyricist Prudentius. All three were at Rome lonely eminences and, at best, *indirect* products of their ambience, insofar as they did *not* do what society expected of them, but something completely novel and, in the eyes of their contemporaries, absurd.[2]

Each of them comes, even culturally, from a different background. Their mutual artistic debt may certainly be listed (see below), but that is not the decisive point. However, it should be noted that the critical dialogue with predecessors far removed in time, like that of Prudentius with Horace, has more significance than any link with empty forms transmitted by the schools. Some aspects of Horatian lyric may be touched on here. This offers the possibility of a comparison with archaic Greek lyric (see above).

Imitation and Originality: Horace takes Hellenistic literature as his point of departure, but also looks back to early Greek poetry. His choice of literary models has deeper significance. Roman lyric poets use archaic Greek in order to discover their own identity.

Pure poetry, verbal music: Horace delights in the multiplicity of Greek meters which he introduces to Rome, partly following Hellenistic tradition. Horace's imagination is not static, but contains an element of dance.

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[1] This does not exclude the possibility that Horace may be taking passages of Catullus into account and refining them: J. Ferguson, Catullus and Horace, AJPh 77, 1956, 1–18.

[2] In this respect there is a closeness to elegy, treated separately later.

Reason and didacticism: Horace often tries to subtract himself from the immediate impact of emotions. In contrast with the elegists, for example, he preserves his freedom by soft-pedalling his feelings. While Catullus presents the state of surrender, Horace shows an emotion that is controlled.

Address: addresses are not simply communications, but also expressions of will, and as such they intend to provoke future actions. The poet aims to convince, and so draws close to the orator. Horace attempts, even if perhaps on many occasions only as a feint, to create something analogous to the complex relations with life found in early Greek poetry.

The world without and within (macrocosm and microcosm): Horace's lyric is at the same time personal and more than personal. The 'lyrical ego' is made the mirror of social and in part even ritual relationships. Horace from his own will creates a world, in which individual, state and nature find a common center in the lyrical ego. From the subjectivity of his Roman and Hellenistic approach, Horace as an intellectual discoverer guides lyric towards an objective view of reality.

Ancient theorists would have categorized only a small portion of Statius' occasional poems as 'lyric'. The same is the case with Martial and Ausonius. If we set aside the *Pervigilium Veneris* and the tiny stanzas of Hadrian, it is not until late antiquity that significant Latin lyric is found again. Prudentius gives new life to classical forms, while Ambrose develops some which are novel, and which point to the future.

Literary Technique

Right into the 19th century, lyric was meant to be sung. The musical performance of Horace's *carmen saeculare* is actually attested. The musical presentation of the odes before a small audience is not wholly undisputed, but still very probable.[1]

[1] G. Wille, Singen und Sagen in der Dichtung des Horaz, in: Eranion, FS H. Hommel, Tübingen 1961, 169–184; N. A. Bonavia-Hunt, Horace the Minstrel, Kineton 1969; M. von Albrecht, Musik und Dichtung bei Horaz, in: Bimillenario della morte di Q. Orazio Flacco, Atti I: Atti del convegno di Venosa (1992), Venosa 1993, 75–100. The counter-argument is found in E. Pöhlmann, Marius Victorinus zum Odengesang bei Horaz, in: E.P., Beiträge zur antiken und neueren Musikgeschichte, Frankfurt 1988, 135–143.

Lyric contains different types of poems,[1] for example, hymns to the gods. Of these, there are numerous instances, and even parodies, in Catullus and Horace. Typical of the hymnic 'predicative' style is the use of relative pronouns and anaphora.

Eulogies and celebrations of victory or triumph are related to this, as are marriage songs (epithalamia), dirges (epikedeia), and poems of consolation. Other types of poetry are: the propempticon, wishing *bon voyage* to a departing friend, of which Horace *carm.* 1. 3 offers an example that transcends the stereotype; the contrasting anti-propempticon, wishing 'a bad trip' to an enemy (Horace *epod.* 10), forms a transition to abusive poems. Other types are: poems of invitation (Catullus 13; Horace *carm.* 1. 20); sympotic or drinking poems; versified problems of arithmetic, parodied in Catullus' kiss poems; different types of love poem; poems of friendship; poems reflecting on life and its problems; poems of the seasons, and so on. Poets give an individual turn to traditional contents and forms, thus lending each poem a charm of its own.

The ode (literally 'song') is distinguished by its link with Aeolian lyric, whether by opening motto, as frequently in Horace, or at least by the choice of meter.

In ancient lyric, the employment of rhetorical procedures is by no means excluded. Examples would be the use of the priamel or listing of examples; and summarizing devices.[2]

Horace's odes characteristically make use of an addressee. This involves an element of dialogue, and some intention to influence a partner, at least as a basic attitude, even if to some degree it may have become conventional. Roman lyric is often close to the language of oratory, aiming to overwhelm and convince. This feature of communication found in Horace's lyric distinguishes it from the 'solitary' lyric of later times. In Catullus, a remarkable additional feature appears in the numerous self-addresses, preparing the way for the 'internal monologue'.

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[1] KAYSER (335–344) distinguishes three lyrical types: call (address), song (speech) and gnome (naming). In accordance with the types of speaking, he differentiates between: resolve, admonition, praise, celebration, lament, accusation, dirge for the dead, request, prayer, encouragement, prophecy, confession.

[2] CURTIUS, Europäische Lit. 293–294.

Language and Style

The structure of early Latin verse is disputed. Possibly it involved a combination of techniques, partly syllabic and partly determined by the number of words. There soon followed the adoption of Greek quantitative meter. For a long time, it maintained its supremacy until, in late antiquity, the feel for quantities disappeared. Now accentual meters made their appearance, showing considerable poetic qualities. Even so, quantitative poetry continued to be fostered by authors conscious of tradition.

Influenced by lofty formulas of law and prayer, Roman poetry had a particular affinity for alliteration. Rhymes were produced, for example in the pentameter, by the deliberate hyperbaton separating words belonging together. But rhyme did not have the dominant significance which it has enjoyed in the poetry of the Middle Ages and of modern times. Originally it had belonged to formal prose as developed by Gorgias. It was from here that it came into poetry, as may be seen in poets influenced by rhetoric. From Medieval Christian hymns, rhymes spread further to literatures in the vernacular.

In Plautus and in Republican tragedy the lyrical sections show greater linguistic and stylistic elevation than dialogue. The lyric of Catullus and Horace is often closer to the spoken language than, for example, elegy or epic, although their refined simplicity must not be confused with a lack of artistry. Horace's strophes and their verbal mosaic are among the most complex and polished poetry ever written.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Catullus calls his poems *nugae*. Following the neoteric fashion, he interprets his poetry as play. In this respect there is a similarity to Ovid, whose playful attitude in the Hellenistic manner has never been doubted. Since the days of French *poésie absolue* this side of Catullus has been better understood. The exclusive interpretation of Catullus as a poet of 'personal experience' is contradicted by a coarse rejoinder in which he expressly disclaimed such a reading: 'the pure poet must be chaste—in his own person. His verses by no means have to be chaste' (*carm.* 16. 5–6). Of course here Catullus is on the defensive (as Ovid was later, *trist.* 2. 353–354), and it may be doubted

whether the poet's words should be taken as declaration of principle. Even so, it is remarkable that this utterance puts him openly at odds with the love elegists whose ancestor he is frequently taken to be.

Horace credits his reputation as a poet to his inclusion by Maecenas in the canon of lyric poets (*carm.* 1. 1. 35). On the one hand, he is proud of his technical achievement, for it is he who introduced to Italy 'Aeolic song' (*carm.* 3. 30. 13–14). On the other, the poet of the *carmen saeculare* considers himself a *vates* (cf. *carm.* 4. 6. 44), assigning to himself not only artistic skill (*ars*) but also inspiration (*carm.* 4. 6. 29).

Horace perceives himself, not only as a poet of supreme art, but also as the poet of his people. It is predominantly in this last capacity that he looks back to early Greek models. But in his lyric poetry he also avoids on the whole straining his powers. He carefully distinguishes the ode from higher types of poetry, on which he ventured only rarely and indirectly (e.g. *carm.* 4. 2).

Prudentius establishes a Christian idea of the poet, although not in the sense of some dubious consecration of his poetry. He presents his poetry as an offering, and is aware that he is tolerated as a simple vessel in the house of God. He finds his happiness in the presentation of offerings, the fulfilling of a service in the divine economy, in the proclamation and praise of Christ (*iuvabit personasse Christum*, 'it will be my happiness to have sung with my lips of Christ', *epil.* 34).[1]

Ideas II

The Neoterics joined strong personal feeling with dedication to formal perfection. Catullus was one of those Roman 'angry young men',[2] questioning established values and substituting for them his own private universe. This led him to transform the significance of Roman values. His finest lyrical creations combine a mature artistic form with unusual freshness, bridging the gap of the millennia.

Horace gives more emphasis than Catullus to the philosophy of life. It is this which links his satires and epistles. The deeper reason for this link is to be found in the poet's own individuality, which uses a Socratic and ironic 'modesty' as a method of expanding its

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[1] A comparison between Horace and Prudentius is found in von Albrecht Poesie 262–276.

[2] A. D. Leeman, Catull 'angry young man', now in: Leeman, Form 111–121.

consciousness,[1] a feature stemming from Roman personal poetry as written by Lucilius. In choosing the small-scale lyrical form in the Hellenistic manner, the poet diminishes his own ego. Yet he finds the courage, in his time and society, freely to construct his own lyrical world by drawing on the poetry of early Greece. In this world, individual, society and nature find a common center in the lyrical *persona.* This is an exceptional artistic achievement. Horace's lyric is not a direct consequence of social circumstances, and not even a response to them. It is his personal creation. By this act of Horace, Cicero's negative verdict on lyric is robbed of its validity. Horace showed that the lyrist had a message even for the statesman without, at the same time, surrendering himself. It is no coincidence that time and again in Europe, at the birth of great lyric poetry, it is Horace who has acted as godfather.

Lyric, as realized in Horace's poetry, comprises far more than the mind of an individual. It extends to the people around him, friends of both sexes; society and state, culminating in Augustus; the literary background—contemporaries such as Virgil and, of no less importance, those Greek and Roman predecessors with whom in his works the poet engages in dialogue. Along with this cultural background, that of nature must also be remembered: the life of the elements, the stars, and the gods. In Horace's lyric, with its numerous names and concrete terms, worlds are reflected. Yet this reflection is quite personal. In the light of such an artistic achievement, the question of subjectivity and objectivity, personal and more than personal, mediacy and immediacy, loses importance. If it must be raised, the paradoxical solution is that Horace's individuality as a lyric poet consists in not being satisfied with individual lyricism.

Horace, even as poet of the *res publica* and of the world, rests securely upon himself. By contrast, the Christian lyrist Prudentius draws his value from God and Christ, that is, from a center that stands outside himself.[2]

W. Albert, Das mimetische Gedicht in der Antike. Geschichte und Typologie von den Anfängen bis in die augusteische Zeit, Frankfurt 1988. * I. Behrens, Die Lehre von der Einteilung der Dichtkunst, vornehmlich vom 16. bis 18. Jh. Studien zur Geschichte der poetischen Gattungen, Halle 1940. * G. Benn,

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[1] Zinn, Weltgedicht.

[2] von Albrecht, Poesie 276.

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ROMAN EPIGRAM

General Remarks

Epigram means 'inscription'. Our modern sense of 'epigrammatic', meaning something with a sharp edge of ridicule, did not originally

belong to the epigram's essence, although brevity and precision were expected from the start.

Different types of inscriptions may be distinguished by their content: public and private, serious and light-hearted, dedicatory inscriptions, funerary inscriptions and so on.

Epigrams may be written either in prose or verse. Among the numerous meters possible (hexameter, hendecasyllable, iamb, scazon, to which in Rome may be added the venerable saturnian), the elegiac couplet occupies the place of honor. By its peculiar structure, it encourages the use of double clauses and antithetical style, and stimulates a delight in pointed formulation.

The genre, as brought to perfection by Martial, often presents its content in two successive stages. The first conceals the point to be made, while the second gives it surprising revelation. It is customary to speak of 'expectation' and 'resolution'.

Greek Background

Greek epigram arose partly from the usage of dedicatory and funeral inscriptions, and partly from the custom of improvising sympotic or erotic epigrams in the company of friends.

For the Romans, Hellenistic collections (among others) such as the epigrams of Callimachus and the *Garland* of Meleager were important. Greek epigram exercised strong influence even on Roman love elegy.

Roman Development

At Rome the use of the epigram as inscription had a long tradition. In their language, the remarkable inscriptions of the Scipio family bear testimony to a developed sense of form, while their content is the fulfillment of individual destiny within a traditional social framework. Here may also be listed funerary inscriptions of women, such as the familiar verse epitaph of a certain Claudia.[1]

With the increasing Hellenization in the way of life of the Roman upper class, other values made their appearance. Around the turn of the second to 1st centuries at Rome we find epigrammatic poetry in the Hellenistic style.

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[1] Here (CIL I, 2nd ed. Berolini 1918, No. 1211) senarii are employed. Elsewhere in the older period saturnians are found, later hexameters and elegiac couplets.

Representatives of the Roman aristocracy were active as poets of personal epigram: Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, Quintus Lutatius Catulus.

They were later followed by Varro Atacinus, Licinius Calvus, and Catullus. Like those of Laevius, Catullus' poems stand between epigram and lyric. As we are told, erotic poems were also written by Q. Hortensius, C. Memmius, and Q. Scaevola.

Epigrammatists of the Augustan period were Domitius Marsus, Sulpicia, Cornificia, Gaetulicus, and Augustus himself.

The master of the epigram, Martial, was active under Domitian. He signifies a high point never again attained.

From the late period may be mentioned not only Ausonius and many minor poets such as Prosper of Aquitaine, but also the poets of the *Anthologia Latina* and the numerous *Carmina epigraphica.*

Literary Technique

Already among the early authors at Rome a tendency is revealed towards pointed expression (cf. Val. Aedituus pp. 42–43 Morel = 54–55 Bü.; Lutatius Catulus ibid. 43 = 55–56 Bü.) and a playful intensification of the meaning in the concluding line.

Language and Style

The intertwining of words reveals a degree of extreme artificiality even in the older Latin epigrammatists. An example is provided (if the text is rightly restored) by Val. Aed. 3–4. We find the play *subitus subidus,* and again: *sic tacitus subidus dum pudeo pereo* ('thus longing and silent, I refrain and die). The final point in the next epigram is presented less directly: *at contra hunc ignem Veneris nisi si Venus ipsa/nulla est, quae possit vis alia opprimere* ('Venus herself alone can quell her fire, no other force there is that has such power').

Polysyllabic words are still, as this example shows, by no means avoided at the end of the pentameter. Final *-s* does not yet always make position; Lutatius Catulus writes, for example: *da, Venu', consilium.* Technical refinement still had some way to go, but a noteworthy beginning had been made.

In no time the screw of sense appears to be tightened too much. Matius describes kissing with the help of a neologism and a word

order reflecting the sense: *columbulatim labra conserens labris*, 'joining lips to lips like turtle-doves' (p. 50 Morel = 64 Bü.).

Laevius was a particularly bold linguistic innovator. If Plautus' language danced, his tried to fly. His rococo Erotopaegnia go extraordinarily far in their verbal creativity, thus condemned by their author to remain a dead end in Latin literature. In Maecenas, the unclassical patron of classical poets, and in Hadrian's time, the precious manner of Laevius again became fashionable. Latin perhaps needed this eccentric experimenter to remove a little of its earthy gravity.

Ideas

The easy products of the Greek Μοῦσα παιδική sound strange on the lips of serious Romans, couched in the awkward and cumbersome Latin of their day. We are still concerned with the light amusement of serious men in the social circle. New values were here playfully explored, but in Catullus' generation and among the elegists, they would find a large future.[1]

* L. Alfonsi, Poetae novi. Storia di un movimento poetico, Milano 1945. * K. Büchner, Die römische Lyrik. Texte, Übersetzungen, Interpretationen, Geschichte, Stuttgart 1976, esp. 13–15. * P. Grimal, Le lyrisme à Rome, Paris 1978, 75–89. * N. Holzberg, Epigramm, s. Martial. * P. Laurens, L'abeille dans l'ambre: Célébration de l'épigramme de l'époque alexandrine à la fin de la Renaissance, Paris 1989. * R. Reitzenstein, Epigramm und Skolion, Gießen 1893. * I. Tar, Über die Anfänge der römischen Lyrik, Szeged 1975. * A. Traglia, Poetae novi, Roma 1962. * G. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford 1968; s. also the bibliographies to Catullus and Martial.

CATULLUS

Life and Dates

C. Valerius Catullus from Verona is one of the first in that brilliant series of poets and writers originating from Transpadane Gaul. His father, who it may be supposed was the descendant of Roman set-

[1] Catullus' *ille mi par esse deo videtur* may be compared with Lutatius Catulus 2. 4 (p. 43 Morel).

tlers,[1] was socially distinguished enough to entertain even Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 73). The poet was the owner of estates at Tibur (Catullus 44) and on Sirmio, the peninsula on the southern shore of Lake Garda (31). Complaints about his penurious state (e.g. 13. 7–8) are not therefore to be interpreted as evidence of grinding poverty. According to Jerome,[2] Catullus was born in 87 B.C. and died in 58 B.C. 'in his thirtieth year'. However, since in 57/56 B.C. he accompanied the propraetor Memmius for a year to Bithynia,[3] and mentions events of the year 55 B.C., such as Pompey's second consulship (Catullus 113), Caesar's crossing of the Rhine and first expedition to Britain (Catullus 11 and 29), the 'thirty years' must either be taken as a round number (87–54 B.C.) or, more convincingly, the year of birth must be set later (84–54 B.C.). The confusion of 87 and 84 B.C. may be explained by a similarity in the names of the consuls in those years. It is not advisable to fix Catullus' death, in the light of poem 52, only after the consulship of Vatinius (47 B.C.), given that already in 56 B.C. Vatinius was boasting of a future consulship (Cic. *Vatin.* 6).

Born shortly before Sulla's victory and dictatorship, Catullus died a few years before Caesar completed his conquest of Gaul. He was not alive to witness Caesar's break with Pompey and rise to supreme power. Belonging to a period between two dictatorships, he took his stand in a space characterized by unresolved tensions, equally distant from two centers of gravity. Politically, there was a condition of 'suspension of gravity'. It fostered all the anxieties attendant on such a state, but also all the chances of a new experience of freedom.

In his adult years, Catullus witnessed the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy, framed by Pompey's victories in the East and Caesar's rise to power in the West. Caesar for Catullus (29) was only one of the triumvirs, *cinaedus Romulus*, boon companion of the disreputable Mamurra. The subsequent apology and reconciliation (Suet. *Iul.* 73) made perhaps little difference to the inner distance between the greatest military and the greatest non-military personality of those years.

The gloomy air of the times finds expression in the pessimistic tones at the end of his epyllion (64). The atmosphere of the Attis

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[1] H. Rubenbauer, JAW 212, 1927, 169.
[2] *Chron. a. Abr.* 1930 and 1959.
[3] Catullus 10; 28; 31; 46.

poem (63) is fraught with tension. In its restless rhythms, the distinguished lyric poet Alexander Blok[1] thought he could detect the nervously beating pulse of a period shaken by revolutions. The theme of self-alienation, of which the poem treats, reflects the gravity of the loss of old links to one's *patria*, and the fear of obtaining, not the hoped-for freedom, so much as a new and worse dependence.

This was the historical background against which painful personal experiences may be seen affecting Catullus' poetry: his brother's death,[2] and his love for the woman called Lesbia who, if we are to believe Apuleius (*apol.* 10), was really Clodia. She is traditionally identified with the second of the three sisters of Cicero's arch-enemy, P. Clodius Pulcher, the wife of Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (consul 60 B.C.). This rests on the general (but only general) similarity with the picture given of this woman by Cicero's *Pro Caelio*; and, above all, on a Catullan epigram (79)[3] which in fact would lose much of its point if it did not refer to Clodia's overly loved little brother.[4] But the youngest of these three sisters may also be the woman in question.[5] The fact that Lesbia's husband (or constant companion) is in Catullus' eyes (Catullus 83) an idiot must not however be taken as sufficient proof that he was Metellus.[6] If Clodia is made a freed woman of the family,[7] the point of *carm.* 79 must be surrendered, and all references to Lesbia's pride in her birth ignored. In principle, in the identification of the persons concerned, more prudence than confidence should be exercised.

Any attempt to arrange the poems addressed to Lesbia in chronological order raises many problems. We should avoid reconstructing a 'love novel'. Is poem 51 the first declaration of love or an expression of jealousy?[8] In the first case, it has been seen as the beginning of their relationship; whereas the adherents of the second interpreta-

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[1] Essay *Katilina* (1918); von Albrecht, Rom 48–57.

[2] Catullus 65; 68; 101. His brother must have died before 57 B.C., since Catullus visited his grave on his voyage to Asia.

[3] M. B. Skinner, Pretty Lesbius, TAPhA 112, 1982, 197–208; C. Deroux, L'identité de Lesbie, ANRW 1, 3, 1973, 390–416.

[4] Another view in W. Kroll on Catullus 79 (not convincing).

[5] So M. Rothstein 1923, 1; 1926, 472.

[6] A different opinion in M. Schuster 1948, 2358–2359.

[7] W. Stroh, Taxis und Taktik. Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden, including: Nachträge zum angeblichen Liebesverhältnis von Caelius und Clodia, Stuttgart 1975, 296–298.

[8] So, for example, H. P. Syndikus, vol. 1, 1984, 254–262.

tion would date the poem later; but these are fragile arguments indeed. The dating of poem 68, to the time before the death of Metellus in 59 B.C., rests on the following unproved suppositions: that the unnamed beloved is Lesbia (in itself possible[1]); that she is the second sister among the Clodias; that the 'husband' is Metellus and not possibly a second husband or some other lover.

Around the central figures of the dead brother and the beloved are grouped close friends, young poets among whom Licinius Calvus in particular deserves mention. This circle, filled with tones sometimes crude, sometimes tender, and sometimes surprisingly erotic, is Catullus' milieu.

His addressees are also of importance: the recipient of the dedicatory poem (1), Catullus' famous countryman Cornelius Nepos; the addressee of the first epithalamium (61), Manlius, a Roman noble; finally the great orator Hortensius Ortalus (Hortalus), to whom the first epistle in elegiacs is directed (65).

The politicians follow at an appropriate distance: Cicero (49), Caesar[2] and his repulsive favorite Mamurra,[3] and finally the large number of those who are otherwise abused or assailed.

Survey of Work

The collection of poems is normally divided in three: the short poems in non-elegiac meters (1–60); the longer poems (61–68); the epigrams (69–116).

The arrangement in general is therefore determined by scope and meter. A transition from the first to the second part is established by the fact that of poems 61–64 the uneven are ('still') lyric, while the even are ('already') in hexameters. Conversely, the last four longer poems (65–68), which are in elegiacs, already belong metrically to the epigrams which follow them.

Since the epigrams already contain a somewhat lengthy elegy (76), it is tempting to regard all the poems written in elegiac couplets (65–116) as a single group. In this case, the work may be divided into two 'halves' (1–64; 65–116), of which the second begins and ends (65 and 116) with an allusion to Callimachus.[4]

In considering scope, however, we are not concerned with 'halves'. Rather, the collection may be divided into three approximately equal sections

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[1] Against the identification with Lesbia: M. Rothstein 1923, 8–9 (somewhat hypercritical).

[2] Catullus 11; 29; 54; 57; 93.

[3] Catullus 29; 41; 43; 57; 94; 105; 114; 115.

[4] E. A. Schmidt 1973, 233.

(1–60, 863 lines; 61–64, 802 lines; 65–116, 644 lines).[1] Is it coincidence that these divisions each correspond to the length of a classical 'book'? It is not known whether the arrangement of the collection is completely owed to Catullus (s. below: Transmission). For this reason, far-reaching interpretations of the order of the poems should be treated with caution.[2]

The arrangement of the poems within the book does not substantially affect the interpretation of the individual poem. Poems formally or thematically related would be compared regardless of their position. However, the original arrangement may have been preserved in many instances, especially in the case of certain groups within the polymetra.

Thematically related poems often stand together. Examples are the epithalamia (61 and 62); the epigrams relating to Gellius (88–91) and the twin poems 97 and 98. Two Lesbia epigrams are juxtaposed (86–87), and if 85 relates to the same woman there would be three. Something similar may be said of 75 and 76. Aufilena is the butt of 110 and 111. Caesar and his henchman 'Mentula' (Mamurra) are the object of 93–94. Mentula himself receives his double dose in 114–115. The name Fabullus links poems 12 and 13, Aurelius 16 and 17, Furius 23 and 24, Vatinius 52 and 53. The poet-friends, Cinna and Calvus, are addressed in consecutive epigrams (95 and 96). Calvus and Lesbia follow each other in 50 and 51.

Conversely, in the footsteps of Callimachus' *iamb.* 2 and 4,[3] poems belonging together appear more often at some calculated distance. The framework of the epigrams concerning Gellius (88–91) is formed by poems about Lesbia (85–87; 92). At the beginning of the collection, poems 2, 3, 5, 7, (8) and 11 are dedicated to Lesbia. The kiss poems 5 and 7 are particularly closely linked. Ameana is made fun of in 41 and 43, while epigrams 70 and 72 relate to Lesbia. Veranius unites 9 and 12, Aurelius 16–17 and 21. He and Furius are linked in 11 and 16, while in 21 and 23 they are treated separately. Furius occurs in 22, 23 and 26, Camerius in 55 and 58a. Formal correspondences are found, for example, between 34 and 36 (hymn and hymnic parody) and 37 and 39 (both scazons).

The poems dedicated to Lesbia have been singled out as a 'cycle', just like the verses alluding to Aurelius and Furius or Veranius and Fabullus. Catullan scholars employ the word 'cycle' here in a loose sense. It is not a question of self-contained groups of poems, but rather of more or less scat-

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[1] J. Ferguson, The Arrangement of Catullus' Poems, LCM 11, 1, 1986, 2–6; W. V. Clausen, CHLL 193–197.

[2] Cf. H. Dettmer, Design in the Catullan Corpus. A Preliminary Study, CW 81, 1987–1988, 371–381; M. B. Skinner, Aesthetic Patterning in Catullus. Textual Structures, Systems of Imagery and Book Arrangements. Introduction, CW 81, 1987–1988, 337–340.

[3] E. A. Schmidt 1973, 239.

tered poems on related themes, between which quite different poems are inserted.[1] A cycle of 'apostrophes to things'[2] is formed by poems 31; 35–37; 42; 44. In the center (35–36) are 'addresses to paper and books'. The supporting pillars (31 and 34) refer to places dear to the poet.

Neighboring poems may form a contrast, as for example 35, addressed to Catullus' poet friend Caecilius, and 36 which threatens in jest to burn the annals of Volusius. The marriage themes of poems 61–64 are interrupted by the contrasting poem on Attis (63).

The most important organizational principles are variation and contrast. A stricter regularity, such as that found in later books of poems, cannot be established. There is perhaps no answer to the question of the authenticity of the arrangement, although it is clear that Catullus from the outset intended certain poems to be related to each other.

Sources, Models, Genres

In Roman literature as transmitted to us, lyric is underrepresented, which may in part be owing to the attitude of the Roman audience.[3] Catullus, who along with Horace is the single great pagan author of Latin lyric, is quite different from his Augustan successor. The description of 'lyric' as 'poetry written in meters suitable for singing' applies to Horace's odes. To ancient readers, Catullus' short poems were mostly epigrams. The meters particularly favored by Catullus, such as stichic hendecasyllables, are completely missing in Horace, as are epigram and elegy. In him, the musical element, the early Greek models, the 'higher' lyric forms are more visible than in Catullus. Among the meters of utility verse, close to everyday, both poets share the iambus, although in quite different application.

Catullus is strongly linked to the Hellenistic tradition. In his *Lock of Berenice* (66), an elegiac *aetion*, he shows himself the free adaptor of a Callimachean original. His epithalamium (62) seems to depend on Greek inspiration only in its basic features.[4] The admixture of Roman elements is even more clearly recognizable in the thematically related 61. In his Attis poem (63), his Peleus epic (64) and his very personal Allius elegy (68), the poet employs principles of organization

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[1] A different view in L. Tromaras, Die Aurelius- und Furius-Gedichte Catulls als Zyklen, Eranos 85, 1987, 41–48.

[2] E. A. Schmidt 1973, 221–224.

[3] Cf. Cicero *apud* Sen. *epist.* 49. 5; somewhat less hostile Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 96.

[4] On this difficult question H. Tränkle, Catullprobleme, MH 38, 1981, 246–258 (with bibl.).

drawn from Hellenistic literature (see below: Literary Technique). But he fills his theme with personal feeling and Roman pathos, especially in his sympathetic picture of Ariadne (64. 52–201) and Attis' second speech (63. 50–73), in which nostalgia finds expression.

In *nugae* and epigrams, Hellenistic influences are also palpable. The dedication to Cornelius Nepos stands in the tradition recognizable in the dedicatory poem of Meleager's *Garland*. The poem of homage to Helvius Cinna (95), taking a sideswipe at Volusius, combines Callimachus' greeting to Aratus (Call. *epigr.* 27) with his subsequent outburst against Antimachus (Call. *epigr.* 28). The epigram on Lesbia's false promise (*carm.* 70) also is reminiscent of Callimachus (*epigr.* 25).

With what subtlety Catullus combines and gives fresh life to traditional motifs is shown for example in his kiss poems,[1] which incidentally parody the Hellenistic model of the ἀριθμητικόν ('problem of calculation').[2] Just as the second monologue of Attis (63. 50–73) reverses the established lines of the ἐπιβατήριον,[3] the sly missive to Fabullus (13) reverses the commonplace theme of invitation. The address to Lesbia's 'sparrow' (is it a jackdaw?), which parodies a prayer, is inspired by epigrams like those of Meleager at *A. P.* 7. 195 and 196. Poem 60[4] separates and objectifies a topical motif recurring, for example, in Theocritus 3. 15–17. For the collection as a whole, however, Meleager's *Garland* did not form a precedent. Following the fashion of the older Roman poets, Catullus deployed the most varied genres and meters.

Drawing inspiration from early Greek lyric, Catullus is able to burst the bounds set by Hellenistic style. Sappho was the model for poem 51, and if Catullus gives his beloved the name of Lesbia, this too pays homage to Sappho. The elevation of the beloved to goddess[5] in poem 68 gave back some archaic seriousness to what had become a Hellenistic flourish. This is a phenomenon which in Rome may be observed in different areas, and springs from the clash of a 'young' people with an advanced civilization.

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[1] C. Segal, More Alexandrianism in Catullus 7?, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 27, 1974, 139–143.

[2] F. Cairns, Catullus's Basia Poems (5, 7, 48), Mnemosyne, ser. 4. 26, 1973, 15–22; cf. however *Anacreontea* 14 West.

[3] F. Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry, Edinburgh 1972 62–63.

[4] If the poem is complete.

[5] G. Lieberg 1962.

Conversely, the poet's adaptation of the iambic and of the poems of abuse remains locked in the small-scale Hellenistic form, in spite of occasional echoes of Hipponax or Archilochus. Poem 8 recalls Menander (*Samia* 325–356), a parallel emphasizing the close connection between comedy and love poetry.[1]

Moreover, Catullus is deeply rooted in native Roman traditions. He parodies Ennius, and, more generally, there is something typically Roman about his moralizing, his filling foreign elements with personal feeling and, above all, his multiplicity of themes and tones. His epigrams remind the reader of the minor poets of the turn of the century: Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, Q. Lutatius Catulus.[2] His epic verse recalls Ennius, although Catullus' hexameter bears only a distant relationship to that of the Roman founder of the genre. Ennius strives for *gravitas* and color, while Catullus' aim, for example in his epyllion poem 64, is for suppleness and ease. The strict standards applied in this genre are revealed by the nine years spent by Catullus' contemporary Helvius Cinna in carefully refining his own miniature epic, the *Smyrna* (cf. Catullus 95). It may be significant for poem 63 that Caecilius, who came from Novum Comum in Catullus' part of Italy, was working on a poem dedicated to the *Mater Magna* (*carm.* 35).

In Catullus we find Roman elegy[3] somehow in process of creation. It is not surprising then that the brilliance distinguishing the art of his polymetra, and even his hexameters, has not yet come to full flower in his elegiac couplets, which are more firmly fixed in Roman tradition.

Does this mean that in Catullus we are dealing with styles varying from genre to genre? Certainly the poet shows different aspects: that of lyrist, epigrammatist, elegist, epic poet and writer of aggressive iambics. Yet in all these genres, he reveals his lively dramatic talent. In the same way his lyric genius is not confined within the limits of genre. He shows a superior and independent attitude to both Greek practice and theory. Catullus' poems would be inconceivable without

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[1] G. P. Goold, ed., 237–238; see now R. F. Thomas, Menander and Catullus 8, RhM 127, 1984, 308–316.

[2] *Apud* Gell. 19. 9. 10; Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 79.

[3] P. Grimal, Catulle et les origines de l'élégie romaine, MEFRA 99, 1987, 243–256; illuminating remarks by Stroh, Liebeselegie 199–202; 223–225; idem, Die Ursprünge der römischen Liebeselegie. Ein altes Problem im Licht eines neuen Fundes, Poetica 15, 1983, 205–246.

Greek inspiration, but owe their strength and freshness to the poet's Roman *ingenium*.

Literary Technique

In his longer poems (esp. 64; 68; 76), Catullus displays a masterly handling of the Hellenistic art of symmetrical organization of material.[1] In *carm.* 68 there are two (independent) main sections (1–40; 41–160), at the center of each of which stands his brother's death (19–26 ~ 91–100). The chiastic sequence of themes in the second part (41–160) is particularly striking. Around the central motif of his brother's death (91–100) lie in concentric circles Troy (87–90 ~ 101–104), Laodamia (73–86 ~ 105–130), Lesbia (67–72 ~ 131–134), Catullus (51–66 ~ 135–148), Allius (41–50 ~ 149–160).

If we ignore its prologue (1–30) and epilogue (384–408), the miniature epic (64) also consists of two main sections: the festival of men (31–277) and that of the gods (278–383). Each of these sections contains an insertion contrasting with its surroundings: the description of the tapestry on the marriage bed (50–264) and the song of the Parcae (323–381). We shall discuss later how content and form correspond in this poem.

Although Catullus in this case enlivens his form by variation in the length of the individual sections, his elegy at 76 displays a strictly symmetrical structure of theme.[2] This structure, however, is overlaid by another, based on rhetoric and psychology, which in a broadly developing climax passes from quiet reflection to passionate prayer.

The use of artistic structure is not limited to the longer poems. In the small poems repetition is particularly noticeable: examples are the hammering rhythm of the hundreds and thousands in the kiss poem 5 and the striking return to the opening line in poem 57. Such resumptions also permit a survey of more complex structures. The spring poem (46) is a square made up of eleven times eleven syllables. The marked use of anaphoric *iam* (1–2; 7–8) divides the poem into two, though not precisely equal, sections (1–6; 7–11). This parallelism is completed by chiastic echoes in vocabulary.[3] Poem 45

[1] E. Castle, Das Formgesetz der Elegie, ZÄsth 37, 1943, 42–54; on ring-composition in early Greek poetry: A. Salvatore, Studi Catulliani, Napoli 1965, 18.
[2] S., for example, von Albrecht, Poesie 87–89.
[3] *refert* 1, *reportant* 11; *silescit* 3, *vigescunt* 8; *linquantur* 4, *valete* 9; *volemus* 6, *vagari* 7.

falls into three parts. The first two strophes of the same length (1–9; 10–18) describe in speech and response the love felt by the young man or maiden. The parallelism is emphasized by the same refrain, the sneezing of Amor. The third strophe summarizes the mutual love of the two in parallel sentences. This explains why the number of lines, which has so far been uneven (9 lines each in strophes 1 and 2), is now shortened to an even number (8 verses). As in poem 46, here too the slight abbreviation of the final part conveys an increase in energy.

Verbal repetition may unite separate poems. The first line of the 2nd poem (*passer, deliciae meae puellae*) recurs soon after the beginning of the 3rd (3. 3–4), and the final turn develops the motif further (3. 16–18).

Catullus' images combine Roman and Greek tradition with personal, 'modern' feeling. For example, to describe his love for Lesbia, Catullus chooses typical pictures drawn from the world of the Roman family: he loves Lesbia 'not as the vulgar love their girlfriends', but 'as a father loves his sons and his sons-in-law' (72. 3–4). Laodamia's passionate love, anticipating the arrival of Catullus' beloved, is like the love of an old man for his late-born grandson (68. 119–124). This picture of higher love (*diligere, bene velle*) stands in contrast with that of sensuous love (*amare*), which in traditional fashion is interpreted as 'illness'.[1]

Both are combined in poem 68, where the grandfather simile, so surprising to modern taste, is directly followed by the image of the affectionate doves, giving the opposite emphasis (68. 125–128).

In some similes the exchange of sexes gives a bold impression of modernity. This is the case with Laodamia and also where Catullus compares himself with Juno (68. 138–140). Just as the goddess endures the infidelity of her husband, so Catullus resolves humbly to bear the amorous escapades of his mistress. The exchange of the sexes in this simile is a radical symbol for subjection to the will of the beloved, the *servitium amoris*.

Catullus' wealth of metaphorical expressions may also be observed in the personification of parts of the body in the tradition of popular language. Just as today in listening to beautiful music one may be 'all ears', so Fabullus in sniffing an exquisite perfume will be 'all

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[1] Cf. M. B. SKINNER, Disease Imagery in Catullus 76, 17–26, CPh 82, 1987, 230–233.

nose' (13. 13–14). Mentula indeed not only takes his name from the physical organ of his continual sins, he is in fact identified with it (94; 115).

In a poet of inner experience, it is not to be expected at first sight that nature would take on a life of her own. Instead, in Catullus, nature may become a medium of human feeling. In this way, for example, the mood of Attis' regretful monologue is anticipated in the backdrop.[1] The glaring sky, the hard ground, the wild sea (63. 40) are visible in the harsh sunlight. As he awakes, Attis looks at the boundless waters (*maria vasta*, 48). This sobering picture of the world about him in the light of morning stands in contrast with the mystic enticements of the dark forest in the mountain landscape of the previous evening. There, the chorus hastened towards 'green Ida' (30),[2] while Attis led his troop through 'gloomy woods' (32). The forest appeared as a mysterious place of religious experience and initiation. Conversely, joy in a return home to Sirmio (poem 31) culminates in a challenge to the lake to smile. Catullus gives to landscape an inner life.

In poem 46 the mood of spring is not painted in detail, but immediately translated into impulses of will and energetic movement. In this regard, Catullus is very Roman.

Language and Style

As in literary technique, so also in language and style Catullus unites quite different sources and levels. His language is drawn from the freshness of colloquial Latin: one need only think of his numerous diminutives. From his native dialect for example, he introduces to literature the word *basium*. Colloquial language, however, brings with it many obscenities, as the numerous references to Pompeian inscriptions in the commentaries prove.

On the other hand, Greek words and proper names serve as choice ornaments (for example in poem 64).[3] The struggle between rudeness and overrefinement, which is never wholly resolved, gives a special charm to Catullus' verses. He is a 'naughty favorite of the Graces'.

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[1] O. Weinreich, Catulls Attisgedicht, in: Mélanges F. Cumont, AIPhO 4, Bruxelles 1936, 463–500; repr. in: R. Heine, ed., Catull, 325–359, esp. 340–351.

[2] Cf. Homer *Iliad* 21. 449; Theocr. 17. 9.

[3] M. Geymonat, Onomastica decorativa nel carme 64 di Catullo, in: Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici 7, Pisa 1982, 173–175.

In his epyllion, a special finish is detectable. Never before had an author drawn from the musical register of the Latin language hexameters which flowed so easily, gently, and gracefully. Here, and in his galliambics, the artistic word-positioning of the Augustan period is already anticipated: for example 63. 50 *patria, o mei creatrix, patria, o mea genetrix* ('o my country that gavest me life! O my country that barest me!').[1] In other poems, the poet had employed the file more sparingly. In general, his elegiac couplets are hewn from tougher wood than his epic hexameters and galliambics. The polymetra stand in the middle, at one moment appearing to be most delicately finished, and again to be tossed off with graceful negligence. Often they create both impressions at the same time.

Catullus has at his disposal a multiplicity of tones and semitones. It is this stylistic richness which allows us to make some estimate of his greatness. In his longer poems, a tension-filled harmony is felt between Greek euphony and Roman emotionality. 'Dragging'[2] beginnings have been noticed in several poems: conditional and relative clauses, generally longer periods, in contrast with the effort of the classical poets, to secure perspicuity. This feature is partly a residue of the style of the age. It is enough to remember Lucretius. As far as beginnings are concerned, Cicero himself appeared to later critics as *lentus in principiis*, 'tedious in his introductions' (Tac. *dial.* 22). Catullus deliberately employs such introductions. Particularly in his longer poems, they are artistically justified (*carm.* 65; 68, 76).

In any case, we cannot agree with Kroll's overall verdict that Catullus' verse is 'heavy'. This criticism may to some extent apply to the elegiacs, if they are compared with those of the Augustans, a comparison historically inappropriate. It is not true of the hendecasyllables, galliambics and epic hexameters, whose hallmark is rather an unbelievable absence of stiffness and heaviness, almost unparalleled in Latin texts. This soaring lightness is a feature which, though it may not describe Catullus as a whole, does belong to the peculiar, inimitable charm of his poetic talent.

On the other hand there are his elegies and their weighty manner. In fact, in the epigrams, where dialectically developed thoughts find

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[1] P. Fedeli, Struttura e stile dei monologhi di Attis nel *carm.* 63 di Catullo, RFIC 106, 1978, 39–52.

[2] G. Luck, Über einige Typen des Gedichtanfangs bei Catull, Euphrosyne n.s. 1, 1967, 169–172.

cogent expression, the soft flow of the hexameters of the epyllion would hardly be in place. Between these two poles, a poet deploys his art. His greatness may be deduced just as much from the spontaneity of his individual flashes as from the contrast between his painful experience of life and the natural lightness of his genius.

Of his stylistic procedures, apart from the repetition already mentioned, apostrophe is the most important. In practically every one of the minor poems, someone or something is addressed, whether a divinity (4; 34; 76), a woman loved (32) or hated, a friend or enemy, a place (17; 37; 44), a book (35; 36), verses (42).

It is rare for only the third person to appear in the poem (e.g. 57; 59), though this occurs more frequently in the epigrams. The address is almost never simple convention (e.g. 27 to the cupbearer).

Particularly telling in Catullus are his addresses to himself.[1] They certainly have no philosophical significance, but may be viewed as a kind of distancing from the personal ego and, as a dramatic element (cf. Eur. *Medea* 401), they indicate the beginnings of a dramatic dialogue in the poet's own mind.[2]

Catullus in this vein not infrequently speaks of himself in the third person,[3] sometimes not without keen irony at his own expense.

A related artistic device is the 'rhetorical question'. It occurs both in the longer and shorter poems, and is particularly characteristic of the liveliness of his style.[4] In emotional expressiveness, it is outdone only by the equally frequent indignant question.[5]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In an unmistakeable echo of the literary theory owed to Callimachus, *ludere* is the term used for poetic creation (*carm.* 50. 2). The poems are called *nugae* ('trifles': *carm.* 1. 4). The declaration of the first poem, which initially alludes only to the book's exterior, may be taken as the expression of a poetic program. The *libellus* is to be *lepidus* (1. 1) and *novus* (1. 1). The first word may be referred to the Callimachean

[1] Catullus 8; 46; 51; 52; 76; 79.
[2] Cf. von Albrecht, Poesie 298, note 41.
[3] Catullus 6; 7; 11; 13; 44; 49; 56; 58; 72; 79; 82; cf. 68. 27 and 135.
[4] J. Granarolo 1982, 168–173.
[5] J. Granarolo 1982, 173–180.

ideal of art, the second to the description of the poetic circle around Catullus as *poetae novi* (neoterics). For Catullus' interpretation of poetry, his address to Licinius Calvus (*carm.* 50) is also significant. His life as a poet can be imagined only in the circle of his friends and in his encounter with Lesbia.

Theoretical utterances in large number are not to be expected from him, although we may compare the separation of poetry and life enunciated by *carm.* 16. But his employment of adjectives in criticizing works of literature contains many implications: e.g. on the negative side, the verdict on the *Annales* of Volusius as *pleni ruris et inficetiarum*, 'bundle of rusticity and clumsiness' (36. 19). Conversely, we find the positive notions *iocose, lepide* (36. 10), *lepos* (50. 7), and *non illepidum neque invenustum*, 'not out of taste nor inelegant' (36. 17). The poet Caecilius, highly esteemed by Catullus, receives the epithet *tener* (35. 1).

Catullus admired moreover in his countryman Nepos the qualities of *doctus et laboriosus*. These are epithets which in his introductory poem he does not claim for himself. Of course in his *carmina maiora* he does show himself a *poeta doctus*, and by later authors he is called *docte Catulle*. But he did not theorize on this question.

On the basis of his theoretical remarks, we are not allowed to turn Catullus into a predecessor of the elegists. It is he who uses theory to open a deep gulf between private life and poetry (*carm.* 16). In *carm.* 16 Catullus is speaking not only of obscene verses, but even of his kiss poems! His aim is to defend himself not so much against the reproach of shamelessness as against that of lack of manhood.

This does not mean that in fact his link with Lesbia and his engagement with the circle of his poet-friends failed to secure a far-reaching unity of poetry and life. His relationship with Lesbia seems therefore to anticipate essential features of the elegiac view of love, but precisely as a way of life, and not as a poetic theory. In any case, confinement of the poet to his work, and identification of life with work springs from a mistaken perspective, although one extraordinarily tempting for the modern reader. The latter has nothing but the poet's work, and supposes that in it he possesses the 'entire' Catullus.

The shifting bounds between poetry and life are visible in the remarks about poetry's 'erotic' effect (*carm.* 16; 35; 50).[1] This Greek

[1] Stroh, Liebeselegie 213–214 with notes 77–79.

idea, established at Rome by comedy and epigram (cf. later, for example, Ovid's erotic didactic and therapeutic verse), affects the terminology of the polymetra: *bellus, delicatus, dicax, dulcis, elegans, facetiae, iocus, lepos, ludus, molliculus, otiosus, parum pudicus, sal, tener, venustus.* A vocabulary laying emphasis, not so much on beauty and spirit, as on grace and charm, presupposes an 'erotic' approach to aesthetics within the framework of a refined society and company. Accordingly, in Lesbia the picture of the 'poetic' hetaera is lent a spiritual dimension.[1] A poetics describing poetry by its effects on the reader has appropriate consequences also in the sphere of poetic production. The *lepos* of a particular person may provoke poetry,[2] just as from *carm.* 50 echoes of a Platonic and erotic μανία have been picked up. But all of this reflects not so much an interpretation of poetry[3] in the strict sense as one of life. The quoted adjectives refer to a true and refined way of life; this is quite clear in the little noticed *carm.* 12, which in this context occupies a key place. Grace is not exclusively, and not even primarily, something literary. From life, it must flow also into writing, something which in the case of Suffenus (*carm.* 22) it clearly does not do. There are then many theoretical utterances by Catullus about poetry to be found in the polymetra, although by no means all. The exceptions are significant. Poem 105 presents, as has recently been recognized, poetic creativity as a problem of potency, and with that ironically transfers the 'frankness' of the polymetra into the realm of artistry. Even more important is the address to Calvus (96). This epigram connects two themes treated separately in the polymetra (cf. *carm.* 35, praise of a good author; and 36, criticism of a bad).[4] The dialectical and constructive character of the epigrams, already observed in their treatment of love themes, is also visible in the area of poetic speculation. They signify for this theme too a new level of reflection and abstraction, insofar as they not only develop antitheses but bring them into close mutual relationship.[5]

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[1] Stroh, Liebeselegie 214, note 78.

[2] E. A. Schmidt 1985, 130–131.

[3] W. Kissel, Mein Freund, ich liebe dich (Catull *carm.* 50), WJA 6b, 1980, 45–59.

[4] V. Buchheit, Catulls Dichterkritik in c. 36, Hermes 87, 1959, 309–327; adapted in: WdF 308, 36–61; Catulls Literarkritik und Kallimachos, GB 4, 1975, 21–50; Catull *c.* 50 als Programm und Bekenntnis, RhM 119, 1976, 162–180; *Sal et lepos versiculorum* (Catull *c.* 16), Hermes 104, 1976, 331–347; Dichtertum und Lebensform in Catull *c.* 35/36; in: FS H.-W. Klein, Göppingen 1976, 47–64; E. A. Fredricksmeyer, Catullus to Caecilius on Good Poetry (*c.* 35), AJPh 106, 1985, 213–221; E. A. Schmidt 1985, 127–131.

[5] E. A. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

Ideas II

Catullus was not a philosopher, and even the most subtle interpretation cannot make one out of him. His categories of thought, however, show occasional poetic echoes of philosophical traditions, as when in poem 76 he seeks in retrospect to describe his behavior to his beloved as *pium*, and from that to draw an inner contentment—but all in vain! The philosophical effort to construct a consolation for himself collapses, and all that is left is a cry for help to the gods inspired by distress (76. 17–26). And again, it must not be thought that Catullus found solace in the traditions of Platonism or religion. Even the interpretation of love as an illness[1] (76. 20) is far too much of a commonplace in antiquity to allow any conclusions about particular philosophical interests.

In his poem on Attis (63), which universalizes the moral situation of the day, Catullus shows awareness of religious fanaticism. In his madness, Attis takes an irrevocable step. By putting himself outside his previous world and rebelling against it for the sake of an idea, he wrenches himself away from all the living connections in which he stood before. In a period of great revolutions such as that of Catullus, such experiences of 'alienation' begin to be made by human beings in the most different spheres. Intoxication and enthusiasm drive them towards radical destruction. Once the natural bonds are broken, however, disillusion enters in; yet that must be mastered, unless the previous sacrifices are to have been in vain. The individual enjoys the royal experience of liberation from traditional blood relationships; but the dangers of a new and worse slavery now present themselves. Similarly, the decline of the Republic and the rise of new dictatorships must have filled many Romans with grief and sorrow.

An analogous picture is given by the epyllion (64). In the story of Ariadne, separation and suffering are more emphasized than the epiphany of the divine savior and rescuer Bacchus. Instead of dwelling on the parallel marriages between goddess and hero, god and heroine, Catullus throws into relief painful contrasts. The second part of the poem is separated from the first. After viewing the marriage tapestry, the human visitors leave the festival, and the Olympians are left to themselves. The marriage between the goddess and the mortal remains therefore an exception. The gulf between men and

[1] On disease metaphors J. Svennung, Catulls Bildersprache. Vergleichende Stilstudien, Uppsala 1945, 122–127, cf. 90.

gods is by no means bridged. Only the immortals hear the revelation of the Parcae concerning the future. The lament in the epilogue over the impossibility of linking gods and men in the present is already anticipated by the entire structure of the poem. It is a 'modern', 'secular' reflection showing an oppressive sobriety in its appreciation of the human condition.

To elucidate the transformation of values observed in Catullus we must look for lofty comparisons. If a Roman of the old stamp discovered his identity in the *res publica*, if Plato the Greek found his with the aid of Socrates, Catullus defined himself in his encounter with Lesbia, a being whose demonic nature is reflected in the breadth of the descriptions applied to her, reaching from goddess to cheap prostitute. The quasi-religious, even magical character of erotic addiction would be well understood by poets of the 19th century like Eminescu or Baudelaire. Nowadays, it is necessary to clear our minds of second-hand clichés (such as *femme fatale* or *vamp*) which prevent us from seeing the essential novelty in Catullus' erotic experience.

His departure from the old rules enables him to give new applications to traditional notions such as *pietas* and *fides*. In their new context, they receive an unconventional and often surprising value. The picture of love given in the epigrams is quite strongly imbued with Roman values reinterpreted in the light of subjective experience: marriage (70), parental love (72), *pietas* (73; 76), *officium* (75), *foedus, fides* (76; 87; 109). *Amicitia* (109) is a notable addition to this list. Even in Rome, it by no means possessed only a 'political' meaning.[1]

Conversely, in the polymetra (1–60), notions such as *fides* and *foedus* are not employed. Finally, in the longer poems (61–68), marriage is in the foreground. Epigram 70 is bracketed by the key word *nubere* with the longer poems.

The view that in the polymetra (1–60) a sensuous approach to love prevails, while in the epigrams (69–116) we see its moral sides, is not a rule, but it does describe a tendency. Certainly in *carm.* 109 duration is emphasized,[2] while in carm. 7 the moment of fulfilment. In the polymetra Lesbia's universal promiscuity endangers love (*carm.* 11; 37; 58). In the epigrams it is her individual unfaithfulness with particular friends.[3] Even so, the verses addressed to Gellius and very

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[1] E. A. Schmidt 1985, 124–125. Approaches towards the deepening of the notion of love in comedy: Plaut. *Truc.* 434–442; Ter. *Andr.* 261–273.

[2] E. A. Schmidt 1985, 125.

[3] Catullus 73; 77; 79; 82; 91.

many other epigrams,[1] by no means fall short of the polymetra in outspokenness. A better argument would be that in some epigrams the polarity of sensual and spiritual love (*amare—bene velle*) is developed (72; 75; 76). Catullus' addiction to Lesbia in this way is even more emphatically brought to the reader's attention. Thus certain epigrams in their way encapsulate in pointed fashion the sum of the aspects developed in the polymetra and in the *carmina maiora*.

Catullus' picture of the world would be incomplete without his circle of friends which to some degree took the place of the Republic, as Lesbia did that of family. Catullus is a poet of friendship. The lively exchange of thoughts and feelings in this circle is a permanent part of our picture of Catullus' life and poetry.

Transmission

Originally Catullus' poems circulated on tablets or papyrus among his friends. It is not known whether the collection we have was put together by the poet himself.[2] The following points tell in favor of an editor: the acceptance of works at quite different stages of perfection; lack of coherence; great variety. The introductory poem easily fits 1–60, but only with difficulty the entire collection. Not all Catullus' poems were included, as certain quotations prove. Priapean poems transmitted by other routes were intruded into the collection by modern editors as poems 18–20, and in their turn again rejected. Some poems are fragmentary (2a; 14a). The length of 100 Teubner pages is unusual for an ancient book of poems. Certainly the *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius is said originally not to have been divided into books (although who can guarantee that in fact it occupied only a single scroll?). But in Catullus' day, it had long been divided into seven *volumina*. It is true that Meleager's *Garland*, whose dedicatory poem is alluded to by Catullus at the beginning, must have been quite extensive. But both these works were by no means so heterogeneous as his. And it must be frankly admitted that such a large book at that period was not exactly commonplace. A further point is that the work, as already shown, of itself permits division into three sections, each of the length of a 'classical' book. In this shape it may in fact have been a model for the *Odes* of Horace (I–III)[3] and Ovid's *Amores* (I–III). However, these are collections whose inner unity obeys strict laws.

The present condition of the text would then be the consequence of the

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[1] Catullus 69; 71; 74; 78–80; 88–91; 94; 97–98; 108; 110–112; 114.

[2] For Catullus as responsible for the edition of his own poems: E. A. SCHMIDT 1979, 216–231.

[3] J. FERGUSON, LCM 11, 1, 1986, 2.

transfer from papyrus scrolls to a codex, a well-known process which came to an end some time in the 4th century.

In view of the original method of dissemination, it is not surprising that even corrupt copies were in circulation (Gellius 6 (7). 20. 6). The text remained vulnerable, since Catullus was not read in schools.

Only one copy reached the Middle Ages. In the 10th century, it was accessible to Bishop Rather of Verona (cf. PL 136. 752). Once again in Catullus' native city at the beginning of the 14th century, a codex from France made an appearance (V, perhaps a descendant of Rather's copy). It was quoted, copied and then finally lost. Of the manuscripts preserved, the best, as E. Baehrens recognized in his pioneering edition (1876), are the Oxoniensis (O, Bodleianus Canonicianus Class. Lat. 30), from 1375, and the approximately contemporary Sangermanensis 1165 (G, Parisinus 14137). They were written in Northern Italy.

Among the remaining complete manuscripts must be mentioned the Romanus (R, Vaticanus Ottobonianus Lat. 1829, late 14th century or early 15th century). It goes back to the same lost archetype as G, and contains corrections by Coluccio Salutati (d. 1406).

Carm. 62 is independently transmitted in the Codex Thuaneus (T, Parisinus 8071, late 9th century). It goes back to the same source as the remaining manuscripts,[1] containing, like all other manuscripts, a lacuna after verse 32. It offers however verse 14, which is missing everywhere else, and more generally a better text in certain passages.

A few decades ago the discovery of Callimachus' Βερενίκης πλόκαμος made possible the correction of an old corruption at Catullus 66. 78 (*vilia* for *milia*).

An appropriate picture of the state of transmission is gained by recalling that even in 'conservative' editions of Catullus more than 800 corrections made by scholars are found, predominantly stemming from Italian humanists of the 15th century and German scholars of the 19th.

Influence[2]

Catullus was not mistaken in believing in the immortality of his poetry (*carm.* 1. 10; 68. 43–50). His influence began early. It is not surprising that Cornelius Nepos, his countryman and addressee of the dedicatory poem, praised him (Nep. *Att.* 12. 4). Varro (*ling.* 7. 50) already seems to allude to the epithalamium (62). Asinius Pollio wrote about the poet (Charis. GL 1. 97. 10). The Augustan classical authors owed

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[1] A different view in F. Della Corte, Due studi Catulliani, Genova 1951, 1: L'Altro Catullo, 5–102.

[2] S. especially: J. H. Gaisser 1993.

to the neoterics their strict aesthetic standards. Virgil's story of Dido is in debt to Catullus' story of Ariadne (cf. also *Aen.* 6. 460 and Catullus 66. 39). The *Appendix Vergiliana* would be unthinkable without Catullus. Cicero, however, whose enthusiasm was reserved for poetry of the early Republic, had little sympathy for the fashionable poets of his time, of whose spondeiazontes he made fun (*Att.* 7. 2. 1). Just like the great orator, Horace in turn indirectly attests Catullus' great popularity, although he conceals that before him Catullus had written iambics and sapphics (*carm.* 3. 30. 13; *epist.* 1. 19. 23–24). In his day, perhaps the neoteric style had degenerated into mere mannerism (cf. *sat.* 1. 10. 19). Ovid knew especially the *carmina maiora* (62; 64; 68). But he also shows knowledge of *carm.* 3 (cf. *am.* 2. 6), and honors the short-lived poet with the address *docte Catulle* (*am.* 3. 9. 61–62). Yet, in his eyes, the founder of Roman elegy was not Catullus but Cornelius Gallus (*trist.* 4. 10. 53). Velleius Paterculus praised Catullus and Lucretius (2. 36. 2). Petronius, Martial and the *Priapea* are deeply indebted to the poet. The Elder Pliny, in his Preface, presumes an acquaintance with Catullus on the part of the Emperor Vespasian, not particularly known for his cultural interests. Pliny the Younger composed, among other things, hendecasyllables (*epist.* 7. 4. 8–9). His aim was to reawaken to new life in his own time the brilliant culture of society in the Ciceronian period. The *poetae novelli* of the 2nd century would use Catullus as a source of inspiration.

In late antiquity, Ausonius dedicated to his son Drepanius a little book, as once Catullus had to Nepos, although indeed he calls it *inlepidum, rudem libellum.* He behaves in the same way in a later book towards Symmachus (pp. 91 and 150 Prete). For Martianus Capella (3. 229, p. 85 D.), *Catullus quidam* is a mere name. Isidore of Seville cites only two passages of Catullus, ascribing one of them to Calvus.

Petrarch read Catullus, but the poet had greater influence on the neo-Latin authors Panormita, Pontano, Marullus, and Giovanni Cotta (d. 1509).[1] Pietro Bembo's (d. 1547) epyllion *Sarca*[2] is a brilliant new avatar of Catullus' *carm.* 64: there is a marriage (of the river Sarca and the nymph Garda), there are descriptions of carpets, and there is a prophecy: Manto announces the birth of the Mantuan, Virgil, and gives a survey of his followers down to the Renaissance. The

[1] A much later Latin example is Pascoli's (d. 1912) *Catullocalvos.*

[2] Petrus Bembus, *Sarca.* Integra princeps editio (TTrN), ed. O. Schönberger, Würzburg 1994.

warrior Achilles is replaced by a hero of the spirit, and poetry is shown to be nature's offspring. As for literature in Italian, Catullus influenced the lyrist Benedetto Cariteo (Gareth, born about 1450 in Barcelona) and the contemporary writer of sonnets Giovanni Antonio Petrucci. This line continues right down to the beautiful *Sirmione* poem of the great Giosuè Carducci (d. 1907).

In France, to which Catullus may well owe his preservation, a rich tradition began with Ronsard (d. 1585) and de Baïf (d. 1589). The kiss-poem (*carm.* 5) alone was imitated at least thirty times before 1803. Chateaubriand (d. 1848) valued Catullus' and Lesbia's immortality more highly than that of politicians (*Les Alpes et l'Italie*, lines 33–36): 'Vos noms aux bords riants que l'Adige décore/Du temps seront vaincus/Que Catulle et Lesbie enchanteront encore/Les flots du Bénacus.'

In central Europe excellent neo-Latin authors[1] paid homage to Catullus: Conrad Celtis (d. 1508), Johannes Secundus (d. 1536; *Basia*), Jacob Balde (d. 1668), Simon Rettenbacher (d. 1706). In the vernacular, he was followed not only by many Anacreontic writers but also by Ludwig Hölty (d. 1776) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (d. 1781; *Die Küsse; An eine kleine Schöne*). In particular, the graceful poetic translations of Karl Wilhelm Ramler (d. 1798)[2] and Eduard Mörike (d. 1875) may be mentioned.[3] Among the numerous imitators of the dedicatory epigram, we find even Goethe ('Wem geb' ich dies Büchlein?'). Elsewhere too he shows knowledge of Catullus.

In England traces of Catullus are found in John Skelton (d. 1529: *Book of Philip Sparrow*), and an impressive series of great poets[4] down to Ezra Pound. Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (cf. *carm.* 66) deserves special mention, since it does justice to one of the *carmina maiora* which were too often neglected.[5] Byron (d. 1824) translated *carm.* 3 and 51 and imitated *carm.* 48 (but replaced homosexual with heterosexual love). Tennyson (d. 1892), in his masterpiece *Frater ave atque vale*, added

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[1] W. Ludwig, The Origin and the Development of the Catullan Style in Neo-Latin Poetry, in: P. Godman, O. Murray, eds., Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition, Oxford 1990, 183–198.

[2] I am using the bilingual edition of Catullus, Wien 1803.

[3] Classische Blumenlese 1, Stuttgart 1840, 162–163 (*carm.* 84; 85). Mörike actually included his translation of *carm.* 45 among his own original poems.

[4] Cf. G. P. Goold, edition, London 1983, 11–12; J. Ferguson 1988, 44–47 (with bibl.).

[5] Later, the same poem of Catullus was translated by Ugo Foscolo (d. 1827).

homage to Sirmio. It was Tennyson who coined the golden phrase: 'Catullus, whose dead songster never dies.'

The memorial to the sparrow was also a particular favorite in Russia.[1] It was the first to be completely translated (in 1792 by A. I. Bucharsky), and still in the 20th century found an imitator in V. Ya. Bryusov (d. 1924). In other respects, there are some surprises. The history of Catullan influence began untypically with the partial translation of *carm.* 12 by V. K. Tredyakovsky (d. 1769). Alexander Pushkin (d. 1837) translated the equally epigrammatic *carm.* 27. By his adaptation, the poet A. A. Fet (d. 1892) made all Catullus part of the heritage of Russian literature.

In the 20th century, it is almost possible to speak of a worldwide Catullan renaissance.[2] It is sufficient to mention Thornton Wilder's *Ides of March* (1948), as well as Carl Orff's *Catulli Carmina* (1943) and *Trionfo di Afrodite* (1953). Although in the Augustan period the poet's longer pieces were also read, in modern times individual smaller poems have been preferred. Among the exceptions may be counted the composers[3] Wolfgang Fortner, Ildebrando Pizzetti and Carl Orff, who took up the marriage songs (61–62) and the lyrist Alexander Blok (d. 1921), who valued the *Attis* (above pp. 335–336). As for the crude and obscene poems, they have been mostly neglected, though perhaps today they could once again find an audience.

There have been relatively few attempts to understand Catullus' œuvre as a whole; and in fact it is much harder to grasp than certain partial aspects which seem juxtaposed without connection. Catullus the unconditional lover, the alleged pioneer of elegy, Catullus the child of nature, Catullus the Alexandrian artist, the member of the free poetic circle of the neoterics—these are known. And yet the whole is more than the sum of the parts. An author who continues to shape reflectively, even in seeming to improvise spontaneously, and who conversely can lend to the most refined products of his artistry a

[1] Catulli Veronensis liber, translated and edited by S. V. Shervinsky and M. L. Gasparov, Moskva 1986, 106–141; 278–285.

[2] Cf. E. A. Schmidt 1985, 16–28; see furthermore: A. E. Radke, Katulla. Catull-Übersetzungen ins Weibliche und Deutsche, Marburg 1992; cf. also B. Seidensticker, 'Shakehands, Catull'. Catull-Rezeption in der deutschsprachigen Lyrik der Gegenwart, AU 36, 2, 1994, 34–49.

[3] On the musical influence of Catullus: Draheim 177–182; *Ariadne auf Naxos* by Richard Strauss and Hofmannsthal treats a subject matter found in *carm.* 64.

deeply human content, bursts the limits assigned by academic pigeonholing and makes fun of our careful analyses. The bridge between realms which seem so different is to be sought in a unique personality, which could develop in rare freedom in the chaotic time between the dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar. It is found also in the extraordinary talent of this short-lived poet, even if all the dateable poems fall into his 'later period'. Perhaps the poet's universality has not yet been sufficiently evaluated. Within a few years, an œuvre flowered which opened new ways to Roman literature in the most varied directions. A mystery remains: the poet's light hand, in spite of the burden of learning, its playful mastery of technique never overestimating that technique or falling victim to a deadening infatuation with perfection.

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III. PROSE

A. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RELATED GENRES

ROMAN HISTORICAL WRITING

General Remarks

Etymology itself shows that historical writing is concerned with the empirical search for facts (ἱστορίη). This distinguishes its subject matter from the *argumentum* forming the subject of drama, which is not interested in what is but what could be. Nor is history like storytelling (*fabulae*), which is neither true nor probable.[1] Historians are under a particular obligation to tell the truth; impartiality is another requirement—ever felt and never wholly fulfilled.

In Roman literature these demands are subject to noteworthy limitations. As a rule, Roman historical writing is patriotic and therefore not free from partisanship. It is moralizing and therefore not wholly concerned with the facts. For long stretches it follows 'fabulous' traditions, which means that it falls short of the requirement of truthfulness. Moreover, its manner of presentation is influenced by drama in many ways, often replacing historical truth with literary probability.

According to subject matter ancient authors distinguished between annals (*ab urbe condita*), contemporary history (*historiae*),[2] and the historical monograph, although the annalistic method of narration by years is not restricted to annals in the narrow sense. The interest in *aetia* (origins) damages credibility by leading in some cases to free invention.

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[1] Isid. *etym.* 1. 44. 5 *Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt; argumenta sunt quae etsi facta non sunt, fieri tamen possunt* (cf. Arist. *poet.* 1451 b 3–4); *fabulae vero sunt quae nec factae sunt nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt.*

[2] Isid. *etym.* 1. 44. 4 *Inter historiam autem et annales hoc interest, quod historia est eorum temporum quae vidimus, annales vero sunt eorum annorum quos aetas nostra non novit*; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1. 373. Earlier Verrius Flaccus (GRF *frg.* 4 Funaioli) had made a similar point. The opposite view in Auct. Her. 1. 13; Cic. *inv.* 1. 27.

Likewise, the approach of authors to their subject varies according to the genre they adopt. We may begin with *annales* in the strict sense, that is, the record of facts in chronological sequence. Fabius Pictor is thought to be the father of this genre, although this is to overlook his narrative vein. A typical feature of this sort of texts is the ἀρχαιολογία, the 'account of beginnings' (a flashback on earlier events). The actual narrative proceeds from year to year and thus runs the risk of losing sight of larger connections. The division between *res externae* and *internae* is another characteristic of the genre.

The *res gestae* represent a second type of historical work, containing a brief account of origins and a more detailed investigation of current events. The founder of this genre is Sempronius Asellio. This is a variant standing midway between *annales* and *historiae*. Asellio strives for a presentation of 'cause and effect' in the vein of Polybius and his so-called 'pragmatic' (i.e. 'political') approach to history.

A third type dispenses with any account of origins. The author concentrates entirely on the history of his own time (*historiae*). A typical representative of this manner would be Sisenna. In antiquity some authors[1] tried to define *historiae* as a type of work focused on contemporary history, based on the author's personal experience (ἱστορίη), whereas others defined it as a 'pragmatic' study of history, explaining the political mechanisms of 'cause and effect'. This theoretical distinction had little practical value.

Res gestae and *historiae* adhere in principle, though without complete rigor, to the annalistic method of presentation. They inquire into the reasons and purposes of historical events. *Annales, res gestae,* and *historiae* present history in a continuous narrative, rather than in selection like the historical monograph.

Historical monographs raise a special claim to literary status. They employ a method of narrative which aims particularly at emotional effect and draws some inspiration from Aristotle's theory of tragedy, although this application of his theory blatantly contradicts Aristotle's own intentions and his clear distinction between history and poetry. The founder of the historical monograph at Rome was Coelius Antipater. All these categories, however, cover only a small part of the actual scope of Hellenistic and Roman historical writing.

Authors of *universal histories* organize their material on geographical lines. One of them is Lutatius Daphnis, a freedman of Lutatius Catulus,

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[1] Gell. 5. 18; Serv. *Aen.* 1. 373; Isid. *orig.* 1. 41. 1; 44. 3–4.

who wrote *Communes historiae*. Later Varro and Pompeius Trogus composed similar works.

The *epitome*, suitable for school use, made its appearance in the 1st century B.C. After Junius Brutus, this style was adopted by Nepos and Atticus. In the *epitome*, the selection of material is made on subjective grounds. This is a type of literature which gained in importance during the imperial period.

The *commentarius* had its Roman roots in the official reports made by magistrates, but may also be explained by Greek models. An ordered collection of material intended for literary elaboration was called ὑπόμνημα. Xenophon acted as literary model both for *commentarii* (in the case of Caesar), and for autobiography (in the case of Lutatius Catulus).

Biography and autobiography are related genres, which must, however, be distinguished from historical writing in the srict sense. In form they represent quite disparate types; hence, they will be treated separately here. Their Roman predecessors are to be found in funeral speeches, *elogia*, letters of self-justification (*apologiae*) and magistrates' reports, although from the very beginning they are crossed with Greek traditions, such as those of the *encomium*, the advice to rulers ('mirror of princes'), and biographies both plain and literary. A particular type of biographical literature is formed by *exitus*-accounts, whose effect is felt by Roman historical writing. Later, biography would overlay historical writing at Rome, since the overwhelming power of the emperors encouraged a biographical approach to history.

Greek Background

In Roman historical writing, from the very beginning, native traditions were linked with those of Greece. It is characteristic that in the area of prose, just as in that of poetry, Hellenistic influences enjoyed chronological priority over those of the Greek classical period. From Cato to Sisenna, Hellenistic models predominate, in all their multiplicity, spanning the gamut from foundation stories (κτίσεις) to 'tragic' history.[1]

It was only late that the great classical Greek models were discovered, and that Roman writers found the courage to challenge them

[1] The writers of historical epic may be compared with Hellenistic epic poets. As a prose writer raising literary claims by using 'epic' elements, perhaps only Coelius may be mentioned.

on the basis of the Hellenistic and Roman traditions already established. Sallust became a Roman Thucydides, Livy a Roman Herodotus.[1] Even the preceding generation had contented itself with more modest paradigms: Caesar with Xenophon, and Cicero with the Isocrateans Ephorus and Theopompus. Xenophon and Isocrates were two authors whose influence went far beyond the field of historiography; their cultural importance for Rome has not yet been sufficiently evaluated.

Roman Development[2]

Some typically Roman features set a lasting stamp on historical writing: its patriotic character, its educative function (*historia magistra vitae*), its moralizing attitude, its preoccupation with the free will of the individual and its overwhelming concentration on Rome.

Long before history was written, there had been an awareness of history in Rome. The *annales* composed by the pontifices made a precise record of dry facts of greater or less importance; this was to become a permanent feature of Roman historical writing, whether as a simple element of style, like in certain passages of Tacitus, or as a consciously practiced attitude, like in Suetonius. Roman historical writing was strongly fostered by the the thirst for glory of Roman generals and their clans. It was within this framework that Ennius wrote his epic. In its turn, Ennius' poem would in part affect historical writing, even though sometimes its influence has been exaggerated. In art, historical persons and contemporary battles were represented as early as about 300 B.C., that is to say, a century before

[1] Livy, who fulfilled Cicero's program for the writing of history, stands in the succession both of Herodotus and of the Isocrateans. His relation to Herodotus is complex. The story of Tarquin the Proud and the poppy heads is a manifest echo of Herodotus (5. 92). Livy did not invent this story in Herodotus' wake, but he saw it in his 'Roman' model and felt reminded of Herodotus—with more justification than he could realize. The origin of the tale in folklore is defended by T. Köves-Zulauf, Die Eroberung von Gabii und die literarische Moral der römischen Annalistik, WJA NF 13, 1987, 121–147. Folklore is often submerged literature, and the Greek-educated fabricators of Italian myth had read Herodotus. The infiltration of a traitor (cf. Herod. 3. 154) need not necessarily be literary invention, but the whole elaboration of the theme is literary to a highly suspicious degree. The simplest hypothesis is that the invention of the story in the 'Roman' sources of Livy was already in debt to literary reminiscences.

[2] G. Perl 1984.

the beginning of historical writing. Such painting served propaganda purposes: it glorified the families of generals celebrating triumphs.

Republican historiography had clan roots. The very fact that so many works began *ab urbe condita* proves that particular *gentes* were concerned with deriving legitimacy from earliest legend. This search for *aetia* could produce free inventions. The deeds performed by the members of noble families had long been honored in triumphal processions. The *tabulae pictae*[1] shown on parade were calculated to enhance the respect enjoyed by the triumphator and his family also in the elections to come, and this is a parallel to family prejudice in Roman historical writing. Masks and inscriptions helped to keep alive memory of the dead as an *exemplum*; an early example of the latter are the Scipio epitaphs. Funeral speeches (*laudationes funebres*) were preserved by family pride, so that later they could serve as an (often unreliable) historical source.[2] Similarly, other notable speeches were not immediately forgotten, as for example that made by Appius Claudius Caecus in rejecting Pyrrhus' overtures for peace.

With the increase in education, historiography in the strict sense became a new instrument of political activity. At first history was written in Greek, but then also in the vernacular. Historical writing in Greek could serve the aims of foreign policy only during the Roman conflicts with Macedonia and the Seleucids; after that, it lost its function.

Historical writing in Latin was a means of domestic policy within Roman society. Most often it was regarded as a vehicle which allowed senior statesmen to pass on their experiences to the younger generation. Accordingly, its authors were mainly senators.[3] It is only at the time of Sulla that clients of the great families also made their debut as authors; yet in both cases, the vantage-point remained senatorial, since what mattered was less the writer's origin than that of his patron. As for contemporary history, however, it need not necessarily depend on the traditions of the great houses. The series of such works began

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[1] G. Zinserling 1959–1960.

[2] W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris*. Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede, Meisenheim 1980.

[3] Coelius Antipater is a possible exception (see the chapter devoted to him); according to Nepos *vir. ill. frg.* 16 P. = Suet. *gramm.* 27, L. Voltacilius Pitholaus (his name is uncertain) was the first freedman to write history. He opened a Latin school of rhetoric in 81 B.C.; T. P. Wiseman, The Credibility of the Roman Annalists, LCM 8, 1983, 20–22.

at Rome with Sempronius Asellio. In the late Republican period, non-senators also took up the writing of history. For them the influence of Fabius, Cato, and Piso was no longer definitive.

Literary Technique

Literary technique varies in accordance with the widely divergent aims of the individual authors. Apart from those who in the early period wrote in Greek, literary ambitions were most marked in Coelius Antipater.

Early Latin historical writing followed no uniform generic laws. Rather, it embraced a multiplicity of different forms, which may be found in varying combinations. The following forms rest on Roman tradition: the simple presentation of facts in succession to the annals of the pontifices, and the *commentarius* in succession to Roman official journals and the reports of military commanders. The *commentarius* could display a varying level of claim to literary status, and might approach historical writing in the line of Xenophon.

Convincing creations in the field of literary genre arose only from Caesar's competition with Xenophon, Sallust's with Thucydides and Cato, and Livy's with Herodotus and Isocrates. All these were individual achievements.

The surviving works (e.g. of Livy and Tacitus) create the impression that the year-by-year method of presentation must have become the general rule. For this reason, the deviations from this principle in favor of keeping particular topics together are especially instructive.

From the days of Cato this annalistic pattern had been subject to criticism. It was Asellio who made the demand that causal connections should be sought.

The writing of monographs is different from the composition of annals in admitting a certain unity through a single hero and a unified action. In the Hellenistic style, a monograph may be written in the fashion of a drama, with events grouped around a single or a few heroes. Asellio and Sisenna adopted to some degree such a dramatic technique. A parallel to 'tragic history' was the history pictures accompanying the triumphal processions of Pompey and Caesar and depicting the deaths of particular enemies (App. *Mithr.* 117 § 575, *civ.* 2. 101, § 420). But all this does not exclude a basic pattern determined by the succession of years.

Language and Style

The language and style[1] of early Latin historical writing are less uniform than generic considerations would lead one to expect. For a long time there must in fact have been no generally observed historical style. Occasionally, turns of phrase make their appearance which apparently belong to lower linguistic registers.[2] On the other hand, the style of Roman epic, which often reflects historical events, influenced Roman historians. From time to time elements of poetry are found in Cato and Coelius, though not as recurring generic markers. An author such as Claudius Quadrigarius writes an unobtrusive, elegant Latin, which strikes the reader nowadays as more modern than that of Sallust. In this respect he belongs with the simplicity of Piso and Asellio.

In Hemina and Antias a heavy official manner prevails, perhaps influenced by Polybius. Antipater, Macer, and Sisenna adopt the fashionable Asian rhetoric of their day.

In his *commentarii* Caesar decided in favor of a simple *elegantia* and Xenophontic grace. The 'Herodotean' Livy employed archaisms less noticeably than Sallust and paid increasing homage to an Isocratean and Ciceronian stylistic ideal. The closer he comes to the present, the less remarkable his linguistic archaisms.

Sallust was the first to turn dependence on Cato into a rule, and it was thanks to him that Cato's style came to exercise its powerful influence. The style Sallust consciously created was that of a Roman Thucydides. Yet in his *Historiae*, too often ignored, even Sallust employed fewer archaisms than in his monographs.

Pollio and Trogus, classical authors frequently left out of account, have again their own interpretation of the historical manner, different from that of Sallust or Livy.

It was only with Tacitus and Ammianus that the 'Sallustian' style of historical writing became generically established.

In the imperial period rhetoric made more impression on historical writing, in so far as the authors wanted to serve instruction and general education. On the other hand with his *Lives* of the Emperors, which in part rival with history, Suetonius turned the relatively simple

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[1] W. D. Lebek 1970 is basic; cf. Leeman, *Orationis ratio*, esp. 86–88.

[2] W. D. Lebek 1970, 289.

style of the *grammaticus* into something capable in its way of presentation at court.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Cato had already objected to taking meaningless facts into his history, and Sempronius Asellio likewise was concerned with the investigation of political causes, doubtless in the footsteps of Polybius and his 'pragmatic' history. He was aware, for example, of the connection between foreign and domestic policy. Like Isocrates, he believed in the moral value of history, which for him was a guide to right action. Its chief aim in his eyes was *docere*, though *movere* was by no means excluded.

Antipater, Antias, and Sisenna emphasized the aspects which rhetoric knows as *delectare* and *movere*. Following the Greeks Duris and Clitarchus, they were not afraid of exaggerations. Several passages of Cicero evince his theoretical interest in historical writing. He acknowledged the noble simplicity of Caesar's *commentarii*; however, his personal ideal of historical writing tended more towards the 'Isocratean' manner practised by men like Theopompus.[1] Sallust's and Livy's remarks on the historian's calling—to be considered in the discussion of the individual authors—are important. They reveal how the interest of the senator in *gloria* shifts from political to literary achievements (Sallust), and how eventually the writer's task can come to fill a whole life (Livy).

Ideas II

In the funeral processions of old Rome the family's ancestors appeared, each in the garb of the highest magistracy he had held. This attests a serious and deep-rooted awareness of the unrepeatable historical moment which, precisely in its uniqueness, was intended to act as a model.

Roman values were realized in specific actions, and historical moments acquired eternal significance as manifestations of such values. History paintings and Roman historical reliefs kept such moments

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[1] Cf. *leg.* 1. 6–7; *fam.* 5. 12; *de orat.* 2. 61–64; *Brut.* 262; M. RAMBAUD 1953.

alive; a perspective which might help to understand the particular approach of Roman writers to history.

There was an inner conflict between the old Roman mentality and that of the late Hellenistic Greek historians, who either pursued antiquarian interests or tried to establish rational laws of politics. It is this tension which gives life to Roman historical writing.

The topics which hold most interest for the early Roman historians are mainly primitive history and contemporary history. Their investigation of origins is neither scholarly nor impartial. Senatorial historians are often concerned to lend luster to the beginnings of their own distinguished house. On the other hand, a *homo novus* like Cato is more attentive to the origins of Roman greatness and of Roman *mores* as a whole, and the establishment of Rome's position in universal history. He gives more general recognition to the importance of the Italian cities, and assigns them an appropriate place in his examination of the roots of the *imperium.* This is different from many later historians, whose attention is overwhelmingly concentrated on the capital.

As early as Cato, foreign history served to provide contrasting examples: by comparing a nameless Roman tribune with Leonidas, he self-confidently sets the native character over against the Greek.

In its approach Roman historical writing is apologetic and patriotic. Therefore, Polybius was usually correct in suppressing annalistic assertions which looked suspicious to him.[1]

Contemporary history was another focus of interest. Both early and contemporary history coexisted independently in Cato's prose, as they did in Naevius' poetry. The presentation of contemporary history is meant to communicate the author's life experience to the younger generation, and also to forward the continuity of Roman *mores.* Political partisanship is quite clearly also at work, whether that of the *optimates* or, as in the case of Fannius and Macer, of the *populares.*

The treatment of earlier periods, in so far as they are tackled at all, is for this reason not free from contemporary bias. In accordance with their own point of view, the annalists interweave with their

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[1] Sometimes his caution seems excessive to scholars who are ready to give a certain measure of credence to the so-called 'Roman' tradition—e.g. Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus (in Livy, Appian, Cassius Dio/Zonaras, and Silius Italicus): B. L. Twyman, Polybius and the Annalists on the Outbreak and Early Years of the Second Punic War, Athenaeum n.s. 65, 1987, 67–80.

presentation of Rome's early period facts and trends drawn from their own day. (For this reason, it is, for example, possible to adduce Livy's picture of the early history of Rome also as an indirect source for the history of the start of the revolutionary period).[1]

Already in the death masks of old Rome, a sense of reality and even of the individual finds expression. At about the same time as Roman poetry becomes personal (Lucilius, Catullus, the elegists), there appear in prose the beginnings of biography and autobiography. The metamorphosis of *virtus* from a collective to a personal meaning may be observed in characters such as Sulla and Caesar.

The historical vision of the annalists is centered on Rome, with the single and never sufficiently praised exception of Cato. Annalistic history even later failed to develop a form appropriate for telling the story of the empire. Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and Ammianus Marcellinus still labored under the burden of this tradition, even if Tacitus had recognized the signs of a new epoch and sought to do it justice.

I. Bruns, Die Persönlichkeit in der Geschichtsschreibung der Alten, Berlin 1898. * J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée, L'expression narrative chez les historiens latins. Histoire d'un style, Paris 1969. * E. Cizek, Les genres de l'historiographie latine, Faventia 7, 2, 1985, 15–33. * T. A. Dorey, ed., Latin Historians, London 1966. * G. Dumézil, Mythe et épopée. L'ideologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens, vol. 1, Paris 1968. * C. W. Fomara, The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome, Berkeley 1983. * M. Grant, The Ancient Historians, London 1970. * Histoire et historiens dans l'Antiquité, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 4, Vandœuvres 1956. * M. Hose, Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio, Stuttgart 1994. * E. Howald, Vom Geist antiker Geschichtsschreibung, München 1944. * Leeman, Form. * Leeman, Orationis ratio. * R. Meister, Motive und Formen der römischen Geschichtsschreibung, Altertum 10, 1964, 13–26. * G. Perl, Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der römischen Republik und in der Kaiserzeit, Klio 66, 1984, 562–573. * Peter, Wahrheit und Kunst. * A. J. Pomeroy, The Appropriate Comment. Death Notices in the Ancient Historians, Frankfurt 1991. * M. Rambaud, Cicéron et l'histoire romaine, Paris 1953. * U. W. Scholz, *Annales* und *Historia(e)*, Hermes 122, 1994, 64–79. * Y. Tiisala, Die griechischen Lehnwörter bei den römischen Historikern bis zum Ende der augusteischen Zeit, Jyväskylä 1974. * A. J. Woodman, Rhetoric in Classical Historiography, London 1988. * N. Zegers, Wesen und Ursprung der

[1] D. Gutberlet, Die erste Dekade des Livius als Quelle zur gracchischen und sullanischen Zeit, Hildesheim 1985.

tragischen Geschichtsschreibung, diss. Köln 1959. * G. ZINSERLING, Studien zu den Historiendarstellungen der römischen Republik, WZJena 9, 1959–1960, 403–448 (on historical paintings).

HISTORIANS OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The *Annales Maximi*[1]

The development of literary historical writing at Rome was preceded by the first historical records embodied in the yearly chronicles of the *pontifices maximi*, the so-called *tabulae pontificum maximorum* or *tabulae annales*.[2] On whitened tablets the priests made annual entries. They began with the names of the consuls or other magistrates of the year and noted significant events under the corresponding dates on the calendar. Cato assailed the irrelevance of what was recorded.[3] By contrast, later authors presuppose quite detailed entries. This contradiction may be explained by the development of these priestly chronicles. Originally, emphasis was placed on the sacred significance of an occurrence, and this is why natural phenomena took pride of place along with other incidents which required sacrifices and vows. But, increasingly, attention came to be paid to history in the narrower sense. This meant that the *annales* became an indispensable source for historians, though surprisingly enough the *Annales Maximi* were less often adduced than might have been expected.[4]

The keeping of pontifical records goes back into the mists of time. The first such tablets fell victim to the flames at Rome's conquest by the Gauls in the 4th century B.C. They were partially reconstructed from memory, but the entries remained incomplete, and it was with the departure of the Gauls that Livy (6. 1. 3) was able to mark a new stage in the transmission of Roman history.

At the end of the 2nd century B.C. (between 130 and 115) the

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[1] C. CICHORIUS, RE 1. 2. 1894, 2248–2255; D. Flach 1985, 56–61; B. W. FRIER, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum*. The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition, Rome 1979; U. W. SCHOLZ, Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtsschreibung, in: P. NEUKAM, ed., Vorschläge und Anregungen, München 1980, 75–92; R. DREWS 1988.

[2] Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2. 51–52; Serv. *Aen.* 1. 373.

[3] *Non lubet scribere, quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara, quotiens lunae aut solis lumine caligo aut quid obstiterit* (*frg.* 77 PETER).

[4] E. RAWSON, Prodigy Lists and the Use of the *Annales Maximi*, CQ 65 n.s. 21, 1971, 158–169.

pontifex maximus P. Mucius Scaevola published all the tablets in book form. It was only then that the name in common use today, *Annales Maximi*, came to prevail, although Servius (wrongly?) interprets it by reference to the *pontifex maximus*. P. Scaevola must have supplemented the entries with further information, since the publication, on Servius' testimony, encompassed 80 volumes. The great number given for these books has largely contributed to doubts about the existence of such an edition, or else its transfer to the Augustan period.

The assumption of a publication in books during the Republican period is, however, made necessary by the fact that already Sallust and Cicero no longer seem to refer to the original tablets. With Scaevola the tradition of pontifical *annales* ceased, and they were replaced by literary historical writings. Such writings conscientiously adopted the kind of record found in the old chronicles, since for a Roman patriot such dry data had a strange emotional appeal. It was they that invested a narrative with authority and credibility, even if the events in question were not particularly well attested.

The chronicles of the *pontifices*, which may hardly have supplied more than a framework of dates, were supplemented by further native traditions. In the public archives ancient documents reposed, although anything going back to the time before the Gallic invasion naturally lay under suspicion of forgery. In noble houses funeral speeches and private records of holding offices by magistrates were preserved, although family pride is a questionable witness. There were in addition orally transmitted tales and interpretations of names. Rites such as the *pompa funebris*, in which the ancestors of the dead man, represented by living actors, took part in their official garb, and the custom of the public funeral oration evince an overwhelmingly political and moralizing attitude towards history. The *exempla maiorum* were regarded with reverential awe. The high point of life was given eternal significance, whether it was the attainment of the most important office in the state or the realization of human greatness in death.

Q. Fabius Pictor[1]

The first literary personality among the Roman historians is Q. Fabius Pictor, a senator from a distinguished family, whose cognomen was

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[1] HRR 1. 5–39; FGrHist 809; F. Münzer, Q. Fabius Pictor, RE 6. 2, 1909, 1836–1841; M. Gelzer 1934 and 1954; P. Bung, Q. Fabius Pictor, der erste römische

inherited from an ancestor responsible for decorating the temple of Salus in about 300 B.C. with what were probably historical paintings. He is an author whose experience directly influenced his work. He had fought as an officer against the Gauls (225 B.C.; *frg.* 23 P.). In all probability he had personally taken part in the Battle of Lake Trasimene (*frg.* 26); after the defeat at Cannae he conscientiously discharged a mission to the Delphic oracle (Livy 23. 11. 1–6; 22. 7. 4). His Roman history went down at least as far as 217 B.C.

Along with native traditions, Fabius also followed those of Greece. Hellanicus had related the story of Aeneas, while the legend of the foundation of Rome could be read in Hieronymus of Cardia (4th century B.C.), Antigonus and Timaeus of Sicily (4th–3rd century B.C.).[1] In his account of Romulus, Fabius showed far-reaching agreement with Diocles of Peparethus (Plut. *Rom.* 3), who perhaps enjoyed priority.[2]

Like Timaeus, Fabius displayed a liking for antiquarian detail, religious ceremonies, customs and usages, as well as for anecdotes drawn from his own experience. Like him, he counts in Olympiads and takes pleasure in precise, although unattested, dates.

None of the scanty fragments gives us the original text verbatim. They are derived partly from the *Annals* written in Greek, partly from a Latin work, which may have been a translation from the Greek. Whether this Latin redaction goes back to Fabius himself is a matter of dispute. The early history and that of his own time was handled more fully by the author than that of the intervening centuries. The *De iure pontificio* was perhaps not his work.

In the effort to describe his historical work, the antithesis between the style of 'annals' and 'pragmatic' historical writing must not be

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Annalist. Untersuchungen über Aufbau, Stil und Inhalt seines Geschichtswerks an Hand von Polybios I–II, diss. Köln 1950; K. Hanell, Zur Problematik der älteren römischen Geschichtsschreibung, in: Histoire et historiens dans L'Antiquité, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 4, 1956, 147–170; D. Timpe, Fabius Pictor und die Anfänge der römischen Historiographie, ANRW 1. 2, 1972, 928–969; G. P. Verbrugghe, Fabius Pictor's 'Romulus and Remus', Historia 30, 1981, 236–238; J. Poucet, L'amplification narrative dans l'évolution de la geste de Romulus, ACD 17–18, 1981–1982, 175–187; M. Sordi, Il Campidoglio e l'invasione gallica del 386 a. C., CISA 10, 1984, 82–91.

[1] W. Schur, Griechische Traditionen von der Gründung Roms, Klio 17, 1921, 137.

[2] Cf. D. Timpe, Fabius Pictor (see above, p. 371, note 1) 941–942; s. also D. Flach 1985, 61–63; for the opposite view: E. Schwartz, RE 5. 1, 1903, 797–798; Jacoby, FGrHist III C, No. 809 F 4.

exaggerated.[1] The disparate material did not allow either of these two principles to be applied rigorously. It is also unrewarding to play off in Fabius what is Roman against what is Greek. The composition of a book is in itself something Greek, and moreover Fabius made use of the Greek language, not simply because literary Latin was not yet fully developed. His intention was rather to take his place in the ranks of Hellenistic local historians[2] and to counter authors friendly to Carthage. In spite of all, he remained a Roman, for it was as a Roman that he wrote.

His choice of medium determined his audience. Fabius was particularly read by the Greek-speaking world, to which he conveyed the political aims of the Roman nobility.[3] In his homeland the influence of his book was limited to the narrow circle of those who had received a Greek education.

His decision in favor of so noble a medium in its turn influenced the author and his method of composition. In Greek, oldfashioned dryness and baldness were long outgrown, and the narrative art of our 'Roman Herodotus' indulged in Alexandrian flourishes:[4] in a prophetic dream Aeneas beheld his future accomplishments (*frg.* 3 P.). Female characters such as Tarpeia played dramatic parts. Even tracing significant political changes to trivial personal causes belongs to the practice of Hellenistic historians.

And yet the foreign elements supplied only the means. As in Greece, so in Rome, artistic historical writing arose at a time of crisis. Just as Herodotus wrote under the impact of the Persian Wars, so Fabius, Cincius Alimentus, and the epic poet Naevius[5] wrote under that of

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[1] F. Bömer, Naevius und Fabius Pictor, SO 29, 1952, 34–53.

[2] Such as the Babylonian Berossos, the Egyptian Manetho, the Carthaginian sympathizers Silenus, Chaereas and Sosylus. Fabius may be guided by local Greek chronicles (Horoi): G. Perl, Der Anfang der römischen Geschichtsschreibung, F&F 38, 1964, 185–189; 213–218, esp. 217.

[3] See M. Gelzer 1934, 49.

[4] T. Mommsen, Römische Forschungen, vol. 2, Berlin 1879, 10.

[5] 4 The priority of Naevius over Fabius is defended for example by: F. Bömer (cited above, p. 122, note 2); Peter lxxxii ff.; F. Münzer, col. 1839; Jacoby, FGrHist 2 D 598 = comm. on no. 174; E. Kornemann, Römische Geschichte 1, Stuttgart 1938, 284–286; Klingner, Geisteswelt 73–74; J. Perret, Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome, Paris 1942, 471–472; H. T. Rowell, The Original Form of Naevius *Bellum Punicum*, AJPh 68, 1947, 40; W. Strzelecki, Naevius and Roman Annalists, RFIC 91, 1963, 440–458 (priority but without utilization by Fabius). The priority of Fabius is championed by: Leo, LG 83–84; Ed. Fraenkel, RE suppl. 6, 1935, 639; M. Gelzer 1934, 46–55, esp. 54–55.

Rome's struggle with Carthage. Greek historiographical method became for Fabius an instrument for creating a meaningful picture of Rome's history. In his 'paradigmatic' procedures[1] Greek literary methods are blended with the Roman fascination with exempla, the combination destined to remain typical of Roman historical writing.

Merely as a source for Rome's early history, Fabius won canonical status. Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy would appeal to him. Ennius would compose his epic, favoring the Scipios, perhaps as a counterblast to his glorification of the Fabii.[2] But the significance of Fabius is more than that of his material. Possibly to refute the abuse heaped on Rome by Philinus of Acragas (second half of 3rd century B.C.), he formulated the basic premises of the Romans' projection of themselves: moral superiority, the requirements of self-defense, 'just wars' fought to protect their allies. With his tendentious treatment of the grounds for war (218 B.C.), Polybius would later enter into critical debate. Fabius is neither a Polybius before his time nor a naive chronicler of the old Roman type. He was a pioneer, whose work, precisely because its initial influence was so strong, entered the tradition and so, in the course of time, became dispensable.

Cincius Alimentus[3]

Along with Q. Fabius Pictor, the annalist L. Cincius Alimentus is the oldest Roman historian. As a politician, general, and statesman, he belonged to the senatorial class, enjoying, in the Second Punic War, his own independent command. He relates that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal and had learned from the Carthaginian general the precise number of his losses after his crossing of the Rhône (Livy 21. 38. 2–3).

His historical work, written in Greek, covered events from the beginnings (founding of Rome in 729/8; *frg.* 4 = Dion. Hal. 1. 74) down to his own time.

His narrative was not arid. It was relieved by legends and edifying tales, showing in this points of contact with Fabius. A markedly

[1] F. Münzer, col. 1840.

[2] H. Peter 1911, 278.

[3] HRR 1. 40–43; FGrHist 810; A. Klotz, Zu den Quellen der Archaiologia des Dionysios von Halikarnassos, RhM n.s. 87, 1938, 32–50, esp. 36 and 41; G. P. Verbrugghe, L. Cincius Alimentus. His Place in Roman Historiography, Philologus 126, 1982, 316–323.

dramatic scene is found in *frg.* 6 P. (Dion. Hal. 12. 4). The belief that the story of the early period was briefly told has no foundation in fact.

Cincius was a plebeian, and seems to have been concerned with correcting the patrician Fabius. He put Rome's foundation in 729 B.C. Antiquarian interest led him to inquire into the origin of the alphabet, and this Phoenician invention was said to have been brought to Rome by the Greek Evander (*frg.* 1 P.). Etymology too attracted his attention. Since Evander had established the worship of Faunus, at first temples had been called *faunae*,[1] and only later *fana*. From here came the name *fanatici* for prophets (*frg.* 2 P. = Serv. *georg.* 1. 10).

Cincius is mentioned several times by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, mostly along with Fabius, whose opposition to Silenus he shared. Single allusions are found in Livy, Marius Victorinus, and Servius. Cincius' historical work became contributory to a current of tradition. His contribution can no longer be reconstructed from the few derivative sources we have.

Certain writings with antiquarian and juridical content come from a younger namesake, perhaps of the Augustan period.

Gaius Acilius[2]

Gaius Acilius was a senator of plebeian descent. It was he who introduced the philosophers' embassy of 155 to the senate, and who at that session acted as interpreter. His work, written in Greek, was translated into Latin by a certain Claudius. The identification of the latter with Claudius Quadrigarius is, in view of the large number of Claudii, mere caprice.

The work extended from pre-history down to the writer's own time. The latest preserved item refers to the year 184 B.C. Acilius takes for granted that Rome was a Greek colony. He gave an historical interpretation even to matters of religious practice, which shows that in this regard Cato was not the first. His anecdote about Scipio's conversation with the conquered Hannibal illustrates not only a

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[1] W. Conze, H. Reinhart, Fanatismus, in: Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1975, 303–327.

[2] HRR 1. 49–52; FGrHist 813; A. Klotz, Der Annalist Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, RhM 91, 1942, 268–285, esp. 270–272; F. Altheim, Untersuchungen zur römischen Geschichte 1, Frankfurt 1961, 182–185.

'Hellenistic' feature, but also the Roman's feel for the striking word (*frg.* 5 P.). It was the anecdotal form that enabled the Roman both to promote ethical norms and to assail their violation (*frg.* 3 P.).

A. Postumius Albinus[1]

A. Postumius Albinus was a rather important political figure of his day. He took part in an embassy to King Perseus and, after the victory at Pydna, he personally was charged with supervising the royal prisoner. In 155 B.C., it was he who as *praetor urbanus* received the famous philosophers' embassy. The next year, he was a member of a delegation mediating peace between Attalus II and Prusias II. As consul (151 B.C.), along with his colleague, he was thrown into prison by the tribunes because of his excessive strictness. After the destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.) he played an important part on the senatorial commission which organized Achaea as a province, and was honored by the Greeks with memorials at the most important sites (Cic. *Att.* 13. 30. 3; 32. 3).

His historical work, beginning with Rome's early history, is cited only by A. Gellius and Macrobius. Polybius also mentions a poem by Albinus (40. 6. 4), which may be identifiable with the composition attested elsewhere dealing with Aeneas' arrival in Italy. In the manner of Thucydides, Albinus wrote pragmatic history. He used the Greek language with which he had been familiar from his earliest years, and Cato makes fun of him because, in the introduction to his work, he apologized for his imperfect Greek (Polyb. 40. 6. 5; Plut. *Cato* 12). Cato disliked him in particular, not only because of his predilection for things Greek, but also because he was an aristocrat. Polybius was hostile to the 'gossip and braggart' (e.g. 40. 6. 1). After all, it was he who had persuaded the senate not to release the Achaean hostages (Polyb. 33. 1. 3–8), thus extending by five years Polybius' own exile.

Postumius was held in high regard by his Roman and Greek contemporaries. A Latin edition of his work was also known. His slight influence need not be put down to any deficiencies of his work. Rather, Albinus had the misfortune to be disliked personally by the historians

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[1] HRR 1, 2nd ed., 53; FGrHist 812; F. MÜNZER, Postumius (31), RE 22, 1, 1953, 902–908.

who came to determine the tradition, Polybius and Cato. Cicero's positive verdict (*ac.* 2. 45. 137; *Brut.* 21. 81) is all the more weighty because it comes from the first unprejudiced witness. Albinus offers an instructive example of the disappearance of literature caused by a biased tradition, and thus deserves mention in a literary history.

M. Porcius Cato

Cato, the real founder of historical writing in Latin, is discussed in a separate section.

L. Cassius Hemina

L. Cassius Hemina[1] lived at the time of the *quarti ludi saeculares* (146 B.C.; *frg.* 39 P.). He was therefore a contemporary of Cato.

His *Annales*[2] treated in their 1st book Latin pre-history, with the wanderings of Aeneas[3] forming an excursus rich in material. The 2nd book extended from Romulus to the end of the war with Pyrrhus (280 B.C.). The two following books embraced the First and Second Punic Wars. The 4th was published before the outbreak of the Third Punic War, as its title (*Bellum Punicum posterior* [sic!]; *frg.* 31) suggests. The scope[4] of the entire work is unknown. Events of 181 B.C. (the find of Numa's books; *frg.* 37) and 146 B.C. (*frg.* 39) are mentioned.

In style,[5] parataxis (*frg.* 37) and *brevitas* prevail, though there are also complex sentences, echoing the officialese of the 2nd century (*frg.* 13). The narrative makes effective use of the historic present (*frgg.* 9 and 23). What is important to the content may be placed

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[1] HRR 1, clxv–clxxiii; 98–111 (with older bibl.); PETER, Wahrheit und Kunst, 287–288; BARDON, Litt. lat. inc. 1, 73–77; LEEMAN, Orationis ratio 1, 72–73; 2, 401–402; KLINGNER, Geisteswelt 76; E. RAWSON 1976, 690–702; W. SUERBAUM, Die Suche nach der *antiqua mater* in der vorvergilischen Annalistik. Die Irrfahrten des Aeneas bei Cassius Hemina, in: R. ALTHEIM-STIEHL, M. ROSENBACH, ed., Beiträge zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte. FS G. RADKE, Münster 1986, 269–297; U. W. SCHOLZ, Zu L. Cassius Hemina, Hermes 117, 1989, 167–181; G. FORSYTHE, Some Notes on the History of Cassius Hemina, Phoenix 44, 1990, 326–344.

[2] Not *Historiae.* Diomedes, who is our witness for *frg.* 11, is wrong.

[3] Hemina mentions Sicily as a stopping place, but not Carthage.

[4] E. RAWSON 1976, 690, accepts a total of five books. U. W. SCHOLZ 1989 (cited above, two notes before the last), 172, argues for seven, but the seven books of Cato, Naevius, Piso, and Coelius prove nothing about Hemina.

[5] LEEMAN, Orationis ratio 1, 72–73; 2, 401–402.

emphatically at the beginning (*quo irent nesciebant*, 'where to go they didn't know'; *frg.* 9). Alliterations reflect the taste of the day (*frg.* 40).

Greek education is traceable everywhere. A philosophical commonplace, recurring in Sallust (*Iug.* 2. 3), appears in *frg.* 24: *quae nata sunt, ea omnia denasci aiunt*, 'they say, everything that is born perishes'. The author concerns himself with the dating of Hesiod and Homer (*frg.* 8), and the gods of Samothrace (*frg.* 6). A question on the origin of religious usage determines his striking interpretation of the prodigy of the sow (*frg.* 11). In the educated Roman, a sensitivity to the facts of religious history coexisted with a rationalist attitude. Both are combined in pseudo-historical explanations when Janus, Saturn, and Faunus are explained in Euhemerus' manner as kings raised to godhead (*frgg.* 1 and 4).

Whether Hemina, whose origins were plebeian, was close to Cato is a matter of surmise.[1] He soon fell into oblivion. Pliny the Elder quotes him several times, whereas grammarians and antiquarians who cite him seem to draw mainly from Varro.[2] Nothing however justifies us in ranking this oldest of the Latin Annalists and useful witness to religious history merely as a '*dimidiatus* Cato or even less.'[3]

L. Calpurnius Piso

A figure somewhat reminiscent of Cato the Elder is Lucius Calpurnius Piso Censorius Frugi.[4] He was consul in 133 B.C. and a member of an ambitious plebeian family, an opponent of the Gracchi. As tribune he introduced the first *lex repetundarum*. He discharged his duties as censor with severity. It was not for nothing that he bore his *agnomen*. The high value he set on moderation is shown by a story he tells concerning Romulus (*frg.* 8). At a party Romulus is said to have taken only a little to drink because he had duties to perform the

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[1] E. Rawson 1976, 400 (referring to Cic. *Phil.* 2. 26).

[2] Peter, Wahrheit und Kunst 287–288.

[3] Klingner, Geisteswelt 76.

[4] HRR 1, 120–138; F. Bömer 1953–54, 206–207; Klingner, Geisteswelt 77–78; K. Latte, Der Historiker L. Calpurnius Frugi, SDAW, Kl. f. Sprachen, Lit. und Kunst 1960, 7 (= Kleine Schriften 1968, 837–847); E. Rawson 1976, 702–713; A. Mastrocinque, La cacciata di Tarquinio il Superbo. Tradizione romana e letteratura greca I, Athenaeum 61, 1983, 457–480; G. E. Forsythe, The Historian L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, diss. Philadelphia 1984, cf. DA 46, 1985, 235 A; M. Bonaria, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, *frg.* 18 Peter, Latomus 44, 1985, 879 (assigns to book 1).

next day. Someone said to him: 'If all would follow your example wine would be cheaper.' Romulus replied: 'No, dearer, if every man drank as much as he wanted. I at least have drunk just as much as I wanted.'

From his historical work, which he may have composed in old age, 45 fragments have survived. His history made no claims to style and extended from the legend of Aeneas to at least 146 B.C. The author criticizes the present (*frg.* 40 P., *adulescentes peni deditos esse*, 'that the young men are addicted to their *penis*') and his narrative assumes a moralizing tone. He has precise dates to give for the beginning of moral decline: for *luxuria* 187 B.C. (*frg.* 34 P.), for *pudicitia subversa* 154 B.C. (*frg.* 38 P.).[1] Numerous fragments show his interest in etymology and topography.[2] He was used by Varro, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Pliny. In Gellius two extracts are preserved whose simple charm appealed to archaizing taste.

C. Fannius[3]

A certain Fannius was the son-in-law of Laelius and close to the Scipionic Circle. Thanks to the influence of Gaius Gracchus, he became consul in 122 B.C., but delivered his famous speech *De sociis et nomine Latino* against Gracchus' proposal to grant citizenship to the Latins, and Latin rights to the rest of the allies. However, the identification of this Fannius with the historian is a matter of dispute.[4] Possibly the historian was the son of the consul in 122 B.C. His *Annales* may only have embraced contemporary history. Fannius belonged to a plebeian family which had attained the ranks of the nobility only in 161 B.C., and his work may have shown sympathy with the *populares*. His inclusion of both his own and others' speeches (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 81) in his work may be owing to his intention to illustrate motivation in the manner of Polybius. Generally speaking,

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[1] K. Bringmann 1977, 33.

[2] Etymologies: frr. 2; 6; 7; 43; 44 P.; topographical information: frr. 4; 6; 16 P.

[3] HRR 1, 139–141; F. Bömer 1953–54, 207–208; Broughton, Magistrates 1, 519; Klingner, Geisteswelt 78–79; F. Münzer, Die Fanniusfrage, Hermes 55, 1920, 427–442.—A discussion of oratorical fragments by J. C. Ferrary, A propos de 2 fragments attribués à C. Fannius consul 122 (ORF, *frr.* 6 et 7), in: *Democratia* et *aristocratia*, Paris 1983, 51–58.

[4] For their identification: Leo, LG 333, note 1; F. Cássola, I Fanni in età repubblicana, Vichiana 12, 1983, 84–112.

Fannius is an author with some education. He compares Scipio's attitude with the irony (*frg.* 7) of Socrates (Cic. *ac.* 2. 15).

Sallust (*hist. frg.* 1. 4 M.) valued Fannius for his love of truth, and probably adopted his dating of the Roman decline in morals.[1] Brutus published an epitome (Cic. *Att.* 12. 5. 3).

C. Sempronius Tuditanus[2]

Among the Annalists are also numbered C. Gracchus (*Ad Marcum Pomponium liber*) and Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, who was consul in 129. He composed *Libri magistratuum* and possibly an historical work. At his request, Hostius celebrated his military exploits in the *Bellum Histricum*.

Sempronius Asellio[3]

Sempronius Asellio, who lived approximately from 160–90 B.C., served as military tribune in 134/133 B.C. at the siege of Numantia. He may well then have been close to the Scipionic Circle. His historical work (*Res gestae or Historiae*), in at least 14 books, was restricted to his own lifetime (about 146–91).

His literary style is marked by a striving for parallelism and antithesis, although this impression chiefly rests on the particularly careful composition of his proem. Asellio is still far from reaching the artistic level of Coelius Antipater (Cic. *leg.* 1. 6), though this does not justify us in describing his style as 'bad'.

Asellio heralded a new trend in historical writing at Rome. His preface was directed against the purely superficial collection of facts (*id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere*, 'that would mean to tell fairy tales to kids instead of writing history') and demanded an analysis of causal connexions also taking into account the mechanisms of

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[1] K. Bringmann 1977, 41.

[2] HRR 1, 143–147; A. E. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus, Oxford 1967, 239–240; J. Ungern-Sternberg von Pürkel, Untersuchungen zum spätrepublikanischen Notstandsrecht, München 1970, 46.

[3] HRR 1, 179–184; 392 (bibl.); R. Till, Sempronius Asellio, WJA 4, 1949–50, 330–334; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 1, 1952, 113–115; M. Gelzer 1954, 342–348; W. Richter, Römische Zeitgeschichte und innere Emigration, Gymnasium 68, 1961, 286–315; M. Mazza, Sulla tematica della storiografia di epoca sillana: il *frg.* 1–2 P. di Sempronio Asellione, SicGymn 18, 1965, 144–163; M. Gelzer 1934 and 1954.

domestic policy (*frg.* 1): *nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare* ('I see that it is not enough for us to tell what happened but also to show according to which plan and reason things happened'). This suggests that, under the influence of Polybius, he constructed an antithesis between the style of the *annales* and pragmatic historiography. There is also moralizing in the manner of Isocrates: true history aims to instruct and to summon its readers to right behavior on behalf of the *res publica* (*frg.* 2): *nam neque alacriores ... ad rem publicam defendundam neque segniores ad rem perperam faciundam annales libri commovere quosquam possunt* ('for bald annals can neither encourage anyone to defend the state nor deter him from bad deeds').[1] However, the real creator of the historical monograph at Rome was Coelius Antipater.

Contrary to his historical ambitions, Asellio was apparently read only by Cicero, by grammarians and scholars interested in Roman antiquities.

Coelius Antipater[2]

L. Coelius Antipater was the founder of the historical monograph at Rome. Nothing certain may be said about his origins. His cognomen Antipater does not prove that either Coelius or his father was a freedman, something that would be a novelty in Roman historiography. He wrote an account of the Second Punic War in seven books. The model for such treatment in monograph form was to be found in Hellenistic historiography, and this restriction to a smaller time period made deeper research into sources possible. They included Fabius Pictor, Cato, Silenus and perhaps also Polybius.[3] Coelius was concerned with objectivity (*frg.* 29) and anxious to use reliable sources (*frg.* 2).

In literary terms the historical monograph allowed the author to

[1] The identity of the *Annales libri* criticized is in dispute: C. Schäublin, Sempronius Asellio *frg.* 2, WJA n.s. 9, 1983, 147–155 (un-literary chronicles) and D. Flach 1985, 83–84 (historians with a penchant for antiquarian detail).

[2] HRR 1, 158–177, not completely replaced by: W. Herrmann, Die *Historien* des Coelius Antipater. Fragmente und Kommentar, Meisenheim 1979; Leo, LG 336–341; A. Klotz 1940–41; W. Hoffmann, Livius und der zweite Punische Krieg, Berlin 1942; J. Vogt, Orbis, Freiburg 1960, 132; P. G. Walsh 1961, 110–137, esp. 124–132; E. Carawan, The Tragic History of Marcellus and Livy's Characterization, CJ 80, 1985, 131–141.

[3] Cic. *div.* 1. 49; Livy 27. 27. 13; Gell. 10. 24. 7.

group his subject matter around a central theme and one protagonist, thus turning history into drama. In accordance with the individualistic trend of the period, Scipio took center stage, rivaling the Alexander of the Hellenistic historians and the Hannibal of Silenus.

Coelius was the first Roman historiographer to give priority to artistic aims (Cic. *de orat.* 2. 54–55; *leg.* 1. 6), and may be considered the first real writer among the Roman historians. Historical writing for him was a rhetorical task, seeking the kind of effect on the reader recommended by Isocrates. In his descriptions he made use of dramatic means (speeches, cf. *frg.* 47 P., dreams, etc.), not even abstaining from rhetorical exaggerations (*frg.* 39): *Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget: volucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait, atque tantam multitudinem conscendisse naves, ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui videretur,* 'as Coelius refrains from giving numbers he yet increases the impression of the crowd to the infinite: he says that the soldiers' shouting made the birds fall to the earth, and that such a crowd boarded the ships that not a single person seemed to be left neither in Italy nor in Sicily'.

His style is 'Asianic', displaying short, rhythmical cola, whose often bold word order is excused by the author in his preface (*frg.* 1 P.). In his effort to secure artistic periods, Coelius ventures to use hyperbata. Rare words act as ornaments (*congenuclat, frg.* 44 P.). In his narrative, as in epic, the historic present prevails. Along with the clausulae of formal prose are also found the verse endings of poetry (*frg.* 24 B.P.). In combination, they may point to would-be epic ambitions,[1] although this does not imply that this was the invariable style in vogue among historians of that time.

It is also unusual to find the author expressly discussing stylistic problems in an historical work (*frg.* 1 P). Coelius was conscious of his legal and rhetorical training. It was no coincidence that the great orator L. Licinius Crassus was his pupil (Cic. *Brut.* 26. 102). It is consistent with his profound degree of artistic awareness that, upon the publication of his work after 121 B.C. (*frg.* 50), he may have dedicated it, not to Laelius, but to the prominent scholar L. Aelius Stilo (*frg.* 1. 24 B.) who was to teach Cicero and Varro.[2]

Coelius Antipater's work resonated widely. In his *De divinatione,*

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[1] *Q. Ennius eumque studiose aemulatus L. Coelius* (Fronto p. 56 V.D.H.); a somewhat different view in: LEEMAN, Orationis ratio 76.

[2] Stilo elucidated the *Salian Hymn* and worked on the comedies of Plautus.

Cicero referred to several dreams used by Coelius to adorn his narrative. Marcus Brutus and Varro made excerpts from him, and Livy used him in the third decade of his history. He was also a source for Plutarch, Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Frontinus, and perhaps for Cassius Dio. At the time of the archaists (2nd century A.D.), he again came into fashion. Gellius quoted him, and the Emperor Hadrian esteemed him more highly than Sallust (Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 16. 6). A certain Iulius Paulus wrote a linguistic commentary on his work.

Cn. Gellius[1]

Gnaeus Gellius was known as the author of *Annales* (2nd century B.C.). This work gave a leisurely treatment of Rome's beginnings. Book 33 had taken the story only as far as 216 B.C., meaning that the traditional number of 97 books is not entirely improbable (*frg.* 29 P.). The antiquarian learning of the author extended, for example, to the discoverers of the alphabet, of medicine, of weights and measures and to the founders of cities. The ample treatment afforded to details of the Roman past perhaps set a trend for the late annalists.[2] The account which was taken as far as the author's own time, was still used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, although later replaced by Varro.

Memoirs[3]

The historians who now follow, belonging to the time of the Gracchi and to the Sullan period, bring us to the generation before Cicero. Here we encounter a rich literature of *memoirs*. Apart from C. Gracchus and Sulla himself, M. Aemilius Scaurus, P. Rutilius Rufus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus must be mentioned. The last two were also the authors of historical works. Only the reminiscences of C. Gracchus and Sulla are to some extent available to us through Plutarch. The rise of this kind of personal literary portrait met with fewer obstacles

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[1] HRR 1, 148–157; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 1, 77–80; W. D. Lebek 1970, 215–217; Peter, Wahrheit und Kunst, 292–293; E. Rawson 1976, 713–717.

[2] P. Wiseman, Clio's Cosmetics, Leicester 1979, 20–23.

[3] G. Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie 1: Das Altertum (1907), Frankfurt 1949–1950, 3rd ed.

at Rome than in Greece, though Greece knew memoirs by King Pyrrhus and Aratus of Sicyon. Greek morals tended to be concerned with typical virtues and weaknesses, while in Rome the mask memorialized forever an ancestor with all his wrinkles and warts. Yet it was this ancestor who was seen at the funeral celebration wearing the garb of his highest office. Among the premises giving rise to literary self-portraiture must be counted the right enjoyed by distinguished families to a personal statue.[1] Thus it was that M. Claudius Marcellus dedicated, following his third consulate (152 B.C.), his own statue, beside those of his grandfather and father, in the temple of Honos and Virtus. Q. Fabius Maximus acted similarly later (57 B.C.) in the figurative decoration of his arch.

A half-literary stage on the way to autobiography is formed by the apologias composed in form of letters, for example by the Scipios, who in their case wrote in Greek. Scipio Africanus Maior wrote to King Philip, and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica on his campaign against Perseus.[2] In his historical work Cato the Elder did not shrink from quoting his own speeches verbatim. Memoirs bear characteristic testimony to Roman self-assurance, and, in many respects, Sulla may be regarded as a prefiguration of Caesar. We will come back to this kind of literary reminiscence in the context of Caesar's *Commentarii*.

Later Works in the *Annales* Style

The annalists[3] of the Sullan period ('the later annalists') form Livy's principal source. All these writers deliberately resume the old tradition of continuous historical narrative to convey a picture of history centering on Rome. Their literary ambitions show from their use of highly organized narrative units.

For the first time now authors are found among historians who do not belong to the senatorial class, but write as clients on behalf of individual senators. Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias probably came from the Italian provincial aristocracy or from the *equites*.

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[1] *Homines novi* have no right to their own statue.
[2] Schanz-Hosius, LG 1, 204.
[3] D. Timpe 1979, 97–119.

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius must be mentioned first.[1] His *Annales* embraced at least 23 books. It is not known whether he wrote *ab urbe condita* or, as is more probable, began his narrative with the Gallic invasion. From the Second Punic War on, the presentation was more detailed, reaching as far as the Sullan period. Quadrigarius' standpoint is that of the *optimates*. He praised Sulla (*frg.* 84) and criticized Marius (*frgg.* 76; 81; 83 P.). Quadrigarius relaxed the strict annalistic pattern by introducing letters, speeches, and anecdotes. At important breaks, his lengthy work was divided by new proems, as for example at the start of book 18.

Quadrigarius' style creates a refreshing impression of brevity and precision. In comparison with Livy, the absence of adornment is remarkable; in comparison with Sallust, his abstention from archaizing color.

From 187 B.C., his history formed Livy's chief source. Fronto and Gellius esteemed the artless grace of his style. Identifications with the translator of Acilius and the chronographer whose fragments are found at HRR 1.178 are arbitrary.

Valerius Antias[2]

The *Annales* of Valerius Antias in 75 books extended from the beginnings at least to the year 91 B.C., and perhaps as far as Sulla's death. Since he wrote *ab urbe condita*, he was obliged to fill in the gaps between legend and the commencement of the historical tradition. He neglected no opportunity to enhance the fame of his own *gens*, and attributed to Valerii offices which demonstrably were held by others. The wars with the Sabines, for which he is the sole

[1] HRR 1, 205–237; S. Bastian, Lexicon in Q. Claudium Quadrigarium, Hildesheim 1983; M. Zimmerer, Der Annalist Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, diss. München 1937; A. Klotz, Der Annalist Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, RhM n.s. 91, 1942, 268–285; P. G. Walsh 1961, 110–137, esp. 119–121; von Albrecht, Prose 86–101; W. Schibel, Sprachbehandlung und Darstellungsweise in römischer Prosa. Claudius Quadrigarius, Livius, Aulus Gellius, Amsterdam 1971.

[2] HRR 1, 238–275; R. Adam, Valerius Antias et la fin de Scipion l'Africain, REL 58, 1980, 90–99; U. Bredehorn 1968, 91–100; A. Klotz 1940/41; R. A. Laroche, Valerius Antias as Livy's Source for the Number of Military Standards Captured in Battle in Books I–X, C&M 35, 1984, 93–104; T. Leidig, Valerius Antias und ein annalistischer Bearbeiter des Polybios als Quellen des Livius, vornehmlich für Buch 30 und 31, Frankfurt 1993; P. G. Walsh 1961, esp. 121–122.

authority, were intended to allow his house to rival the fame of the Fabii. Livy remarks that Valerius Antias was notorious for exaggerating the numbers of fallen enemies (*frg.* 29; cf. 44).

The narrative of every year followed a fixed pattern, although sometimes he also drew together the events of several years. Like the Hellenistic historians, Valerius was concerned to impress his readers. Flights of fancy were balanced by rationalistic explanations and occasional official reports, which need not necessarily always have been invented.[1] The language of officialdom which he uses, though to some degree rebarbative and artificial, keeps its distance both from vulgar elements and from exaggerated rhetorical ornament.[2]

Valerius Antias is Livy's second chief source, used occasionally already in the first decade, and continuously from the Battle of Cannae up to book 38. Silius Italicus and Plutarch (in his *Lives* of Marcellus and Flamininus) may also belong to his credulous audience.

Cornelius Sisenna

Cornelius Sisenna[3] was praetor in 78 B.C. In 70 he acted for the defense at the trial of Verres. He died in 67 on Crete as Pompey's legate. His *Historiae*, a work of his old age in at least 12 books,[4] continued the contemporary history of Sempronius Asellio. The Social War and the struggles between Marius and Sulla were treated at length.

Sisenna was probably also the translator of the *Milesian Tales* of Aristides.[5] His historical model was Clitarchus, who had composed an Alexander romance (Cic. *leg.* 1. 7). This explains his pronounced liking for the devices of Hellenistic historical writing, such as dramatic

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[1] The confidence of U. Bredehorn is matched by the skepticism of J. von Ungern-Sternberg. M. Gelzer, Kleine Schriften 3, 1964, 257, suggests the gradual formation of a network of mutually dependent senatorial decisions to create an air of false precision.

[2] Leeman, Orationis ratio 82.

[3] HRR 1, 276–297; G. Barabino (TC), I frammenti delle *Historiae*, in: F. Bertini, G. Barabino, eds., Studi Noniani I, Genova 1967, 67–239; E. Badian, Waiting for Sulla, JRS 52, 1962, 47–61; idem, Where was Sisenna?, Athenaeum n.s. 42, 1964, 422–431; E. Candiloro, Sulle *Historiae* di L. Cornelius Sisenna, SCO 12, 1963, 212–226; W. D. Lebek 1970, 58–59; 267–285; P. Frassinetti, Sisenna e la guerra sociale, Athenaeum 50, 1972, 78–113; G. Calboli, Su alcuni frammenti di Cornelio Sisenna, StudUrb 49, 1, 1975, 151–221; E. Rawson 1979; S. Condorelli, Sul *frg.* 44 P. di Sisenna, NAFM 1, 1983, 109–137.

[4] Nonius (p. 750. 10 Lindsay) cites a 23rd book.

[5] A different view in E. Rawson 1979, 331–333 (arguing that Ovid, *trist.* 2. 443–

narrative, dreams, digressions, and speeches. He was concerned with the careful arrangement of his material (*frg.* 127 P.) and was by no means a mere annalist. His style as a historian combined fashionable Asian refinement with archaizing features. Sometimes he appeared as a purist, and then as a coiner of neologisms. In general, he displayed an abundance of pre-classical richness. His adverbs in *-im* were famous (Gell. 12. 15). His composition of commentaries on Plautus matched his literary taste. This somewhat hybrid but fruitful soil formed a fertile seedbed for Sallust's artistic language.

Sisenna had Epicurean inclinations and rationalized, for example, the death of Aeneas (*frg.* 3 P.). If conclusions may be drawn from the title *Historiae*, Sisenna's aim was to trace motives in the manner of Sempronius Asellio. In that case, he must have been the first to combine with some degree of success the pragmatic and the tragic manner of historical writing.[1]

Sallust, whose *Historiae* continued the work of Sisenna, admired him as a historian, though rejecting his bias in favor of the optimates (*Iug.* 95. 2). He also exercised influence on Livy. Velleius (2. 9. 5) and Tacitus (*dial.* 23. 2) made mention of him, while the archaizers appealed to his authority. Nonius still possessed a copy containing books 3 and 4. In Sisenna, we are presented with a preclassical master of language. His original and colorful prose is an irreplaceable loss for Latin literature.

C. Licinius Macer

The series of Republican historians preserved in fragments finishes with C. Licinius Macer[2] and Q. Aelius Tubero. These also count among Livy's important models. The former was the father of the Neoteric and Atticizing C. Licinius Macer Calvus, and was acquainted with Sisenna. Coming from a distinguished plebeian family, he was *tribunus plebis* in 73 B.C. and struggled against the Sullan constitution

444 mentions the translator of the *Milesiae* among much younger authors. But is Ovid here concerned with chronology?).

[1] E. Rawson 1979, 345.

[2] HRR 1, 298–307; F. Münzer, RE 13, 1, 1926, 419–435; A. Klotz 1940–1941, 208–210; 222–272; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 1, 258–260; Broughton, Magistrates 2, 138; 146; 443; 580; R. M. Ogilvie, Livy, Licinius Macer and the *Libri lintei*, JRS 48, 1958, 40–46; P. G. Walsh 1961, 110–137, esp. 122–123; R. M. Ogilvie, Commentary on Livy 1–5, Oxford 1965, 7–12.

for the restoration of tribunician power (Sall. *hist.* 3. 48). In 68 B.C. he was praetor. Two years later he was tried for embezzlement and committed suicide.

His *Annales* began with the foundation of Rome and comprised at least 16 books. He made use of the *Libri lintei*, a list of Roman magistrates written on linen,[1] in an effort to reach more reliable information about the magistrates of the 5th and 4th centuries. He favored the *gens Licinia* and displayed a bias in favor of the *populares*. Cicero criticized the prolixity of his narrative and his insufficient attention to Greek sources (*leg.* 1. 7). An interest in scholarly detail links this historian with Cn. Gellius (whom he quotes). His diction showed Asian influence. Tubero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and, in his first decade, Livy made use of his work.

Aelius Tubero

Aelius Tubero[2] treated all Roman history in at least 14 books. His models were Valerius Antias and Licinius Macer. He was a source for Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This author is probably not Quintus Aelius Tubero, the well-known jurist and unsuccessful prosecutor of Ligarius, but Quintus' father, Lucius Aelius Tubero, one of Cicero's friends.[3] He had philosophical interests. Varro dedicated to him a *logistoricus* (*Tubero de origine humana*), and Aenesidemus his Πυρρώνειοι λόγοι.

A. Alföldi, Das frühe Rom und die Latiner, Darmstadt 1977. * E. Badian, The Early Historians, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Latin Historians, London 1966, 1–38. * F. Bömer, Thematik und Krise der römischen Geschichtsschreibung im 2. Jh. v. Chr., Historia 2, 1953/54, 189–209. * U. Bredehorn, Senatsakten in der republikanischen Annalistik. Untersuchungen zur Berichterstattung über den römischen Senat bei den annalistischen Vorgängern des Livius unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der römischen Ostpolitik zwischen 205 und 171 v. Chr., diss. Marburg 1968 (crit. J. v. Ungern-Sternberg, Gnomon 43, 1971, 369–374). * K. Bringmann, Weltherrschaft und innere Krise Roms

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[1] B. W. Frier, Licinius Macer and the *consules suffecti* of 444 B.C., TAPhA 105, 1975, 79–97.

[2] HRR 1, 308–312; A. Klotz 1940/41, 208–210; 220–272; P. G. Walsh 1961, 110–137, esp. 123; M. Gelzer, Kleine Schriften, vol. 3, 1964, 278–279; A. M. Biraschi, Q. Elio Tuberone in Strabone 5. 3. 3, Athenaeum 59, 1981, 195–199.

[3] Cf. M. Bretone, Quale Tuberone?, Jura 27, 1976, 72–74; for Quintus Aelius Tubero as a historian s. H. Peter 1911, 327.

im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung des 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr., A&A 23, 1977, 28–49. * R. Drews, Pontiffs, Prodigies, and the Disappearance of the *Annales Maximi*, CPh 83, 1988, 289–299. * D. Flach, Einführung in die römische Geschichtsschreibung, Darmstadt 2nd ed. 1992. * M. Gelzer, Der Anfang römischer Geschichtsschreibung, Hermes 69, 1934, 46–55 (= M.G., Kleine Schriften, vol. 3, 1964, 93–103); also in: V. Pöschl, ed., Römische Geschichtsschreibung, Darmstadt 1969, 130–153. * M. Gelzer, Nochmals über den Anfang der römischen Geschichtsschreibung, Hermes 82, 1954, 342–348 (= Kleine Schriften, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 1964, 104–110). * M. Gelzer, Römische Politik bei Fabius Pictor, Kleine Schriften, vol. 3, 1964, 51–92. * F. Klingner, Römische Geschichtsschreibung, in: Klingner, Geisteswelt 66–89. * A. Klotz, Livius und seine Vorgänger, Leipzig 1940/41 (on this: Leeman, Orationis ratio 67–88; 400–407; M. Gelzer, in: Kleine Schriften, vol. 3, 1964, 278–279). * U. Knoche, Roms älteste Geschichtsschreiber, NJAB 2, 1939, 193–207; repr. in: U.K., Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften, ed. by W.-W. Ehlers, Meisenheim 1986, 1–15; also in: V. Pöschl, ed., Römische Geschichtsschreibung, Darmstadt 1969, 222–240. * T. Köves-Zulauf, Die Eroberung von Gabii und die literarische Moral der römischen Annalistik, WJA n.s. 13, 1987, 121–147. * W. D. Lebek, *Verba prisca*. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibung, Göttingen 1970. * T. Leidig, Valerius Antias und ein annalistischer Bearbeiter des Polybios als Quellen des Livius, vornehmlich für Buch 30 und 31, Frankfurt 1993. * G. Perl, s. Roman Historical Writing. * Peter, Wahrheit und Kunst 273–338. * K.-E. Petzold, Die Eröffnung des Zweiten Römisch-Makedonischen Krieges. Untersuchungen zur spätannalistischen Topik bei Livius, Berlin 1940, repr. 1968. * E. Rawson, The First Latin Annalists, Latomus 35, 1976, 689–717. * E. Rawson, L. Cornelius Sisenna and the Early First Century B.C., CQ 73, n.s. 29, 1979, 327–346. * D. Timpe, Erwägungen zur jüngeren Annalistik, A&A 25, 1979, 97–119. * H. Tränkle, Livius und Polybios, s. Livy. * B. L. Twyman, Polybius and the Annalists on the Outbreak and Early Years of the Second Punic War, Athenaeum n.s. 65, 1987, 67–80. * P. G. Walsh, Livy. His Historical Aims and Methods, Cambridge 1961. * T. P. Wiseman, The Credibility of the Roman Annalists, LCM 8, 1983, 20–22. * N. Zegers, Wesen und Ursprung der tragischen Geschichtsschreibung, diss. Köln 1959.

CATO THE ELDER

Life, Dates

M. Porcius Cato is the first Roman of whose life we can form anything like a clear picture. He was born in 234 B.C. in Tusculum, where he grew up on his father's estate in Sabine territory, later remembering with pride the hard work which he was obliged to perform there (*or. frg.* 128 Malcovati). Not far from his house lay the spot where once Manius Curius Dentatus, the very embodiment of old Roman frugality, had spent his final years. At 17, Cato served for the first time in the war against Hannibal. Astonishingly early (214 B.C.), he was military tribune in Sicily under M. Claudius Marcellus, and distinguished himself in 207 in the Battle of the Metaurus. His alleged encounter with Pythagorean doctrines in South Italy (Cic. *Cato* 39) is open to chronological objections, although neo-Pythagorean influences may certainly be detected in his work.[1] His political sympathies with Fabius Cunctator are beyond doubt,[2] even if the details of his contacts with him are not wholly clear. The stalwart farmer and legal adviser of Sabine citizens was encouraged by his well-connected neighbor, L. Valerius Flaccus, one of Fabius' supporters, to take up a political career, a new departure for Cato's family. On the recommendation of that same patron, in 204 B.C., as quaestor, he followed Scipio, then proconsul, to Sicily and Africa, and there created for him his first difficulties, although initially without success. On his return journey, he brought the poet Q. Ennius with him from Sardinia to Rome, and from him he may have taken lessons in Greek. The next stages in his career led him to the plebeian aedileship (199 B.C.) and the praetorship (198 B.C.). In this capacity, he was in Sardinia, where he intervened against Roman usurers, and lived an ostentatiously simple life. At the age of 39 (195 B.C.), in company with his noble friend Valerius Flaccus, he became consul. The story that he delivered a fiery speech against the abolition of the *lex Oppia*, which limited ladies' luxurious fashions, is so good an invention that one would wish it were true. It certainly fits

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[1] Norden, LG 26.

[2] E. A. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus and Cato Censorius, Latomus 15, 1956, 159–180.

with Cato's general attitude towards women.[1] However, he could not hold in check the inevitable.

Spain was his consular province. Later he boasted of having conquered more cities than he spent days there (Plut. *Cato* 10. 3), although his mass executions and enslavement of entire communities must not be ignored. He enriched the public treasury with the profits of the Spanish iron and silver mines. Subsequently, the senate gave approval to all his measures and granted him a triumph. Whereas Cato himself carried personal frugality even to extremes—not without a certain self-advertisement—he showed some generosity in rewarding his soldiers. Slaves however who had been convicted of having enriched themselves preferred to avoid his wrath by suicide. In 193 B.C., he dedicated to Victoria Virgo on the Palatine the shrine he had vowed while still in Spain.

His last campaign was the war against Antiochus III (191 B.C.). As military tribune, he accompanied the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio to Greece, where he was supposed to employ his oratorical gifts to counteract propaganda hostile to Rome. Of his speech in Athens he later related that, to the amazement of the Athenians, his Greek translator needed many more words than he did himself (Plut. *Cato* 12. 5–7), and that, in general, 'Greeks' words came from their lips, Romans' from the heart.' At the Battle of Thermopylae he boasted of having brought about the decisive turn by surrounding the enemy, whereupon the consul declared that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently thank Cato for his services (Plut. *Cato* 14. 2). In all probability his action demonstrated the practical application of his reading of the historians. It is possible to recognize here what Cato meant in advising his son to peruse the writings of the Greeks but not to study them too thoroughly. Two years later, he was at odds with the victorious Glabrio.

In 190 B.C., Cato accused Q. Minucius Thermus of executing ten free men in his province of Liguria without following official procedures. Soon afterwards (189 B.C.), he was the envoy who brought senatorial instructions to M. Fulvius Nobilior when he was consul in Epirus; after his return, he criticized Fulvius' behavior in his province, without however being able to prevent his triumph. It may well be Cato's doing that even the great Scipio Africanus Maior and his

[1] Cf. R. P. Bond, Anti-Feminism in Juvenal and Cato, in: Stud. Lat. lit. I, Coll. Latomus 214, 1979/80, 418–447.

brother Lucius were convicted of embezzling public property. The intervention of the senate against the Bacchanalia (186 B.C.) formed the background to his speech *De coniuratione*, of which unfortunately only a single word has been preserved. It has been assumed to be the model of Fronto's speech against the Christians, answered by Minucius Felix. This is certainly an ingenious although somewhat complicated explanation of the parallels between the Christian apologist and Livy's account of the Bacchanalia.

Cato reached the pinnacle of his career in 184 B.C. Along with L. Valerius Flaccus he became censor, defeating seven other candidates from the most distinguished families, who included P. Scipio Nasica, in the eyes of contemporaries the noblest man of his time. Cato was so strict in carrying out the severe measures he had announced that for all time he became the very personification of a Censor. He defended his reprimands on each occasion in speeches of which we still have partial knowledge. He expelled L. Quinctius Flamininus, the consul of 192 B.C., from the senate, on the grounds that in his province of Gaul, to please a boy, he had with his own hand killed a noble Boian deserter (*or. frg.* 87, 1st ed. Malc. = 69, 4th ed. Malc.). Had he forgotten that in his own day he had executed, not one, but 600 deserters? Another senator was excluded on the grounds that he had kissed his wife with his daughter looking on. Others were censured for neglect of agriculture. The taxes on slaves in luxurious employments, on clothes, ornaments, and carriages were raised tenfold. This was a regulation leveled especially against Roman ladies. In spite of vigorous attacks by the senate, Cato pushed through the building of a new basilica next to the curia.

He made strict use of construction overseers to limit the exploitation of public land and water by private individuals. It is not surprising in view of all this that the enraged nobles pursued Cato to the end of his life with lawsuits. Yet, of the 44 suits he faced, none led to his conviction. After the victory of L. Aemilius Paullus over Perseus, Cato urged that Macedonia should be given its freedom, asserting that Roman troops could not protect it. About the same time, in a relatively well-preserved speech, he argued against a declaration of war on Rhodes. His plea for clemency and his use of the reproach of *superbia* against the Romans may be read as early evidence of a humane policy,[1] but also as the utterance of someone who knew

[1] H. HAFFTER, Politisches Denken im alten Rom, SIFC n.s. 17, 1940, 97–121.

how to turn every occasion to advantage. His savage humor least spares his own countrymen. How little Cato was afraid of contradictions, so long as arguments were tactically useful at the moment, is shown by the single fact that the later champion of Carthage's destruction here took the opposite position.

Cato was on friendly terms with L. Aemilius Paullus.[1] Marcus, his son, married Paullus' daughter, and accordingly became the brother-in-law of the Younger Scipio. His enmity with the Scipios was limited therefore to the older generation. It was after all Cato's patron Valerius Flaccus who had been a supporter of Fabius Cunctator, Africanus' real opponent. Strong personality though he was himself, behind the Hellenistic and Roman *humanitas* of the Scipios, Cato sensed the dangers of individualism.

On the occasion of the famous philosophers' embassy in 155 B.C., he reproved the magistrates for allowing such dangerous individuals to stay so long in Rome, and proposed that they should be sent back to Greece at the earliest opportunity. In fact, Carneades was undermining the very basis of Cato's ethical position; he disputed the existence of natural law, and the applicability of the concept of ideal justice in real life, with reference, among other reasons, to Roman mastery of the world.

In his last years, Cato repeatedly urged the necessity for a war *à l'outrance* against Carthage. In 150 B.C., he carried the day against Scipio Nasica,[2] whose aim had been to preserve Carthage as the 'whetstone' of Roman *virtus*. Did Cato doubt the might of his own people, which it had been his constant goal to spare? Or was his hostility inspired rather by fear of Carthaginian economic power?

Shortly before his death, he supported the proposal by one of the tribunes to bring to trial Servius Sulpicius Galba, who, while in his province, had sold into slavery a large number of Lusitanians. Galba successfully appealed to popular sympathy. In indignation, Cato preserved this action and his own speech in his *Origines*. Soon afterwards, death took the stylus from his hand.

The son of Cato's first marriage was Marcus, to whom he addressed several educational treatises. Through his second son, presented

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[1] E. A. Astin, Scipio Aemilianus and Cato Censorius, Latomus 15, 1956, 159–180.

[2] M. Gelzer, Nasicas Widerspruch gegen die Zerstörung Karthagos, in: Kleine Schriften, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1963, 39–72.

to him in advanced old age by the young wife he had later married, the Censor became the great-grandfather of his namesake, the champion of the Republican cause.

Survey of Works

Cato was perhaps the first Roman to draw up his *Speeches*.[1] Initially he did so in order to re-use them at need as models of content or form. In view of the numerous lawsuits in which he was involved, this made great sense. He published at least those found in the *Origines*. The emphasis allotted in these speeches to self-portraiture encourages the modern reader to form an unflattering opinion of Cato's boundless vanity, but it may be explained at least partly by the political and social situation of the *homo novus*. Whereas an aristocrat with a name like Fabius or Claudius, on the mere basis of his name, appeared to have a claim on the highest offices in the state, and also enjoyed the necessary family connections to attain his goal, Cato, as *homo novus*, had no other title of nobility except his achievement, and it was on this, if he wanted to prevail, that he had to insist continually. In any case, Cato shows more than mere unabashed selfpraise. He also displays quite humorous forms of indirect self-characterization. In his speech *De sumptu suo* (*or.* 41, 1st ed. Malc. = 44, 4th ed. Malc.), he defended himself against the accusation that he had exploited the public and spared his own property. He sketches in lively terms how in preparing his present speech he had brought forward a copy of one made earlier and at first read all references to his own blameless behavior, but then deleted them, since they ran contrary to the current fashion.[2] As our informant Fronto remarks correctly, this is perhaps the most compelling example of a *praeteritio*.

His *Educational treatises addressed to his son Marcus* also stand in close relationship to his life. As a father, he was unwilling to entrust his son's education to Greek slaves. In his own hand he wrote a Roman history in large letters, which of course was not the *Origenes* and not even an extract from them, since at this time they were as yet unwritten.

His *Art of Healing* and *Art of Oratory* on closer acquaintance would perhaps produce the same impression as his *De agricultura*: a preface emphatically

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[1] Cicero collected 150 of them and we still know of about 80; H. Malcovati, Introduction to ORF; B. Janzer, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redenfragmenten des M. Porcius Cato, diss. Würzburg 1936; N. Scivoletto, L'*Oratio contra Galbam* e le *Origines* di Catone, GIF 14, 1961, 63–68.

[2] 'I have never made presents of my own or our allies' money in order to win supporters.' 'Stop! I cried at this point. Not that! Not that by any means! They don't want to hear it.' Then he read: 'I have never sent governors to the cities of your allies to rob them of their property and take their children.' 'Cancel that too. They don't want to hear it,' and so on.

insisting on old Roman values is followed by an introduction to modern Hellenistic technique. This puts in its place his warning about Greek doctors, who allegedly were bound by their oath to destroy all non-Greeks (*Ad Marcum filium, frg.* 1 = Plin. *nat.* 29. 7. 14–15).

In all probability his *Carmen de moribus* was, in spite of its title, written in prose. Its strength lay in its lapidary maxims.

His *Work on the military*, if it had been completely faithful to old Roman ways, could not have been held in esteem down to late antiquity. In its day it must have been extremely modern, something still demonstrable in the case of the *De agricultura.*

The *De agricultura* by and large depends on the Greek model of textbook: the estate and its parts (1–22); the farmer's year (23–54). The third part however (55–162) breaks free from this scheme. There follow in somewhat disorganized fashion: practical suggestions; culinary and medical recipes; prayers; hints at old customs.

From a literary point of view, the text is not uniform. Basically, two efforts have been made to solve the difficult problem of its structure. One suggests that the work was put together at a late date, although this leaves unresolved the question why the editor, contrary to the normal attitude of editors, failed to introduce a greater degree of coherence. A second suggestion is that we are concerned with Cato's own journal, growing in the course of the years, and left by the author in the state in which we have it.[1]

The introduction[2] discusses the moral value of farming, including that for the future soldier, and the advantages of the farmer (estate owner) compared with the banker and merchant. In spite of this, however, the sense of profit sets the basic tone, sometimes in the shape of old Roman thrift ('do not buy what you can use, but what you need'), on other occasions in the introduction and recommendation of modern, Hellenistic slave economics, in which old slaves, like old machines, must be disposed of in good time. In this respect, Cato is one of the fathers of Roman 'capitalism'.[3]

Every Roman had teaching in his bones. Cato moreover was a teacher by nature, for it is to him that Cicero (*rep.* 2. 1) ascribes *summum vel discendi studium vel docendi* ('highest zeal for either learning or teaching'). In the personal instruction of the son by his father, more is in evidence than that old-fashioned paternalism presented by Terence in the character of Demea in the *Adelphoe.* The Roman *pater familias* was convinced that he alone knew

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[1] The authenticity and organic unity of the work are defended by O. Schönberger, ed., M. Porci Catonis scripta quae manserunt omnia. M. Porcius Cato, Vom Landbau. Fragmente. Alle erhaltenen Schriften, München 1980, 425–465. Traces of several editors are detected by W. Richter 1978.

[2] von Albrecht, Prose 1–8.

[3] F. M. Heichelheim, Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums 1, Leiden 1938, 502–503; D. Kienast 1954, repr. 1979, passim.

best how to handle everything. Cato's effort not to delegate the education of his children in the fashion of decadent aristocrats attests a sound instinct, and not necessarily anything plebeian. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, was to behave in exactly the same way.

Cato lived at a time when the individual could still hope to attain universality. In the field of literature and knowledge at Rome, he was in the happy position of a pioneer. His writings show that he took pleasure even in advanced age in increasing his store of knowledge. This is proved not only by his encyclopedic activity as author, but also by the learned details of his *Origines*.

Cato wrote this historical *chef d'oeuvre*[1] in his old age. Individual touches, such as the suppression of magistrates' names and the inclusion of his own speeches, prove that this product of his retirement was a continuation of politics by other means. History serves for instruction, not least about the achievements of the author. It puts moral examples before the reader's eyes, as with the military tribune deserving to be called a Roman Leonidas. In any case, the name Leonidas, on the lips of the one who had triumphed at Thermopylae, Cato, had a quite particular ring.

The 1st book treated Rome's development to the end of the regal period. The 2nd and 3rd dealt with the early history of the other Italian cities and peoples. The title *Origines* corresponds to the Greek κτίσεις, 'Foundation Narratives'. Certain elements of the generic form are Greek: local history, remarkable features of particular areas, etymologies (Quirinus from κύριος). Even in content, Cato stands in the Hellenistic tradition. Many Italian peoples are traced back to Greek ancestors.

The title is appropriate only to the first three books. The remaining four deal with contemporary history, and begin with a new proem. The 4th book narrates the First Punic War. Those that follow take the story down to 149 B.C. Nothing is reported of a treatment of the early Republican period, and to set it at the start of the 4th book means to overload that volume, in which even the beginning of the Second Punic War had to find a place.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The authorship of books in itself is already something 'Greek'. Without doubt, Cato read more Greek books than most of his Roman contemporaries, and the content, title, structure, and constituent

[1] PETER, Wahrheit und Kunst, 282–287; F. BÖMER, Thematik und Krise der römischen Geschichtsschreibung, Historia 2, 1953–54, 189–209, esp. 193–198.

elements of the *Origines* are unimaginable without Greek models.[1] Callias of Syracuse, Lycus of Regium, and Polemon of Ilion are for us hardly more than names. Yet Timaeus of Tauromenium may have supplied Cato with more than simple information about the foundings of Italian cities. His moralizing standpoint may have attracted his Roman reader, for Timaeus had criticized the decadence of the Sybarites, Crotoniates, Etruscans, and Agrigentines, praising by contrast strict moral standards. The dating of the foundation of Rome in Cato, however, does not agree with Timaeus but with Eratosthenes. Ever since antiquity Cato's readers praised his diligence. His information, partly based on documents and inscriptions, is from time to time confirmed by excavations.[2]

In his instructional treatises, Cato adopts the basic forms of the Greek textbook. In assessing his work, one must always take into account the practical application of Greek technique. Cato is a genius at learning, especially in areas promising efficiency. In agronomy he takes over and recommends the most modern Hellenistic methods, and it may be supposed that he behaved similarly in other areas. If he owes something to Greek theory, he owes even more to Greek practice.

Literary Technique

The author of the *Origines* was not writing historical poetry like Naevius, but prose. However, he was not concerned with mere chronological records, at least not in the contemporary portions. There were prefaces. The narrative proceeded *capitulatim*, i.e. 'according to the main points'[3] (κεφαλαιωδῶς), and in it were interpolated digressions dealing with cultural developments.

The longer fragments allow us to glimpse a narrative technique combining with some success both the story of events and personal commentary.[4] The literary achievement however, because of the fragmentary nature of what survives, is mainly recognizable through the prism of style. This must be our next consideration.

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[1] L. Moretti, Le *Origines* di Catone, Timeo ed Eratostene, RFIC 30, 1952, 289–302.

[2] P. Tozzi, Catone *frg.* 39 Peter e Polibio 2. 15, RIL 107, 1973, 499–501.

[3] For this interpretation of the word, s. Leo (LG 294–295) and Bömer (see above, p. 396, n. 1) 194.

[4] von Albrecht, Prose 21–32.

Language and Style

Language and Style[1] in this author deserve particular attention. The search for a refined stylistic theory is out of place here, as is recognized by Cicero (*leg.* 1. 6; *de orat.* 2. 51–53). Even so, the vocabulary and style are skilfully varied to match individual motive and aim.

The different levels of style are distributed throughout each work, not capriciously, but according to the topic in hand. In language and style the preface to the *De agricultura* differs from the remaining text. In the introduction to the *Origines* we find striking archaisms, such as the plural *ques*. Elements of the solemn Latin oral tradition appear in prominent places: archaic repetitions, the accumulation of synonyms, along with formulas of sacral, legal, and official language. Such features of hieratic language are to be distinguished from those of everyday conversation.

Cato's *dicta* often have a popular character, especially owed to their colorful metaphors. The exaggerated tone in accounts of foreign lands strikes a rustic note: for example, in Spain a whole mountain is made of salt, and what is removed grows back; the wind blows the strongest man over; the sows are so fat as to be unable to stand, and need to be loaded onto wagons.

Cato employs Greek words where necessary; this is true, for example, of technical terms from horticulture and cookery, but his aim is far from wanting to show off his Greek education. Allusions to Greek literature (Xenophon and Demosthenes) are rare. Poetic vocabulary is drawn from Ennius.

In Cato, Latin prose style was still in the process of creation. But there is more than *brevitas*, and often the luxuriant rhetorical richness found in him is ignored. A typical feature of Cato's style is the sequence of sentences showing a length which contradicts the normal expectations of the listener. The author likes to follow a long colon with a short, thus creating the impression of intensity through abruptness. Cato's prose is not unrhythmical. Already it displays the rhythms found in Cicero.[2] Quite differently from unrhythmical prose, it pre-

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[1] LEEMAN, Orationis Ratio, 68–70; VON ALBRECHT, Prose, 1–32; R. TILL, La lingua di Catone. Traduzione e note supplementari di C. DE MEO, Roma 1968; S. BOSCHERINI, Grecismi nel libro di Catone *De agr.*, A&R 4, 1959, 145–156.

[2] E. FRAENKEL, Leseproben aus Reden Ciceros und Catos, Roma 1968.

fers rhythms making effective conclusions, and admitting repetition.[1] This shows that the Latin language was predisposed to particular rhythms later destined to become standard, and that Cato, whether consciously or unconsciously, had once more hit the nail on the head.

The less literary character of the *De agricultura* may be proved by detailed statistical analysis. Shorter words are found, along with clausula endings unusual in Sallust and Livy. In all Cato's works, the length of sentences is more or less constant, but words are shorter in the *De agricultura*. Sentence endings in Cato's literary fragments show similarities with those of Sallust's *Catilina*.[2] Such external criteria are in the last analysis tokens of both differences and similarities in style.

Cato is able to play on many instruments. The assertion that he is a master of the whole gamut of rhetoric is true in the sense in which the same could be said of Homer. The categories of Greek rhetoric themselves warn us not to overestimate the significance of external influences: *doctrina* there is only a single component, along with *ingenium* and *usus*.[3] As a speaker and expert in human feeling, Cato possessed an original gift. By means of oral training he came to take his place in a fixed Roman tradition of oratory. In these circumstances the Greek theory with which he undoubtedly came into contact could only have the role of anamnesis in bringing to the speaker's attention what he already knew *suo Marte*. He was never enslaved by purely formal considerations.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Xenophon's remark,[4] that the leisure of men of importance must be just as accountable as their time at work, establishes at the very beginning of the *Origines* a bridge between literature and life, and offers a justification for a Roman's literary activity. For Cato, who was

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[1] A. Primmer, Der Prosarhythmus in Catos Reden, in: FS K. Vretska, Heidelberg 1970, 174–180. A surmise on the beginning of the *Origines* is offered by L. Cardinali, Le *Origines* di Catone iniziavano con un esametro?, SCO 37, 1987, 205–215.

[2] F. V. S. Waite, A Computer-Assisted Study of the Style of Cato the Elder with Reference to Sallust and Livy (Résumé of a diss.), HSPh 74, 1970, 438–439.

[3] Cf. also A. Traglia 1985, 344–359.

[4] K. Münscher, Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur, Philologus suppl. 13, fasc. 2, Leipzig 1920, esp. 70–74.

both *pater familias* and Roman senator, writing mainly served two purposes: the communication of knowledge and the teaching of morals.

Cato took up certain encyclopedic tendencies known to the Hellenistic world and set them at the service of life. His literary and didactic aim, expressed in his works, was to found an independent Roman culture, able to rival that of the Greeks. Its founder was someone who owed his power, not to birth, but to his knowledge, a great student and, for that very reason, one able to teach others. In this respect, his true successor was to be Cicero.

In the *Origines* Cato's purpose, like that of Calpurnius Piso later, was to impart moral instruction to his reader. It was not his intention to establish a new theory of historiography. Even so, he set his mark on Roman historical writing. It would always remain 'moralizing'. The aims Cato did have in mind were practical. His ethical purpose is not merely visible in his story of the tribune (his glorification of an anonymous hero). It is also at work in the very latest section, where Cato takes up the story of his last lawsuit to draw a contrast between two opposed sets of behavior. Galba gained his verdict of acquittal by a massive appeal to the sympathy of the people, while for his part Cato energetically objects to such touching scenes in court. The Censor lost to an improper ploy.

Rem tene, verba sequentur ('stick to the matter, the words will follow'). Language appropriate to the occasion and strong personal commitment lent to Cato's writing, in spite of its unevenness, a uniform stamp. The beginning of Latin prose already marked out the course of its future development. Even Cato's interpretation of the orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus* ('a good man skilled in speech') would, at least in theory, become canonical.

Ideas II

In replacing previous Roman histories composed in Greek with a work written in Latin, Cato did more than tamper with externals. Rome had a new sense of self-importance. No longer was it content to adapt its language to its ambience. No longer was the aim of writing to convince foreigners. Cato met a demand of the occasion. But not every occasion finds a man big enough to rise to it.

In the title *Origines*, the most significant feature is the plural. Just as Cato refrained from putting an individual city—even if it be Rome—at the center, so he also rejected every kind of individualism.

He suppressed the names of public officials. Other historians had been compelled to do this, when in early Roman history, the assignment of consuls to different theatres of war was unknown. But, in Cato's version of contemporary history, it was not so much a lack of information that was at work as his purpose of honoring, instead of particular clans, his people as a whole. It was his belief that, while Greek constitutions may have been the product of individual authors, that of Rome was the work of a community. But this interpretation did not prevent him from allowing the *Origines*, in its later books, to appear more and more as a picture of himself. In this novel definition of a self-confidence based on achievement alone, there is a great affinity between the Censor and his poetic contemporary, Ennius. Yet the *Origines* are more than a volume of memoirs or the spiritual armory of a man grown old. They are, as the introduction hints, his account of himself to contemporaries and posterity. They are a highly original work and in the last analysis defy all attempts at categorization.

The proem to the 4th book distances itself from the perspective of *annales*, although this does not justify us in turning Cato into a 'pragmatic' historian in the manner of Polybius. Certainly Cato never bored his readers with information about price increases, or eclipses of the sun and moon. But he also looked beyond boundaries. The 4th book of the *Origines* contained *inter alia* an account of the origin of Carthage and a sketch of the city's mixed constitution already sympathetically described by Aristotle.[1] In the later books he assigned some space to the geography of Spain. Neither a narrow Roman jingo nor a blinkered imperialist, Cato sought to extend his interest in aetiology to the whole Mediterranean world.

Transmission

The transmission of the *De agricultura* rests on the Marcianus Florentinus (F), also once containing works of Varro, Columella, and Gargilius Martialis. The codex itself is lost, but its readings were collected by Politian and entered in 1482 in a copy of the *editio princeps* of 1472 by G. Merula, whose present location is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. We must also mention Parisinus 6884 A (A; 12th–13th century), of Laurentianus 30, 10 (m; 14th

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[1] P. Grimal goes so far as to see in the *Origines* a 'véritable traité de politique, voire de politique comparée.' Cf. Les éléments philosophiques dans l'idée de monarchie à Rome à la fin de la République, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 32, 1985, 233–282, esp. 235–237.

century) and of a manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 19. 355 (15th century). The *editio princeps* was soon followed by several reprintings. In 1884 the series of scholarly editions began with that of H. Keil. Of all Cato's other works only fragments survive.

Influence

Cato's literary achievement earned a reputation even among his contemporaries, and soon after his death his writing found its first successors in the historians Cassius Hemina and Coelius Antipater. Whether Terence too made use of Cato in his prologues is a matter of dispute.[1]

Sallust's imitation of Cato extended to the very details of linguistic expression, thus forging a moral and aesthetic manner later taken up by Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus.[2]

Cato's *De re militari* enjoyed considerable authority among experts even in late antiquity. Even the Renaissance textbooks providing Goethe with information[3] before his journey to Italy drew material from the *De agricultura.*

It is difficult to form any notion of the influence of the speeches. The written transmission is too fragmentary, and especially in Republican Rome, study of written speeches was less important than practical apprenticeship with great live orators. Even so, it is astonishing that still in the 1st century B.C. Atticus was able to read no fewer than 150 speeches of the Elder Cato. Atticus' work as a collector and Cicero's energetic intervention[4] in favor of a literary Cato-renaissance are the basis of all that later writers know about our author. Among these, so far as the speeches are concerned, Livy and Aulus Gellius deserve particular mention.

Minucius Felix used a speech by Fronto, *Against the Christians*, which may depend on Cato's speech about the *Bacchanalia.* If this is right, Fronto's imitation of Cato is less superficial than generally assumed.

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[1] See S. M. Goldberg, Terence, Cato and the Rhetorical Prologue, CPh 78, 1983, 198–211.

[2] Exaggerated imitation of Cato also, however, stirred criticism: cf. G. Calboli, I modelli dell'arcaismo. M. Porcio Catone, Aion 8, 1986, 37–69.

[3] Preparations for the second visit to Italy (1795/96), WA 1, 34, 2, 1904, 167–168.

[4] His own speeches show many features in common with Cato: P. Cugusi, Catone oratore e Cicerone oratore, Maia 38, 1986, 207–216.

The rhetor of the Antonines saw himself, like Cato, as a defender of Old Rome against a foreign mystery religion.

In the *Origines* Cato sought the roots of Roman history not only in the capital city, but in the entire *imperium* (at that time, Italy); this effort had less influence than it deserved. Glorious exceptions are Virgil's praises of Italy in the *Georgics* and the second half of the *Aeneid*, which brings before us the whole peninsula. Silius Italicus too, in the steps of Livy, who knew his Cato well,[1] allows all the cities and peoples of Italy to take their place in his work as completely as in a catalogue.[2] Historians however concentrated their focus mainly on Rome. When Theodor Mommsen wrote a history of the imperial period from the point of view of the provinces, even within modern scholarship this constituted a revolutionary novelty. But basically it was nothing more than a logical continuation of Cato's insight.

Even more significant than the influence of the work is that of the personality. The redhead from Tusculum, with his blue or green eyes, became the personification of the Roman. His alleged *bons mots* were swapped, anecdotes mushroomed about him. The Younger Cato set his ancestor's moral teaching on a Stoic foundation, without taking account of his shrewd grasp of reality. Cicero turned the greyhaired censor into an ideal picture of Roman and Hellenistic wisdom. Plutarch perhaps overemphasized Cato's dislike for the Greeks, but gave a picture of the business sense and pugnaciousness of the man which is free from embellishments. It is certainly authentic that the author of the *De agricultura*, when it came to sparing a crumb for old slaves and domestic animals, sacrificed humanity to economics.

The paragon of old Roman morality bequeathed a morsel of moral blindness not only to modern times but also to the Middle Ages. In one of his *Sermones* Augustine wrote: 'Consider, brethren, what the great Cato says about women: if the world lacked women, our life would not be so ungodly.'[3]

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[1] The description of Cato's character (39. 40) is important, along with the presentation of Cato as the ideal general (34. 18. 3–5; s. also 42. 34. 6–7). This is echoed by Fronto *princ. hist.* p. 207 NABER; p. 197 V.D.H.; and by Claudian *IV cons. Hon.* 320–352: H. TRÄNKLE, Cato in der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, AAWM 1971, 4, 1–29.

[2] On Florus cf. G. BRIZZI, *Imitari coepit Annibalem* (Flor. 1. 22. 55). Apporti catoniani alla concezione storiografica di Floro?, Latomus 43, 1984, 424–431.

[3] *Denique, fratres mei, attendite, quod dixit magnus ille Cato de feminis, si absque femina esset mundus, conversatio nostra absque diis non esset* (Aug. *serm.* 194. 6 = Cato, *dicta mem. frg.* 82 JORDAN).

Cato's works are only a by-product of his personality; even so, they gave Roman literature one of its most powerful impulses. Cato was the creator of Latin prose. In him, writing did not primarily spring from an aesthetic drive, but served rather the task of mastering particular situations and factual problems presented by life. Cato's principle, *rem tene, verba sequentur*, was delivered to Roman prose right at its beginning. Factual and technical writing was not a marginal interest of Latin prose, but its origin. A book in Latin had as its first aim to be useful.

Thanks to his writings, Cato was the first Roman whose career may be grasped in a certain detail and color. What he wrote was the expression of his personality, and in this respect too he set a trend in Roman literature. It is the work of individuals, of pioneers; and so long as its creativity survives, that is what it will remain in essence. In its beginnings dwelled the universality which precedes all specialization. Cato bequeathed to Roman literature three features: its concern with facts and life; its transformation of Greek culture and technique; and literary work as a personal achievement.

Editions: agr.: G. MERULA, Venetiis: N. IENSON 1472. * *frgg.*: H. JORDAN, Lipsiae 1860. * *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*: O. SCHÖNBERGER (TTrN), München 1980. * *agr.*: H. KEIL, Leipzig 1882–1902. * G. GOETZ, Leipzig 1922. * W. D. HOOPER (TTrN), London 1934, repr. 1967. * A. MAZZARINO, Lipsiae 1962, 2nd ed. 1982. * P. THIELSCHER (TTrC), Berlin 1963. * R. GOUJARD (TTrC), Paris 1975. * *or. frgg.*: H. MALCOVATI, ORF 1st ed., 1, 17–218; ORF 4th ed. 1, 12–97. * M. T. SBLENDORIO CUGUSI (TC), Torino 1982. * *or. pro Rhodiensibus*: G. CALBOLI (TTrC), Bologna 1978. * *orig.*: H. PETER, HRR 2nd ed. 1, cxxvii–clxiv; 55–97. * M. CHASSIGNET (TTrC), Paris 1986. * *orig., book 1*: W. A. SCHRÖDER (TC), Meisenheim 1971. ** *Bibl.*: U. ZUCCARELLI, Rassegna bibliografica di studi e pubblicazioni su Catone (1940–1950), Paideia 7, 1952, 213–217. * K. D. WHITE, Roman Agricultural Writers I. Varro and His Predecessors, ANRW 1, 4, 1973, 439–497, esp. 440–458 and 494–495. * A.-M. TUPET, Rites magiques dans l'Antiquité romaine, ANRW 2, 16, 3, 1986, 2591–2675. ** *Concordance*: W. W. BRIGGS, Concordantia in Catonis librum *De agri cultura*, Hildesheim 1983.

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CAESAR

Life and Dates

C. Julius Caesar was born in 100 B.C. in the month which would be called July after him. Among the important authors writing in Latin he was the only native of Rome. Along with Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, Caesar's mother Aurelia was the model of a woman who personally guided and supervised the education of her child down to the last detail, instead of leaving it, according to the common practice of the day, to servants. To a special degree, urban Latin was therefore for Caesar his mother-tongue, and not merely *sermo*

patrius. It was a treasure of the mind, added to by his conversations with his cultivated uncle Caesar Strabo and by the instruction he received at the hands of Antonius Gnipho. It was indeed his mother who appears to have been the only mortal capable of making Caesar yield. Younger women, such as his wife Pompeia, could not easily compete with her, although, among his numerous conquests, there were strongly marked personalities: examples are Cleopatra or Servilia, the mother of M. Brutus, or even Mucia Tertia, the wife of Pompey who, in 62 B.C., parted company with her because of her relationship with Caesar. Even many years later, this formidable lady would try to mediate between her son Sextus Pompeius and Octavian.

It was his mother who fostered Caesar's ambition. As the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna, Caesar was connected with the *populares* and destined by them already at the age of 16 to be *flamen Dialis*. Sulla's demand, that he should divorce Cinna's daughter Cornelia was of no avail: at first Caesar withdrew from public life, to be finally pardoned by the dictator. In 81 to 79 B.C., he was in Asia as an officer, and on a diplomatic mission he came to the court of King Nicomedes in Bithynia, where his intimate relation with the king gave rise to gossip. After Sulla's death, he brought prosecutions at Rome against two former governors for extortion. His study of rhetoric on Rhodes under the famous Molon, who also taught Cicero, was interrupted by his successful campaign of vengeance against the pirates from whose grip he had earlier been ransomed. With the same independence Caesar—a general born—decided to defend towns in the province of Asia against Mithridates (74 B.C.).

Caesar became pontifex (73 B.C.) and quaestor (ca. 69/68 B.C.). As curule aedile (65 B.C.), he presided over magnificent games. Eventually he attained the dignity of *pontifex maximus* (63 B.C.) and the praetorship (62 B.C.). During these years, he broke openly with the *optimates*. From 70 B.C. on, he took part in popular actions against the senate and gave refuge to some of the proscribed. In the years 65–63 B.C., it was perhaps he who, along with Crassus, encouraged behind the scenes the political unrest of those days. He supported Catiline and Antonius, Cicero's rivals for the consulship, as the instruments of his plans. Between 67 and 62 B.C. he several times intervened in favor of Pompey. Finally, on December 5, 63 B.C., it was he who proposed to punish the five Catilinarians in custody, not with death, but with lifelong imprisonment, although it was Cato's

alternative proposal that carried the day. In Hispania Ulterior, where he had earlier been stationed as quaestor, he distinguished himself (61–60 B.C.) as propraetor, lining his pockets in Roman fashion with a view to financing his career. He soon made an alliance with Pompey, whom he reconciled to Crassus (60 B.C.). This so-called[1] First Triumvirate put through measures beyond the scope of a single individual: two agrarian laws, a *lex repetundarum* and, in particular, the confirmation, to please Pompey, of his arrangements in the East and, to please Caesar, a command in Gaul enabling him to build up a position of personal pre-eminence. He substituted for the previous Roman policy of peaceful penetration of Gaul a war which he both began on his own initiative (cf. *Gall.* 1. 35. 4) and expanded, though ostensibly he was acting in defense of the friends of the Roman people. Many of the measures described were ratified violently and illegally against the resistance of the majority of the senate, especially of M. Porcius Cato and Caesar's colleague in the consulship (59 B.C.), M. Calpurnius Bibulus. Already as consul, Caesar took no pains to preserve Republican forms. In April 59 B.C., Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia. Caesar's *imperium* was extended following the conference at Lucca (56 B.C.), and with Cicero's support (55 B.C.). During the years 58–51 B.C., Caesar succeeded in conquering the whole of Gaul as far as the Rhine. Even before he took up his duties in Gaul, senatorial opposition to Caesar had gathered force. He had avoided the demand to appear before a court by flight, and also assured himself of the support of the tribunes and of Clodius. After the death of Crassus (53 B.C.) and the election of Pompey to be *consul sine collega* (52 B.C.), the balance of power at Rome shifted. From 51, efforts were made to secure Caesar's recall. Thanks to Curio's veto in return for Caesar's generous settlement of his debts, during 51 and 50, no final decision could be taken. In January 49 B.C., at long last a state of emergency was declared and Pompey received extraordinary powers. Instead of dismissing his troops as ordered, Caesar invaded Italy by crossing the Rubicon. This act meant civil war. Pompey fled to the Balkan Peninsula. Caesar began by defeating the Pompeians in Spain. Now it was he who was named dictator, and who was elected to the consulship of 48 B.C. After a war of maneuvers at Dyrrhachium, Caesar prevailed at Pharsalus

[1] *Tresviri reipublicae constituendae* are not found before 43 B.C.

(August 48), and pursued Pompey to Egypt where, however, upon arrival, he found him already murdered. The honors conferred upon Caesar after this success broke with the old Roman constitution. The quarrel over the succession to the throne of Egypt was decided by Caesar in Cleopatra's favor, which led the followers of her brother Ptolemy to besiege him during the winter of 48–47 B.C. at Alexandria. An irreparable loss that stemmed from this trivial war between brother and sister was the burning of the Alexandrian library. It was not until spring that Caesar carried the day and installed Cleopatra as queen. Soon afterwards she presented him with a son. Caesar lost no time in defeating Pharnaces of Pontus at Zela in Asia Minor (*veni, vidi, vici*), and in autumn 47 B.C. he returned to Rome. In December of the very same year, he landed in Africa, and defeated the *optimates* in the spring of 46 B.C. at Thapsus, leading his opponent of many years, Cato, champion of the Republic, to commit suicide at Utica. Next winter Caesar was in Spain, campaigning against the sons of Pompey. His victory at Munda (45 B.C.) marked the end of the civil war, and from now on he enjoyed sole power. From 45 B.C., *imperator* became his *praenomen*; and in 44 he was appointed dictator for life. Decrees securing his apotheosis were put in hand. His planned expedition against the Parthians was an effort to avoid domestic political difficulties, but was not destined for fulfillment. After his intention to secure the royal power became obvious, a group of Roman republicans, some of whom were his intimate friends, saw it as their duty to murder the tyrant (March 15, 44 B.C.).

Although Caesar was granted only relatively few years for the internal organization of the Empire, he had made a start with important plans: the reform of the calendar[1] by the epoch-making change from the lunar to the solar year (Sosigenes); the extension of the citizenship to the Transpadanes and other groups; social measures such as the alleviation of debt; and the settlement of the veterans in Italy and of *proletarii* in the provinces. He also planned a codification of Roman law.

An estimate of Caesar as a writer touches only part of his achievement, and a part not regarded by him as an aim in itself. As a man of action, Caesar also understood the power of the word. In a general, words are as good as deeds and it is a mark of Caesar's knowledge

[1] G. Radke, Die Schaltung des römischen Kalenders und Caesars Reform, in: Archaisches Latein, Darmstadt 1981, 152–161.

of the art of leadership that at the right moment he could find the right word.

Survey of Works

Caesar was recognized as a great orator,[1] although by no means did he keep written records of all his addresses, while, on the other hand, spurious *speeches* were in circulation quite early under his name. At the age of 23, he prosecuted Cn. Cornelius Dolabella for malfeasance in public office. The funeral oration for his Aunt Julia (68 B.C.), the widow of Marius, attests to his consciousness of his own royal and divine descent (Suet. *Iul.* 6), as does his courageous intervention to uphold Marius' memory. In the same year Caesar honored his wife Cornelia with a funeral oration, something not customary in the case of young women (Plut. *Caes.* 5).

For Caesar, speech was only a means to an end, not however used without rhetorical competence. Quite early he had been encouraged by his witty uncle Julius Caesar Strabo and by the famous *grammaticus* M. Antonius Gnipho in thoughtful handling of language. Gnipho indeed was twice the intermediary in the rise of classical Latin, for another of his students was Cicero. Had Caesar not studied with Gnipho, the speedy composition of a technical treatise such as the *De analogia*,[2] during a crossing of the Alps[3] (55 or 54 B.C.), would have been unimaginable. On his way from Rome to Spain (46 B.C.), he composed a travel poem (*Iter*) and when encamped before Munda a pamphlet attacking Cato. This *Anticato*[4] (the title is attested by App. *civ.* 2. 99) comprised at least two books, commonly called for the sake of brevity *Anticatones* (cf. Cic. *Att.* 13. 50. 1; Mart. Cap. 5. 468), was a response to Cicero's eulogy of Cato and made use of a pamphlet by Metellus Scipio. Even if Caesar had employed only 'subtle irony'[5]—something by no means certain–here in fact he let the mask fall, revealing all his dislike for the embodiment of old Roman morals and Republican attitudes. The loss of the document is a stroke of luck for the memory, not of Cato, but of Caesar.[6]

Augustus took pains to see that works not published by Caesar himself were not disseminated. Accordingly, his youthful poems, such as his *Praise*

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[1] Cic. *Brut.* 252; 261; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 114.

[2] H. Dahlmann 1935; a different view in G. L. Hendrickson, The *De analogia* of Julius Caesar. Its Occasion, Nature, and Date, with Additional Fragments, CPh 1, 1906, 97–120.

[3] Suet. *Iul.* 56. 5; Fronto 224 V.D.H.

[4] The title is given in the plural by Suet. *Iul.* 56. 5; Juv. 6. 338.

[5] H. J. Tschiedel, Caesar und der berauschte Cato, WJA n.s. 3, 1977, 105–113.

[6] A comprehensive discussion of the *Anticato* in H. J. Tschiedel, Caesars *Anticato.* Eine Untersuchung der Testimonien und Fragmente, Darmstadt 1981.

of Hercules, a tragedy under the title *Oedipus*, his travelogue (*Iter*), and a collection of apophthegms which he had inspired are now unknown. His astronomical work, edited in conjunction with Sosigenes and others, is also now lost.[1]

Of his *Letters*, of which an edition was published, some are preserved as appendixes or insertions in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus.[2] His talent for succinct expression, so remarkable in his *Commentaries*, is also displayed in his epistolary style (e.g. 9. 13a). A knowledge of men is revealed in his courteous overtures to Cicero (9. 6a). Yet his assured and determined language, beneath a veil of friendship, cannot conceal menacing undertones (10. 8b). In a letter, the declaration of *misericordia* (Caesar avoids the term *clementia*) becomes a political manifesto (9. 7c).

The *Commentarii on the Gallic War*, according to the now prevailing interpretation, were not composed from year to year,[3] although there is some evidence that Caesar sent reports (*litterae*) to the Senate in a format resembling that of a book. Rather, they were recorded quickly at one go in the winter of 52–51 B.C. (*facile atque celeriter*, Hirt. *Gall.* 8, *praef.* 6). Of course he must have used his own reports and, for events at which he was not present, notes made by his legates. Between his official reports and publication, a work of editing[4] must be assumed, partly with political, and partly with literary, aims. It was only after his great successes of 52 B.C. that Caesar could assume that an historical presentation might serve his purposes.[5] Accordingly, he often emphasizes that his behavior was wholly guided by prudence in the interests of the Roman people and corresponded to the traditions of Roman policy (e.g. as early as 1. 10. 2).

The division of material and the mutual relationship of the books, reveal the existence of an overall plan, which cannot have come into existence by mere accretion and successive compilation. Caesar tried to give his books roughly the same dimensions, which meant, for example, that the comparative excursus on the Gauls and Germans was displaced to book 6. The 1st and 7th books, which both show masterly design, are the corner pillars and receive preferential position. The style develops gradually and almost unremarkably, showing that no particularly long interruptions in the progress

[1] V. Valcárcel, La pérdida de la obra poética de César. Un caso de censura?, in: Symbolae L. Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae, vol. 1, Vitoria 1985, 317–324; L. Alfonsi, Nota sull'*Oedipus* di Cesare, Aevum 57, 1983, 70–71.

[2] 9. 6a; 7c; 13a; 14 (in § 1); 16; 10. 8b.

[3] However, year by year composition of the *Bellum Gallicum* is assumed by K. Barwick 1951, 124–127.

[4] A reconstruction of this work in E. Mensching 1988, 39–41.

[5] Relations between the *Bellum Gallicum* and contemporary discussion of the war are recognized by E. Mensching, Zu den Auseinandersetzungen um den Gallischen Krieg und der Considius-Episode (*Gall.* 1. 21–22), Hermes 112, 1984, 53–65.

of the work are to be supposed.[1] Caesar also gave a literary reality to his military and political scheme by assimilating his individual campaigns into a larger whole, the *Gallic War.*

Bellum Gallicum[2]

After a short description of Gaul, the 1st book contains the events of 58 B.C., that is, the campaigns against the Helvetii (2–29) and against Ariovistus (30–54). The 2nd book describes the campaign against the Belgae (57 B.C.). In book 3 is found the reduction of the coastal tribes, centering around the war against the Veneti (56 B.C.). The 4th book (55 B.C.) relates the treacherous annihilation of the Usipeti and Tencteri (1–15), the first crossing of the Rhine (16–19), the first expedition to Britain (20–36), and the punitive march against the rebellious Morini and Menapii (37–38). Book 5, dealing with the events of 54 B.C., narrates a second visit to Britain (1–23), the severe defeat suffered by Sabinus and Cotta at the hands of Ambiorix (24–37), the threat to Quintus Cicero and his subsequent rescue by Caesar (38–52), concluding with the suppression of unrest among the Senones and Treviri. Book 6 (53 B.C.) describes Caesar's subjection of the Nervii, the Senones, the Carnuti, and the Menapii, and that by Labienus of the Treviri (1–8). The account of the second crossing of the Rhine (9–28) is adorned with cultural and historical digressions concerning Gaul (11–20), Germany (21–24), and the Hercynian forest (25–28). The 2nd half of the book is filled with the merciless campaign against the Eburones. The 7th book (52 B.C.) recounts the dramatic struggle of the Gauls for freedom, led by the Arvernian Vercingetorix, up to the capitulation of Alesia.

The last book, containing the events of 51 and 50 B.C., was put together by one of Caesar's legates, Hirtius, who introduces himself in a preliminary epistle. It describes the final pacification of Gaul, giving particular emphasis to the hard-won conquest of Uxellodunum and the brave resistance put up by Commius, chief of the Atrebates. The final chapters (49–55) form a transition to the Civil War.

Bellum Civile

The *Bellum Civile* was probably put on record in 47 B.C., during the interlude between the Alexandrian War and departure for Spain. It breaks off at the beginning of the Alexandrian campaign and is thought to have been left unfinished by the author.

The surviving text begins with the senatorial debates at the start of 49 B.C. and the measures taken against Caesar (1–6). Caesar's conquest of Italy (7–23) is followed by the siege of Pompey at Brundisium, leading to

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1 D. Rasmussen 1963.

2 E. Mensching 1988, 20–23.

his departure for Dyrrhachium (24–29). In the same way, Cotta abandons Sardinia, and Cato Sicily (30–31). After a brief stop in Rome, Caesar turns his attention to Spain. On his march he leaves Trebonius and D. Brutus behind at Massilia to conduct the siege of the town. In Spain he defeats Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's legates (37–38). The celebrated naval battle at Massilia occupies chapters 56–58.

The 2nd book recounts further events of 49 B.C., indicating an abandonment of the principle of dedicating one book to each year. The siege of Massilia proceeds (1–16). Varro travels to Spain (17–20). In his own absence, Caesar is named *dictator* (21). Finally, Massilia, too, is forced to lay down its arms (22). Curio's campaign in Africa is unsuccessful and leads to his death (23–44). This episode forms the dramatic climax of the work.

The 3rd book treats the events of 48 B.C. Its chief stages are Brundisium, Dyrrhachium, Pharsalus, and Pompey's death. It expressly forms a transition to the Alexandrian War, although Caesar himself did not complete the story.

On the *Corpus Caesarianum*, s. below.

Sources, Models, and Genres

From the contemporary point of view, memoirs are *sources* rather than *works* of history. The probable title *Commentarii*[1] *rerum gestarum* seems to point in the same direction: it suggests either private notes made by Roman officials (to be distinguished from proconsular reports to the Senate, for which the name is *litterae*), or *hypomnemata*, that is, organized collections of materials meant to be worked up into literary shape (Lucian *hist. conscr.* 48–50). Such memoirs existed, for example, written both by Sulla (Plut. *Luc.* 1. 4) and Cicero (*commentarii consulatus: Att.* 1. 19. 10; 2. 1).

But what Caesar wrote can only superficially be described as *commentarii*. In fact, they are already completed works. This was to raise the *commentarius* to the level of literature, something already recognized by Cicero (*Brut.* 262) and Hirtius (Gall. 8, *praef.* 3–7). This circumstance implied a change in style.[2] Cicero, on his own admission, had employed in his *commentarius* the 'perfume shop of Isocrates, the make-up kit of his disciples and the colors of Aristotle' (*Att.* 2. 1. 1).

In general, the *commentarius* was not something purely Roman, even in Caesar's hands. There had been comparable *hypomnemata*[3] of rulers

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[1] F. Bömer 1953; M. Gelzer 1963.

[2] On the evolution in Caesar's style: E. Mensching 1988, passim.

[3] On the *hypomnema*: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Kultur der Gegen-

and generals and campaign narratives emanating from the circle of Alexander the Great. This is a genre which likewise employed ethnographical excursus.

Nor should we forget the historical writings of Xenophon, whose influence penetrated far more deeply throughout Roman literature than is often assumed. As in Xenophon, the proem is missing (Lucian *hist. conscr.* 23). The author presents himself in the third person,[1] using a style whose ideal is refined simplicity.[2] Caesar also introduces other elements of literary historical writing into his *commentarii*: for example, in his use of the excursus[3] on the topography of Gaul and Germany and its peculiarities, he follows Greek ethnographers, notably Posidonius.[4] Caesar's independence in his adopting literary procedures (use of third person, narrative stance, and so on) demands precise evaluation.[5]

Literary Technique

The title *commentarii* is a literary understatement. The movement of the genre towards *historia* is observed principally in literary technique. For example, the use of extensive *digressions* (Britain, *Gall.* 5. 12–14; Gaul and Germany 6. 11–28) is undoubtedly a device of historiography. The interpretation of underlying causes by means of *speeches* is an additional tenent of ancient historical writing. A touchstone is furnished by the relation between indirect and direct speech. The latter, whose dramatic effect is more marked, is introduced when the aim is to arouse the reader's sympathetic response (e.g. *Gall.* 5. 30). The 7th book, designed by Caesar as the dramatic culmination of the *Bellum Gallicum*, is particularly rich in such speeches (*Gall.* 7. 20; 38; 50; 77); yet the practice of indirect speech, normal in the

wart, 1, 8, 1912, 158–161; A. Schumrick, Observationes ad rem librariam pertinentes, diss. Marburg 1909, 69–93; G. Avenarius, Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung, Meisenheim 1956, 85–104.

[1] M. Aemilius Scaurus and P. Rutilius Rufus had, unlike Caesar, employed the first person.

[2] Caesar's *commentarii*, like Xenophon's, comprised seven books.

[3] Against H. Fuchs (Gnomon 8, 1932, 241–258) H. Oppermann 1933 defends the authenticity of the different excursus; s. also F. Beckmann 1930.

[4] E. Norden, Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' *Germania*, Darmstadt 1971, 5th ed. 1971, 84–104; even the *topographical* parts have their Greek models; cf. D. Panhuis, Word Order, Genre, Adstratum. The Place of the Verb in Caesar's Topographical *excursus*, Glotta 49, 1981, 295–308.

[5] A detailed account in E. Mensching 1988 passim.

commentarius, is not abandoned either (*Gall.* 7. 29; 32; 34 al.).

In the *Bellum civile* an address by the 'tragic hero' Curio is reported directly (2. 31 and 32). Utterances of Pompey (3. 18) and Labienus (3. 19) betray the fanaticism of the opposing side and might be compared with the speech by Critognatus (*Gall.* 7. 77). In quoting the heroic words of his gravely wounded standard bearer, Caesar honors the spirit of his troops at the very moment of their flight (3. 64). Before the Battle of Pharsalus pithy remarks of Caesar are heard (3. 85), although his declarations are usually reported only indirectly. Pompey (86) and Labienus (87) deliver lengthy speeches evincing deluded minds. One of Caesar's common soldiers expresses the attitude of his fellows and attests the seriousness of the situation (91). In his declarations (94) Pompey shows himself to the end insincere and dissembling. This list in itself is evidence of considerable psychological pressure exerted on the reader.

The gradual emergence of direct speeches in *both* works shows that this cannot be a question of a purely chronological development in Caesar's way of writing. His purpose, rather, is the artistic control of his material (οἰκονομία) with the aim of working on the reader's emotions (ψυχαγωγία).

Further devices for bringing events closer to the reader and matching narrative time with narrated time are found in the 'narrative unit', giving the stage to a specific person, and in 'reflection', that is, the depiction of the commander's private thoughts.[1] The extraordinarily large space afforded by Caesar to his own meditations corresponds to more than the role of the συλλογισμοί found in Polybius, or (to some extent) in Thucydides and Xenophon. It is connected with his 'level of intent', that of showing Caesar without reservation as a most prudent leader of his men. Individual scenes, such as *civ.* 3. 64 or 91, illustrate the bravery and deep commitment of the troops. In the very 1st book of the *Gallic War* Caesar is at some pains to present his military action as a *bellum iustum*. In the introductory chapters of the *Bellum civile* narrative and tendentious argument are intertwined almost inseparably.[2]

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[1] H. A. Gärtner 1975 is basic. Individual literary procedures are discussed, with the aid of statistics, by F.-H. Mutschler 1975.

[2] C. J. Classen, Philologische Bemerkungen zu den einleitenden Kapiteln von Caesars *Bellum civile*. Darstellungstechnik und Absicht, in: Omaggio a P. Treves, Padova 1983, 111–120.

The bias of the narrative achieved by using emotional adjectives and borrowing procedures from literary historiography allows Caesar to portray his opponents as arrogant, short-sighted and obsessed. In this way Caesar's own behavior is indirectly justified.

The methods of so-called Peripatetic historical writing are particularly evoked when Fortune, not Caesar, is in control. Such is the case when there are failures, for example, at Dyrrhachium and in the story of Curio. Conversely, Caesar emphasizes *consilium* especially on the eve of successes, to avoid any impression that they are the result of coincidence. An example of the dramatic shaping of a *peripeteia*[1] is found at *Gall.* 2. 19–27. The situation of the Romans, in all its hopelessness, is depicted in detail. Against this gloomy background, the commander personally makes his entry (25) like an epic hero. The author in fact has already prepared the attentive reader for this reversal of fortune. Narrative art here shares something with the propagandist. Caesar certainly did not make up his personal intervention, but throughout he is well aware of the effect this scene will have on his readers.

Caesar follows literary historiography in using devices of ornament as an aid to interpretation, although interpretation for him (unlike the historians) is largely directed to the political self-advertisement of the author as actor. This does not necessarily imply a distortion of the facts in every case, but it does mean a conscious deployment of literary means to serve a particular end, which cannot be reconciled with the historian's claim to impartiality. There is a basic difference between the historian who aims to write *sine ira et studio*, and who only falls short of his aim because of the limitations of human nature; and, on the other hand, a narrative written from the outset to be a self-portrait of a particular individual. In this latter case, a 'rhetorical' analysis of artistic procedures is more appropriate than one based purely on aesthetic appeal. This does not exclude, of course, the occurrence of powerful artistic effects, nor does it necessarily imply that what is told is untrue. In Caesar's case, however, it is rewarding to inquire into the motives behind the selection, arrangement and artistic manipulation of his material.

Caesar had studied rhetoric (for example, under the famous Molon who was also Cicero's teacher), and he knew the most effective methods of rearranging facts so as to set them in a new light: dis-

[1] W. Görler 1977.

junction (i.e., the separation of facts from their context and their rearrangement to suit special purposes); narrative as (preliminary) justification; insinuation by use of vague expressions; emotional coloring by careful choice of adjectives; varying sentence beginnings to give a new slant; dramatization; distraction from the main point by paying leisurely attention to incidentals. In this context we might also recall that the detailed digression[1] in the 6th book contributes to conceal the lack of success experienced in the German expedition.

Language and Style

A characteristic mark of Caesar's handling of language is his purism. The negative implications of this attitude have been greatly exaggerated. What the Latin language loses by it in fullness is recovered in stylistic vigor. The advice given in the *De analogia*, to steer clear of an unusual word like a reef (*apud Gell.* 1. 10. 4; GRF vol. 1, 146) defines the selection of vocabulary (*verborum delectus*; Cic. *Brut.* 253). Thus, if several synonyms are available, Caesar limits his choice to one of them, rejecting *fluvius* and *amnis*, for example, in favor of *flumen*. He avoids therefore mere variation for its own sake, and in every case seeks the mot juste (*verbum proprium*).[2] Such a way of speaking or writing was called κυριολογία; *elegantia Caesaris* (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 114) means simplicity as a principle of style.

From this 'golden mean', Caesar deviates only rarely. Occasionally, his style approximates that of officialdom, for example in redundancies such as *diem, quo die; propterea quod; postridie eius diei; permittere, ut liceat.* In his funeral oration for Julia, we find in a solemn context a dactylic rhythm, *regibus ortum*, as a clausula.[3] More often, Caesar seeks to please us with the parallelism of symmetrically arranged clauses.

His treatment of language is functional. This is shown in his variation of sentence lengths. In *Gall.* 7. 27, a complex period is assigned to reflection, while a short clause matches the speed of the action.[4]

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[1] Bibliography on the excursus is found in H. Gesche 1976, 259–263; W. M. Zeitler, Zum Germanenbegriff Caesars. Der Germanenexkurs im sechsten Buch von Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*, in: H. Beck, ed., Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht, Berlin 1986, 41–52; N. Holzberg suggests that Caesar wishes to prove his adversaries' invincibility: Die ethnographischen Exkurse in Caesars *Bellum Gallicum* als erzählstrategisches Mittel, Anregung 33, 1987, 85–98.

[2] On Caesar's vocabulary cf. E. Mensching 1988, 79–85.

[3] von Albrecht, Prose 54–58.

[4] von Albrecht, ibid., 59–67.

The ablative absolute is more frequent in Caesar than it is in Cicero, for it allows to incorporate incidental circumstances in a sentence with the greatest possible brevity. Cicero, whose task as an orator often requires the ample development of an argument, may at times have felt the ablative absolute to be dry and abstract, and for that reason have made less frequent use of it.

Caesar may put the verb at the beginning to serve dramatic ends, all the more since he usually is strict in observing the final position normal in Latin. Here, too, belong his historic infinitives and historic presents. His use of hyperbaton also deserves attention.[1] Although Caesar's style in general is more concerned with *docere* and adheres to the principle of economy, in particular cases effects illustrating *movere* are especially powerful. To give an example, some of his accounts of battles echo Ennius' epic. (Ennius' battles are lost, but some notion of them might be recovered from parodies in Plautus, such as that in the *Amphitruo*).

The rationalism of Caesar's choice of style may be contrasted with the emotional and rhetorical manner found in Cicero. Caesar avoids the personification of abstracts, parenthesis, anacoloutha, since he takes pride (Plut. *Caes.* 3) in his 'soldierly manner of speech' (λόγος στρατιωτικοῦ ἀνδρός).

Stylistic variations in Caesar admit different explanations. Those who suppose that the *Bellum Gallicum* was written at one sitting see in these differences principally artistic purposes at work. Others believe that a development of style may be traced chronologically, and it is certainly undeniable that the external marks of the *commentarius* are most visible in the 1st book, and least in the 7th, where they are increasingly replaced by procedures drawn from historiography. Certain linguistic inadvertencies in the *Bellum civile* may be attributed to the great haste in which the work was composed.[2]

The language and style of the *commentarii* have an attractive brevity and charm. Cicero recognizes (*Brut.* 262): *nihil est enim in historia pura et inlustri brevitate dulcius* ('for in history, there is nothing more pleasing than brevity clear and correct'), although his own ideal of historical writing is different. The word *dulce* here alludes to the ἡδύ in Xenophon's style. What Quintilian says of Cicero, that to take

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[1] H. C. Gotoff, Towards a Practical Criticism of Caesar's Prose Style ICS 9, 1984, 1–18.

[2] The two last mentioned features are emphasized in K. Barwick 1951.

pleasure in this author is a measure of one's own progress (*inst.* 10. 1. 112) is adapted by E. Norden to Caesar: 'The satisfaction taken in one of Caesar's periods, planned as they are with logical rigor, and constructed with lapidary power, affords something like a measure of one's own feeling for Roman strength, energy, and greatness.'[1] Montaigne noted on the front page of his edition of Caesar: 'Le plus disert, le plus net et le plus sincère historien qui fût jamais.'[2] Without subscribing to the French author's moral judgment we must still agree with his praise of Caesar's style. 'Caesar's genius for winning battles easily is also recognizable in his style' (Herder, following Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 114).[3] Since Caesar was a great strategist, it is only to be expected that his choice of words also served propaganda ends.[4]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature and Language

It is not possible to speak of a theory of historical writing developed by Caesar. Although he raised the *commentarius* to the level of literature, his primary goal was certainly not to attain fame as a writer.

His pamphlet *On Analogy*[5] put forward linguistic precision as the basis of oratory. Following his teacher M. Antonius Gnipho, Caesar

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[1] NORDEN, LG 48.

[2] B. CHEVALLIER, Montaigne lecteur et juge de César, in: Présence de César, 91–107, esp. 101.

[3] *Vom Einfluß der Regierung auf die Wissenschaften und der Wissenschaften auf die Regierung* 3, 25 (Works, ed. Suphan 9, 333). On Language and style: O. WEISE, Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache, Leipzig and Berlin 4th ed. 1909; repr. 1920, 143–165, comparison with Cicero; E. WYSS, Stilistische Untersuchungen zur Darstellung von Ereignissen in Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*, diss. Bern 1930; M. DEINHART, Die Temporalsätze bei Caesar, diss. München 1936; J. J. SCHLICHER, The Development of Caesar's Narrative Style CPh 31, 1936, 212–224; W. S. VOGEL, Zur Stellung von *esse* bei Caesar und Sallust, diss. Tübingen, Würzburg 1938; A. MARSILI, *De praesentis historici usu apud Caesarem*, Lucca 1941; J. MAROUZEAU, Traîté de stylistique latine, Paris 2nd ed.1946, esp. 236; 264; 282; 328–329; K. DEICHGRÄBER, *Elegantia Caesaris*. Zu Caesars Reden und *Commentarii*, Gymnasium 57, 1950, 112–123, repr. in: D. RASMUSSEN, ed., Caesar, WdF 43, Darmstadt 1967, 208–223; K. BARWICK 1951; J. A. M. VAN DER LINDEN, Een speciaal gebruik van de ablativus absolutus bij Caesar, diss. Amsterdam 1955, 's Gravenhage 1955; E. MENSCHING 1980, 75–87 (with bibl.).

[4] E. ODELMAN, Aspects du vocabulaire de César, Eranos 83, 1985, 147–154; Friedrich MAIER, Herrschaft durch Sprache. Caesars Erzähltechnik im Dienste der politischen Rechtfertigung, Anregung 33, 1987, 146–154.

[5] H. DAHLMANN 1935; H. DREXLER, Parerga Caesariana, Hermes 70, 1935, 203–234.

championed the principle of analogy, the obedience to strict rules, against anomaly, linguistic usage with all its attendant irregularities. So it is that he uses *frustro* instead of *frustror*, and in the fourth declension forms the dative even in the masculine in *-u* instead of *-ui*. It may well have been he who standardized (Quint. *inst.* 1. 7. 21) the orthography of the superlative in *-imus* instead of *-umus*. The *De analogia*, dedicated to Cicero, was meant to lay the foundation for the more advanced rhetorical doctrines developed by Cicero himself in the *De oratore*. This explains why Caesar's theory of analogy is focussed exclusively on the topic of eloquence. For this reason, in his work, Caesar takes only a moderately analogist position. The orator was expected to pay some attention to actual linguistic usage, even if only for the sake of his audience (cf. Varro *ling.* 9. 1. 5). Since Caesar is concerned with *good* usage (*pura et incorrupta consuetudo*, 'pure and uncorrupted usage', cf. Cic. *Brut.* 261), *analogia* and *usus* are not real opposites. For himself Caesar lays claim to *facilis et cotidianus sermo* ('straight everyday talk'), for Cicero, *copia*. Possibly[1] the well-known second fragment from the *De analogia* (*apud* Gell. 1. 10. 4) is directed against the analogists' unnatural linguistic experiments (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 259–261 referring to Sisenna). The principles followed by Caesar himself are *Latinitas, pura et inlustris brevitas, elegantia.*

Ideas II

The ideas expressed by Caesar are governed by his bias. The selective use of facts constricts the reader's perspective to create a false sense of assurance. Since discourse is largely confined to the military dimension, Caesar always shows himself from his strongest side.[2] He is a great simplifier. The probability of his *commentarii* is internal, offering therefore no guarantee of truth. As with a good lawyer, the plea will be constructed from facts which are individually true, but whose arrangement follows a predetermined line.

Even moral values are not absolutes for him. They are degraded to mere instruments serving his strategy of success. This is something which raises questions in any case about the use of the *Commentarii* as a beginner's text.[3] An adult may see through the superior tactical

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[1] H. Drexler, ibid.
[2] E. Mensching 1988, 178.
[3] Excellent remarks on Caesar as material for reading by senior classes are made

play and enjoy it.[1] Earlier generations of teachers operated here with double standards. Ovid's strategy of success in love was rejected as cold and cynical, notwithstanding the author's evidently humorous intention. In Caesar's case, the same readers were less sensitized, although Caesar was speaking in earnest.

The few surviving Nervii were carefully spared (*diligentissime conservavit*, 'he was most careful to preserve them', *Gall.* 2. 28). But this beautiful statement is preceded by a purpose clause: *ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur* ('to show himself merciful towards their pitiful suppliance'). The *videretur* here, even if it means not so much 'to appear' as 'to be seen', has a chilling effect on the reader. Even in sympathy there is still calculation. Caesar in fact never loses sight of the effect on his public. Sympathy here is viewed, not as an ethical value, but as a political tactic. The 'hard sell' goes to troubling lengths. And this *videretur* is not interpolated by some 'malicious Tacitus', but written in full awareness by the actor himself. There is no concern for human beings, even where one could afford to treat them humanely, since they are no longer dangerous. All that matters is Caesar's own image. This passage is not isolated. In a similar way, Caesar (*civ.* 3. 1. 5) leaves a decision to the people to ensure that he himself appears in a more advantageous light (*videri* twice). Caesar regards everything, even values, even persons, only as a means to an end.[2]

This impression is strengthened by an examination of the way individual leaders are presented in the *Bellum Gallicum*.[3] Caesar is

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by E. Römisch, Lektüremodelle, in: Beiträge zur Lehrerfortbildung, Klassische Philologie, Wien 1973, 103–120, esp. 106–107.

[1] Cf. F. Leo, Die römische Literatur und die Schullektüre, Das humanistische Gymnasium 21, 1910, 166–176, esp. 175: 'So far as Caesar is concerned I must agree with those who want to keep him out of school. It is true that he has the simplicity of a man of action whose words are deeds; and the Roman army in ancient Gaul, confronted by Ariovistus and Vercingetorix is certainly a theme to stir the imagination. But Caesar's method of conducting war and the tendentiousness of his narrative must offend young minds. His book is only to be understood correctly from the point of view of high politics. It is and remains something *bizarre* that the great Caesar *pueros elementa docet*.' S. now H. Cancik, Rationalität und Militär—Caesars Kriege gegen Mensch und Natur, in: H.-J. Glücklich, ed., Lateinische Literatur, heute wirkend, vol. 2, Göttingen 1987, 7–29.

[2] It must be recognized that Caesar's honesty in such passages is actually terrifying.

[3] E. Mensching, Caesars Interesse an Galliern und Germanen (a discussion of: E. Koutroubas, Die Darstellung der Gegner in Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*, diss. Heidelberg 1972), GGA 227, 1975, 9–22; C. M. Ternes, Les Barbares dans les *Commentaires sur la Guerre des Gaules* de Jules César, BAL 10, 1980, 53–70.

basically determined to take almost nothing except military considerations into account,[1] suppressing, for example, the political motives behind his British expedition, explained by his rivalry with Pompey. Within the military sphere, he is interested only in the following facts: his own superior generalship; the dedication and bravery of his men; the justice of the wars he fights; the branding of his opponents as mad, blind and fanatical. The antithesis between rational and irrational behavior is a basic feature of Caesar's military history.[2]

If Caesar chides a 'realistic' politician like Dumnorix for *amentia*, it is not so much an objective verdict on this Gaul as a description of his inability to make a correct estimate of Caesar's own reactions (*Gall.* 5. 7. 2). Even a central character like Vercingetorix interests Caesar only from one point of view, as a champion of Gallic freedom. An important feature, Vercingetorix's earlier pro-Roman activity, is completely obscured. Similarly, the real motives of the Gauls' bitter struggle are never given a hearing. Caesar is content with the motive—honorable for both sides—of a 'struggle for freedom', not without adding that the champions of this ideal were untrue to their own high claim. Here in fact we encounter a motif which occurs also in Caesar's criticism of Cato.[3]

The real underlying causes of Gallic resistance—the resentment at Caesar's violent regime, the breakdown of old structures in Gaul and the failure to replace them with a convincing new order—disappear behind the 'universally human' struggle for freedom and of course the hatred of a man like Critognatus (7. 77) for the Romans 'in general'.

Caesar does not seem to have had a particularly high opinion of the Gauls. The best of them are distinguished in his eyes by 'un-Gallic' qualities: Diviciacus by *egregia fides, iustitia, temperantia* (1. 19. 2), Ambiorix by *consilium* (5. 34. 1), Vercingetorix by *summa diligentia* (7. 4. 9).[4]

There is an ambivalence in the portrayal of Caesar's junior officers. Sometimes he appears to give them credit for their achievements, and actually to relieve them of blame; and sometimes the opposite

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[1] On the occasional mention of other areas of his activities in the *Bellum Gallicum*: E. Mensching 1988, 3–20.

[2] H. Cancik, Disziplin und Rationalität. Zur Analyse militärischer Intelligenz am Beispiel von Caesars *Gallischem Krieg*, Saeculum 37, 1986, 166–181.

[3] Plin. *epist.* 3. 12. 2–3 = *frg.* 6 Klotz p. 189; H. J. Tschiedel, Caesar und der berauschte Cato, WJA n.s. 3, 1977, 105–113.

[4] E. Mensching 1975, 21, note 16.

may be observed. The heartfelt empathy in Curio's heroic fate is surely also meant to act as a lightning rod for the reader's own feelings, intended to draw any too strong sympathy away from Pompey, whose fall is to be described in the next book.

Caesar's false picture of the attitude taken by Pompey and his followers, including the men of Massilia, was already hinted at. They are stylized and transformed into 'fanatics', just like the rebellious Gauls. Even there Caesar did not handle his chiaroscuro impartially. The Haedui were systematically denigrated, while on the other hand Vercingetorix was glorified.

Caesar himself, for example, emphasizes his care for the Haedui and his disappointment at their ingratitude. In the same way in the Civil War, he highlights at every turn his own readiness for negotiation and his love of peace. In both cases the purpose is to enable him at the right moment to declare that now even *his* inexhaustible patience has reached its limits, and arms must do the talking. To use rhetorical terms: by laying stress on his *ethos*, he builds up his thesis of the guilt shared by Pompey and the *optimates* for the Civil War.

Caesar's system of values demands some further attention. Our general declares solemnly that his behavior is determined by the traditions of Roman policy (e.g. *Gall.* 1. 10. 2). Yet in spite of this asseveration, the old Roman values have no longer any binding force for him. His contemporaries were unanimous in their belief that his invasion of Italy was irreconcilable with the old Roman concept of *pietas erga patriam.* What then were the values which Caesar himself displayed on his banner?

In the Civil War Caesar defended his personal *dignitas* and the respect owed to the tribunes who had intervened on his behalf. It is a matter of the status won by each individual for himself by his own achievements. In Caesar's eyes it was not (as Mommsen argued) the legal question, but the question of honor and the claim of status (*dignitas*) that was decisive. In the *Bellum civile*, the bias of the argument rests, not on juridical, but on ethical considerations. It is Hirtius who poorly supplements this by some threadbare legal arguments (*Gall.* 8. 52–55). Caesar actually tries to create the impression that it was the Senate which had dishonored the old Roman way of doing things. He had forgotten the basic premise of old Roman *dignitas,* that status cannot be absolute, but only found within a fixed and ordered framework. At this point, Republican devotion to the state switches into a modern-looking 'philosophy of claims'. A country fail-

ing to reward merit appropriately no longer deserves on its part to exercise a moral imperative. This is an anticipation by Caesar of ideas destined to play an essential role in the modern emancipation of the individual.

A note of sincerity is heard only when Caesar speaks of his men. Here, he is unsparing of praise, but once again with a purpose in mind. According to a saying attributed to him which, if not true, was certainly *ben trovato*, status (*dignitas*) has two premises: money and soldiers (Dio Cassius, 42. 49. 4). Wealth leads to soldiers, and *vice versa*. Caesar's terrifying greatness is found in the rigor with which he pursued his personal goals and subordinated everything to them, including morals and the claims of humanity. In Cicero's judgment, Caesar had perhaps lived long enough for his own nature and for fame, but quite surely too little for his country (Cic. *Marcell.* 23–25). He was the child of a new age and had outgrown old ties.

It was to his *clementia* that Caesar owed both his success and his downfall. Roman tradition relates *clementia* to pardon (*ignoscere*),[1] and includes the abstention from a punishment which could in itself be justifiably inflicted. The Romans attributed this behavior to their ancestors in their dealings with their conquered enemies.[2] In Caesar it is praised, perhaps rightly, as a natural trait. But it also served a purpose, as Caesar's letter to Balbus and Oppius shows: *haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus* ('let this be a new way of conquering, to strengthen our position by kindness and generosity').[3] The notion that goodwill is the ruler's best bodyguard is one of the topoi of the theory of monarchy.[4] Caesar himself avoids the word *clementia*, perhaps because it presupposes a subordinate posture on the part of its recipient. He speaks instead of *misericordia, lenitas, liberalitas*. It is a virtue which he particularly exercises towards fellow citizens, in accordance with the old Roman rule of *parcere civibus* (Plut. *Mar.* 43). In the Civil War, in view of the prospective need for collaboration, it was practically a necessity. After the experiences under Sulla, more severity was expected, even from Pompey, if he had prevailed. Caesar's biggest miscalculation lay in not seeing that petty

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[1] Plaut. *Mil.* 1252; *Trin.* 827; Cic. *ad Brut.* 1. 15. 10; Sen. *clem.* 2. 3. 1.

[2] Cato *apud* Gell. 6. 3. 32–33; Q. Metellus Celer to Cic. *fam.* 5. 1; cf. Sall. *Catil.* 9. 3–5 *aequitas*; Livy 45. 8. 5.

[3] Letter of March 13, 49, Cic. *Att.* 9. 7c.

[4] Diog. Laert. 1. 97 on Periander of Corinth; Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 5. 84; Isocr. 10. 37; Plut. *Caes.* 57.

minds could tolerate least of all a great debt to someone else. In the Gallic War, by contrast, practically nothing of *clementia* can be detected. For example, at *Gall.* 8. 44. 1, he ordered the hands of all men capable of bearing arms to be severed, since in this instance he ran no risk, in the light of his well-known clemency, of being accused of cruelty: this is the explanation offered, with his soldierly shrewdness, by Hirtius. In general, in dealing with non-Romans, Caesar applied other standards, and their machiavellian motivations even vexed his fellow citizens. Cicero himself described Caesar's maltreatment of free peoples in devastating language,[1] and Cato proposed surrendering him to the Germans he had betrayed (Plut. *Caes.* 22).

Transmission

Two classes of manuscripts might be traced back to late antiquity. The 1st (Alpha) contains only the *Bellum Gallicum*, while the second (Beta) has the entire *Corpus Caesarianum*. Alpha derives from an old edition which compared different versions. The relative merits of Alpha or Beta, however, are a matter of dispute. Milestones in Caesarian criticism were marked by the editions of Meusel and Klotz.[2]

The question of interpolations has especially touched the introduction of the 1st book[3] and the digressions in the *Bellum Gallicum*. Nowadays it is usually resolved in favor of the latters' genuineness. Only Caesar's authorship of the zoological excursus (6. 25–28) must perhaps be denied.

Influence[4]

Caesar's fame is more or less independent of his writings. In antiquity he did not find many readers.[5] Asinius Pollio, a careful historian, doubted his credibility and accuracy (Suet. *Iul.* 56). As early as

[1] Cic. *off.* 2. 27–28; s. also Curio the Elder *apud* Cic. *Brut.* 218.

[2] Bibliography on the manuscripts in V. Brown, Latin Manuscripts of Caesar's *Gallic War*, in: Palaeographica diplomatica et archivistica. Studi in onore di G. Battelli, Roma 1979, vol. 1, 105–157; further bibl. s. below (note 2).

[3] W. Hering, Die Interpolation im Prooemium des *Bellum Gallicum*, Philologus 100, 1956, 67–99.

[4] A number of individual treatments in: R. Chevallier, ed., 1985.

[5] Traces are found in Livy, Nicolaus of Damascus, Plutarch, Tacitus, Appianus, Cassius Dio, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

the Augustans, Caesar was overshadowed by his adopted son. Whether Lucan made use of the *Bellum civile* is disputed. Quintilian admired Caesar as an orator, but made no mention of the *commentarii.* The Church Fathers were aware of Caesar's *clementia,*[1] but hardly of his writings. Orosius, though he read the *Bellum Gallicum,* took it for a work of Suetonius.

The Middle Ages witnessed the production of a relatively large number of copies, though Caesar is missing among the authors[2] recommended by Alcuin (9th century), Walther of Speyer (10th century), Konrad of Hirsau (12th century) and Eberhardus Germanus (13th century). Writers who quote Caesar in the Middle Ages are mostly of French or German origin, and seem to be acquainted only with the *Bellum Gallicum.* Maximus Planudes translated the *Bellum Gallicum* into Greek about 1300. On the threshold of the modern period Caesar was admired by Dante and Petrarch. Soon he was read by authors as different as Machiavelli and Montaigne.[3] Shakespeare (*Julius Caesar*) and Handel (*Giulio Cesare*) are among his fans. In Melanchthon's planned curricula for Protestant public schools, however, Caesar does not appear. But his cause was favored by Erasmus and the Jesuits, and, though at first as a model of simple, classical Latin, he later rode in triumph through the classrooms[4] of Christian Europe as early as the 16th century. Among the earliest school plays might be reckoned *Helvetiogermani* and *Iulius redivivus* by Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590). Caesar's fame passed far beyond the ranks of military writers,[5] who deservedly esteemed and quoted him. There is a somewhat strange unanimity in his praise among an Enlightenment thinker such as Wieland, a democrat like Mommsen, monarchs like Napopleon I and III, and aristocrats such as Nietzsche and Gundolf.[6] For a time Jacob Burckhardt regarded him as 'the greatest of mortals.'[7] Even George Bernard Shaw did not deny him

[1] Lact. *inst.* 6. 18. 34–35; 3. 18. 11–12; Aug. *epist.* 104. 16; Oros. 6. 17.

[2] W. RICHTER 1977, 18–21 (bibl.); on France and Germany: V. BROWN, The Textual Transmission of Caesar's *Civil War,* Leiden 1972, 14, note 2.

[3] Andrea Brenzio (15th century) wrote a speech of Caesar to his soldiers.

[4] F. A. ECKSTEIN, Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht, Leipzig 1887, 217–225.

[5] M. JÄHNS, Cäsars *Commentarien* und ihre literarische und kriegswissenschaftliche Folgewirkung, Militär-Wochenblatt, suppl. 7, Berlin 1883, 343–386.

[6] V. PÖSCHL, Gundolfs Caesar, Euphorion 75, 1981, 204–216.

[7] H. STRASBURGER, Jacob Burckhardts Urteil über Caesar, in: D. BREMER, A. PATZER, eds., Wissenschaft und Existenz, WJA n.s., suppl. 1, 1985, 47–58.

his meed of praise.[1] Brecht's *Geschäfte des Herrn Julius Caesar* are a caricature which might supply a corrective if they were more historically precise.[2] Thornton Wilder's *The Ides of March* (1948) draws the picture of an intelligent and humane ruler in a world gone awry. Conversely, Walter Jens (*Die Verschwörung*, 1974) emphasized the cool calculation of the *imperator* in all its rigor, even to the staging of his own death. 'We have become too humane not to find repugnant Caesar's triumphs.' When will this remark of Goethe to Eckermann[3] find its fulfillment?

The *Commentarii* are a literary testimony of high order, offered about himself by one of the greatest men of action in the history of the world, and, as such, something unique. Among literary memoirs they mark a new stage. Their significance for the history of autobiography[4] can hardly yet be measured. To grasp Caesar's greatness as master of tactics and strategy, attentive interpretation and rich experience of life are required. The paradox implied in the fact that the greatest of the Romans owed his greatness, not to the Roman Republic, and least of all to virtues of the old Roman school, is not something to be understood by novices.

As a great individual, who lived his life to the full without regard for others, Caesar was celebrated in the 19th and even in the 20th centuries. At the point of collapse between the downfall of Republican ties and the New Order of the Empire he realized for himself—and only for himself—a limitless freedom of the kind hardly even dreamed of earlier and later. In this respect he belongs with heroes of the spirit like Catullus and Lucretius, to the characteristic features of a period with which nowadays a spiritual kinship is often felt.

Even so, one hesitates to mention him in the same breath as these two great poets. The tastelessly extravagant gladiatorial games over which he presided as a way of securing popularity, the unprecedented number of war dead, and the failure to develop a permanent political structure are scarcely typical tokens of a champion of civilization. Rather, they unmask in the genius and general a gambler on a large

[1] M. von Albrecht, Bernard Shaw and the Classics, CML 8, 1987, 33–46; 8, 1988, 105–114.

[2] W. D. Lebek, Brechts Caesar-Roman: Kritisches zu einem Idol, in: B. Brecht—Aspekte seines Werkes, Spuren seiner Wirkung, München 1983, 167–199.

[3] To Eckermann on Nov. 24, 1824; Gespräche 3, 142; Gedenkausgabe, vol. 24, Zürich 1948, 124.

[4] G. Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie, 1, 1, Bern 3rd ed. 1948, 248–252.

scale, large even in the blatant fashion with which he subordinated patriotism, humanity and morals to his drive towards power.

Caesar's concept of topography was based on scientific study, as was his knowledge of military resources and their accompanying technology. Their ruthless application to predetermined ends no doubt belongs to the successful achievements on his part from which modern civilization often seems to seek guidance. Whether that has furthered its own happiness is another question.

Literary history must take into account the fact that Caesar was also a strategist of genius when it came to words and to psychological warfare.[1] It is this which has led to today's discovery of him as propagandist and historical writer. The comparative study of Caear's and Cicero's language is still in its infancy. The language and style of the *Corpus Caesarianum* promise wider conclusions about the relation of literary and colloquial language. Caesar's influence on the modern technical literature of military tactics—which is to say, on his own most basic area of expertise—has not yet been sufficiently investigated. A history of the objections raised against Caesar is also still awaited.

The *Corpus Caesarianum*

The Eighth Book of the Bellum Gallicum

Caesar carried his own account down to his victory over Vercingetorix. The gap between 51 B.C. and the start of the Civil War (49 B.C.) was filled by his legate Hirtius. The 8th book then, taking in two years (8. 48. 10), is distinguished at the outset from its predecessors by its scope. Furthermore, it contains a proem,[2] used by the author to introduce himself and to develop his interpretation of the genre of *commentarius*. His book, free from any excursuses, descriptions and even speeches, conforms with this interpretation far more than Caesar's work does.[3] Symmetrically placed episodes are formed by the War against the Bellovaci (6–23) and the successful siege of Uxellodunum (32–44). The climax of the main action is a duel (47–48. 9). The language shows only minor differences from that of Caesar.[4] The accounts of Caesar's cruelty are, though certainly without

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[1] Recently the Italian *equites* have attracted attention as an audience addressed by Caesar: E. Mensching 1988, 31–35.

[2] Hirtius' authorship of this so-called Letter to Balbus is partly disputed: L. Canfora, Cesare continuato, Belfagor 25, 1970, 419–429. Hirtius' authorship is defended by W. Richter 1977, 193–196.

[3] Cf. H. A. Gärtner 1975, 118–122.

[4] M. F. Buffa, Struttura e stile di *B. G.* VIII, SRIC 7, 1986, 19–49.

malicious intent, clumsily motivated. Hirtius must therefore not be described as Caesar's head of public relations. A chapter isolated from the others (49) explains Caesar's principles of provincial administration.

Bellum Alexandrinum, Africum and *Hispaniense* may have been written by participants in the fighting at the instigation of Hirtius or L. Cornelius Balbus.[1]

Bellum Alexandrinum

The so-called *Bellum Alexandrinum* comprises the events from September 48 to August 47 B.C. Without strictly adhering to chronology, the book guides the reader from theater to theater of war: Egypt, Armenia, Illyria, Spain; Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor. The struggle in Alexandria, conducted by Caesar himself, is allocated broad compass and is the subject of a gripping narrative. The author reveals extraordinary knowledge of detail, of the kind available only to an eyewitness (s. also 3. 1 and 19. 6, where the 1st person plural is found). Since Hirtius was not in Alexandria, his authorship must be dismissed.[2]

The vivid and even passionate narrative (*spectaculo*, 15. 8) recalls neither Caesar nor Hirtius, and sometimes seems to look ahead to Sallust and Livy. The literary claim is visible in the rhetorical tinge of the style and the fondness for terms of popular philosophy (*magnitudo animi* 32. 3; Caesar's good fortune 43. 1). Moreover, the author is not reluctant to take time here and there to indulge in reflections (7. 2; 23. 1).

Bellum Africum

The unknown author of the *Bellum Africum* was a soldier taking part personally in the campaign (end of 47 to the middle of April 46 B.C.), probably as an officer. His account exhibits a chronological arrangement with no introduction or use of excursus. The language is neither archaic nor vulgar.[3] Expression is simple and clear. Whereas Caesar likes to emphasize temporal sequence, the author of the *Bellum Africum* is fond of idioms such as *interim* underlining simultaneity, and creating the impression of a close interlocking of events. The point of view often shifts from one side in a conflict to the other. In the center of a reliable account of operations stands a lively scene illustrating the point that representatives of the Pompeians prefer to obey a barbarian king rather than a Roman legate (57). The author is not

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[1] The works vary for example in their assessment of Caesar's good fortune: P. R. Murphey, Caesar's Continuators and Caesar's *felicitas*, CW 79, 1986, 307–317.

[2] Hirtius' authorship of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* is defended by O. Seel, Hirtius, Klio suppl. 35, n.s. 22, Leipzig 1935. The continuers of the Caesarian *Bella* are discussed by W. Richter 1977, 191–223.

[3] In the *Bellum Africum*, however, *grandis* is more frequent than *magnus*; more details and bibliography in W. Richter 1977, 211, 65.

a man of letters like Caesar, but neither is he without education. He may lack understanding of Caesar's plans, but he is his commander's faithful supporter. In the opposing ranks he finds significance only in Cato (88. 5).

Bellum Hispaniense[1]

The author of the *Bellum Hispaniense*, which deals with events from December 46 to August 45 B.C., was likewise a personal participant (cf. 29. 6 *existimabamus*). He has a better grasp of the details of the art of war than of the progress of the campaign in general or even of political ramifications. As an historical witness, he is particularly trustworthy, precisely because of his inability to distinguish the essential from the inessential. He makes no secret of his prejudice against the young Cn. Pompeius (1. 4; 18; 20–22 and elsewhere). With equal straightforwardness he emphasizes Caesar's merits at every turn. If the figures given for the dead at Munda (1000 vs. over 30,000 on the other side) sound exaggerated (31. 9–10), the responsibility for them must be laid at the door of Caesar's staff rather than at that of the author.

Language and style are remarkable in two ways. On the one hand, the author is close to the language of popular speech (e.g. he uses *bene* in the sense of 'very'). On the other, he breaks the conventions of the style used in the *commentarius* by his ostentatious quotations from Ennius. He gains a charming effect by his poetic adornment of a minor retreat (*nostri cessere parumper* 23. 3; cf. also 31. 7 and 5. 6, where there is certainly a poetic and probably Ennian reminiscence).[2] His account of an individual engagement, introduced by a mythical comparison, follows the route of the Roman *annales*-style (25. 3–8). His two speeches (17 and 42) show traces of rhetorical education.[3] His fulsome style is proof partly of a touching effort at 'educated' expression (*nocturno tempore* for *noctu; hoc praeterito tempore* for *deinde*), and partly of sheer thoughtlessness (*cogebatur necessario; ex celeri festinatione*; and even: *non esse commissurum, ut ad subsidium mittendum se committeret*). The sly, wry humor of the author has hardly been noted, although it is this that might shed light on his use of quotations and key words. The *Bellum Hispaniense* therefore is a still unplumbed source of the first order for the psychology of language. Unfortunately, the reader's pleasure is spoiled by the work's poor transmission.

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[1] Evaluations are given by L. Castiglioni, *Decisa forficibus*, RIL 84, 1951, 30–54; G. Pascucci, Paralipomeni della esegesi e della critica al *Bellum Hispaniense*, ANRW 1, 3, 1973, 596–630, repr. in G.P., Scritti scelti, Firenze 1983, 2, 771–811.

[2] E. Wölfflin, Ennius und das *Bellum Hispaniense*, ALL 8, 1893, 596–597.

[3] W. Richter 1977, 220–223.

H. MEUSEL (TC), Berlin 17th ed. 1913, with epil. and bibl. suppl. by H. OPPERMANN 18th ed. 1960. * M. DEISSMANN (Tr), Stuttgart 1980. * O. SCHÖNBERGER (TTrN), München 1990. * *civ.*: A. G. PESKETT (TTrN), London 1914. * A. KLOTZ, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1950, with add. by W. TRILLITZSCH 1964, repr. 1992. * J. M. CARTER (TTrC), Warminster 1991. * F. KRANER, F. HOFMANN, H. MEUSEL (TC), Berlin 11th ed. 1906, with epil. and bibl. suppl. by H. OPPERMANN 12th ed. 1959. * O. SCHÖNBERGER (TTrN), München 2nd ed. 1990. * *Bell. Alex., Bell. Afr., Bell. Hisp.*: A. G. WAY (TTrN), London 1955, repr. 1978. * *Bell. Alex., Bell. Afr., Bell. Hisp., frgg.*: A. KLOTZ, Lipsiae 1927. * A. G. WAY (TTrN), London 1955. * *Bell. Alex., Bell. Afr., Bell. Hisp., civ.*: H. SIMON (Tr), with an introd. by Chr. MEIER, pref. by H. STRASBURGER, Bremen 1964. * *Bell. Alex.*: R. SCHNEIDER (TC), Berlin 1888. * R. GIOMINI (TC), Roma 1956. * *Bell. Afr.*: R. SCHNEIDER (TC), Berlin 1905. * *Bell. Hisp.*: A. KLOTZ (C), Leipzig 1927. * G. PASCUCCI (TC), Firenze 1965. * * *Indices, lexicon*: C. M. BIRCH, Concordantia et Index Caesaris, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1988. * H. MEUSEL, Lexicon Caesarianum, Berlin 1887–1893, repr. 1958. ** *Bibl.*: H. OPPERMANN, Probleme und heutiger Stand der Caesarforschung, in: D. RASMUSSEN, ed., Caesar, Darmstadt 1967, 485–522. * J. KROYMANN, Caesar und das *Corpus Caesarianum* in der neueren Forschung: (for 1945–1970), ANRW 1, 3, 1973, 457–487. * H. GESCHE, Bibl., in: H.G., Caesar, Darmstadt 1976, 207–325.

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SALLUST

Life, Dates

The life of the first great historian among the Romans, filled with political hopes and disappointments, was overshadowed at its beginning by Sulla's dictatorship, and at the end by the Triumvirate. Between lay Pompey's successes in the East, the Catilinarian conspiracy, Caesar's victories in Gaul, his accession to supreme power and his death. Sallust experienced simultaneously the mighty expansion of the empire and the internal collapse of the Republic.

C. Sallustius Crispus was born in 86 B.C.[1] at Amiternum in Sabine territory. Originally he did not belong to the senatorial class, but to the provincial nobility. After having been a jolly young fellow (Gell. 17. 18), at some unknown time he became quaestor, and in 52 B.C. tribune. His loose living—and Caesarian sympathies?—led in 50 B.C. to his expulsion from the Senate (Dio Cass. 40. 63. 4). However, Caesar took steps to clear his name, and in the following year appointed him commander of a legion. Sallust experienced defeat (Oros. *hist.* 6. 15. 8). As praetor elect, he failed to pacify mutinous soldiers of Caesar in Campania,[2] though in the following year, he successfully took part in the African campaign (*Bell. Afr.* 8. 3; 34. 1; 3). He was appointed governor of the province of Africa Nova,[3] returning from there to Rome in 45 or at the beginning of 44 B.C., where it was only thanks to Caesar's support that he avoided being charged with lining his own pockets.[4] He was now able to buy the splendid 'Gardens of Sallust' on the Quirinal and one of Caesar's country-seats at Tibur. Perhaps following Caesar's death, he withdrew from politics and devoted himself to writing.[5] He died in 35 or 34 B.C.[6]

The *Bellum Catilinae* was his first work (*Catil.* 4), and is dated (because of 53. 6–54. 4) after Caesar's death, perhaps to about 42 B.C.[7]

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[1] A statement of the problems in G. Funaioli, RE 1 A. 2, 1920, col. 1914, s. v. Sallustius.

[2] App. *civ.* 2. 92. 387; Dio Cass. 42. 52. 1–2.

[3] *Bell. Afr.* 97. 1; App. *civ.* 2. 100. 415; Dio Cass. 43. 9. 2.

[4] Dio Cass. 43. 9. 2–3.

[5] A withdrawal from politics even before Caesar's assassination is proposed by J. Malitz, *Ambitio mala.* Studien zur politischen Biographie des Sallust, Bonn 1975.

[6] In support of the year 34 B.C.: G. Perl, Sallusts Todesjahr, Klio 48, 1967, 97–105.

[7] A survey of recent scholarship in P. McGushin, ed., C. Sallustius Crispus, *Bellum Catilinae.* A Commentary, Leiden 1977, 6–7.

The *Bellum Iugurthinum* was written in the period of the Triumvirate (about 40 B.C.). Work on the *Histories* occupied Sallust's last years. In 38 B.C., the Caesarian P. Ventidius Bassus is said to have asked him for a *speech* on his Parthian victory.[1] Other speeches of Sallust were still read by Seneca the Elder (*contr.* 3, *praef.* 8), but only 'out of respect for the historical works.' (For a discussion of the *Invectives* and the *Letters to Caesar*, s. Appendix Sallustiana, below.)

Survey of Works

Bellum Catilinae

In the introduction Sallust explains his reasons for taking up writing (1–4. 2). He specifies his theme (4. 3–5), introduces Catiline and raises the question of the causes and motive of the conspiracy (5. 1–8). This leads to an excursus describing Rome's greatness and gradual moral decline (5. 9–13. 5). It is against this background that he explains the behavior of the conspirators, and of Catiline (14–16). The narrative of the first meeting of the conspirators (17–22) contains an excursus about the so-called First Conspiracy (18. 1–19. 6). A speech by Catiline forms the center of this scene (20).

This is followed by the events leading up to Catiline's departure and outlawing (23–36. 3). After an excursus describing the gloomy condition of the Republic (36. 4–39. 5), we are told of the discovery of the conspiracy at Rome (39. 6–47. 4) and its suppression (48. 1–55. 6).

The climax is reached with the debate in the Senate and subsequent execution of the conspirators (50–55). Sallust lingers in particular over the speeches of Caesar (51) and Cato (52) and his comparison between these two protagonists (53. 2–54. 6). The conclusion of the work, describing Catiline's end (56–61), is distinguished by a speech from the hero (58).

Bellum Iugurthinum

The monograph dealing with the Jugurthine War (111–105 B.C.) exhibits a similar structure. A proem, serving yet again to justify more emphatically the author's efforts as a historian (1–4), is followed by the announcement of the theme (5. 1–3) and a retrospective glance at earlier events, up to the division of Numidia between Adherbal and Jugurtha (5. 4–16).

Chapters 17–19 cap this with an excursus about Africa. The following main section (20. 1–28. 3) traces events from the division of Numidia to the outbreak of war. The next section describes the campaigns of Bestia and Albinus up to the shameful humiliation of the Romans and the *rogatio Manilia* (28. 4–40).

An excursus (41–42) about party activities at Rome—the narrative of the

[1] Fronto, p. 122 V.D.H.; cf. Gell. 15. 4.

disturbed conditions there provides an appropriate setting for the main story—may be compared with the excursus likewise preceding the *peripeteia* in the *Catilina* (36. 4–39. 5). It is climaxed by the campaigns of Metellus (43–83) and Marius (84–114).

Historiae

Sallust conceived the *Historiae* as a continuation of Sisenna's historical work, from Sulla's death (78 B.C.) down to the year 67 B.C. The work was interrupted by its author's death. All that survive are four speeches and two letters, supplemented by about 500 fragments. The outline of the narrative may be reconstructed from later writers, such as Plutarch.[1]

In the 1st book a weighty prologue (1–18) was followed by a retrospective glance at the previous fifty years (19–53), what may be termed an *archaiologia* in the Thucydidean manner. The main narrative opened with a speech of the consul for the year 78 B.C., Lepidus, directed against Sulla and seeking the restoration of freedom (55). Perhaps motivated by Sulla's death, a character sketch of the tyrant (58–61) followed next, then Lepidus' rebellion (62–83), along with the speech of Marcius Philippus in the Senate (77), and finally the war against Sertorius (84–126).

Events from 76 to the beginning of 74 B.C. occupied the 2nd book: Lepidus' downfall on Sardinia (with an excursus on this island, 1–11) and the supreme command granted to Pompey in Spain (1–22). The scenes of activity were Rome, Spain, and Macedonia (23–41). In the following year (75 B.C.) came C. Cotta's address to the people (47), the continuation of the war against Sertorius (53–70), the events leading up to the Mithradatic War (71–79), the Dardanian (80) and Isaurian Wars (81–87)—with a geographical excursus (82–87)—and the events in Spain (88–98), along with Pompey's letter (98).

The 3rd book related Antonius' struggle with the pirates, his attack on Crete (1–16), accompanied by a description of Crete (10–15), the first stages of the Mithradatic War (17–42), further events of 74 and 73 B.C. (43–51) with the speech of the tribune Macer (48), the Mithradatic War (52–60), the celebrated excursus on the Black Sea (61–80), the end of the war with Sertorius (81–89), and the war with Spartacus (90–106).

Book 4 contained the events of 72–70 B.C. in Asia (1–19), the end of the Servile War (20–41) with a description of South Italy and Sicily (23–29), events at Rome (42–55) and finally the Armenian War (56–80) with the famous letter of Mithridates (69).

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[1] H. Peter, Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer, Halle 1865. Reconstructions are found in: B. Maurenbrecher, ed.; D. Flach, Die Vorrede zu Sallusts *Historien* in neuer Rekonstruktion, Philologus 117, 1973, 76–86; G. Petrone, Per una ricostruzione del proemio delle *Historiae* di Sallustio, Pan 4, 1976, 59–67.

The 5th book (autumn 68–end of 67 B.C.) gave an account of the conclusion of the war conducted by Lucullus (1–16) and of the campaign against the pirates (17–27).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Sallust left the task of assembling materials for his narrative to his learned freedmen. Research into facts was less congenial to him than literary craftsmanship and interpretation in moral or political terms. He lets fall no word about his sources for the *Catilina*. Some contemporaries he knew personally, this was the case with Crassus (cf. *Catil.* 48. 9), P. Sulla and Caesar. By way of documents there were senatorial records (Cic. *Sull.* 42) and letters.[1] The main mass of source material was formed by Cicero's speeches and his other self-projections whether in prose or verse.[2] Although the figure of the consul does not occupy center stage for Sallust, he nevertheless adopts Cicero's view of Catiline,[3] and Cicero may have been used also for the *Histories*. The speech delivered by Cato in the Senate was available (Plut. *Cato* 23). There were also writings of Brutus and Cicero on Cato, as well as a pamphlet by Caesar.

The material for the *Jugurthine War* and the *Histories* was found in Roman historians, but also in the Greek philosopher and historian Posidonius (ca. 135–51 B.C.). Memoirs were known written by Rutilius Rufus and Sulla, who had both taken part in the war. The datings given in chapter 101. 1 and elsewhere (cf. also 91. 1) are unusually precise for Sallust and suggest accounts by eye-witnesses. At a passage like 108. 3, Sallust may have preferred Sulla's reminiscences to other sources, and his occasional criticism of Marius points in the same direction (93. 2; 94. 7).

Although at that time original speeches by Metellus and others could still be consulted, all the speeches given in the *Iugurtha* are of Sallust's own invention. It even seems that he did not consult official documents. Given the generally archaizing manner of the author,

[1] Catil. 35; 44. 5; s. Cic. *Catil.* 3. 12. However, Sallust (e.g. in c. 33) is only paraphrasing the sense.

[2] The extent to which Sallust is taking aim at Cicero's *De consiliis suis* must remain unresolved, given that Cicero's work has not been preserved.

[3] A comparison of the narratives of Sallust and Cicero is offered most recently by V. Pellegrini, Cicerone e Sallustio di fronte alla congiura di Catilina, in: Atti del Convegno di studi virgiliani 1981, Pescara 1982, vol. 2, 251–277.

the archaisms in the *rogatio Manilia* (40. 1) are no guarantee of the authenticity of its wording.

The survey of history, with which his friend L. Ateius Philologus is said to have furnished him (Suet. *gramm.* 10), could not have been of much use to Sallust in the composition of his monographs. For his excursus about Africa, he appeals, though without taking responsibility for their content, to writings in Punic (*Iug.* 17. 7) of which he had commissioned translations. Furthermore, the ending of *catabathmon* (19. 3) indicates the use of a Greek model (Posidonius?).[1]

In Greece, Thucydides had created the genre of historical monograph, to which the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* belong; Sallust was not content with mere imitation of Hellenistic predecessors. Aware of the historical greatness of Rome, he matched himself with the best of the Greeks. The focus of his attention shifted from work to work.[2] In all three of his writings we find, corresponding to the generic expectation raised by the example of Thucydides, a prologue and an *archaiologia*, along with a major speech to set the tone. In the two monographs, we encounter a political excursus. In the *Catilina* there is a debate: two opposing speeches are followed by a verdict on leading characters. Since it is concerned with an external war, the *Iugurtha* offered further possibilities of linkage with the Thucydidean tradition, such as battle scenes or the treatment of the interaction of domestic and foreign policy. In writing the *Histories* Sallust distanced himself further from Thucydides, although still inspired by historical and philosophical ideas drawn from his Greek model, as well as by his criticisms of language.[3]

The grand manner Sallust chose implied on his part a claim to be the Roman Thucydides. The greatness and decline of Rome challenged comparison with Athens in the Peloponnesian War. In spite of their great differences of aim and perspective, both historians were united above all in their quest for an understanding of man's nature and of the causes of internal discord in political life. In similar fashion, Cicero looked to Demosthenes, Lucretius to Empedocles, Virgil to Homer, and Horace to Alcaeus. This was not a classicizing admission

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[1] A combination of several sources is supposed by E. Norden, Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' *Germania*, Berlin 3rd ed. 1923, 5th ed. (repr.) Darmstadt 1971, 145, note 2.

[2] T. F. Scanlon, The Influence of Thucydides on Sallust, Heidelberg 1980.

[3] *Hist.* 1. 7; Thuc. 3. 82. 2; *hist.* 1. 11; Thuc. 3. 82. 3 and 5; *hist.* 1. 12; Thuc. 3. 82. 4. Cf. also hist. 4. 69, derived from Thuc. 1. 32. 1.

of incompetence, but quite the reverse—a feeling that important things demanded an appropriate style.

The writer's shift from work to work implies a widening also in the circle of his models. Sallust shows continual development into a universal historian. His affinity with Herodotus becomes more marked. In this respect his mixture of anecdote and aphorism in the story of Micipsa and his sons (*Iug.* 9–11) is typical. The last words of Cyrus in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 8. 7; esp. 13–15) may have acted as inspiration for the king's speech. Traces of Greek training are found even in the remarks in which Marius denies that he has any knowledge of Greek (*Iug.* 85. 12).

It is self-evident that Hellenistic historiographical technique could not have bypassed Sallust altogether. A Hellenistic theory of the historical monograph is found in Cicero's letter to Lucceius (*ad fam.* 5. 12). Dramatic shape and emotional appeal[1] ('fear and pity') take precedence here over imparting of information. Sallust was a born dramatist and arranged *peripeteiai*, though without too much rhetorical baggage.

In the *Histories* Sallust presents a picture of Pompey free of the claim, made on his behalf by Theophanes of Mytilene, that he was a second Alexander. Sallust's remarks at *hist.* 3. 88 may be contrasted with this. 'The affectation practiced by the emotive Hellenistic historians . . . is in any case just as removed from Sallust's style as the 'puerility' displayed by Sisenna in his imitation of Clitarchus (Cic. *leg.* 1. 7) or the strict objectivity of Hieronymus and Polybius.'[2]

In comparison with Polybius, Sallust assigns a striking prominence to ethical considerations. He is not concerned with the mechanical alternation of constitutions, and not even with the mixed constitution, but with the realization of *virtus* by individuals and of justice in general.

There are resemblances to Posidonius: the geographical digressions in the *Iugurtha* and in the *Histories*; the doctrine of the rise of civilization along with the idealization of the life of primitive man (*Catil.* 2. 1; 9. 1); there is a Hellenistic ring to the notion that the mind is self-sufficient (*Iug.* 2. 3); the doctrine of the healthy effect of external threats on the Romans (Diod. 34. 33); and finally, the ethical inter-

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[1] A. D. Leeman, Formen sallustianischer Geschichtsschreibung, Gymnasium 74, 1967, 108–115; repr. in: Leeman, Form 69–76.

[2] Norden, LG 6th ed. 1961, 45.

pretation of history as a whole (Diod. 37. 2). Sallust could not of course accept Posidonius' sympathies with the *optimates*.

Rhetorical influences are noted in Sallust's preference for direct characterizations, moral reflections, aphorisms, and extended comparisons like that between Caesar and Cato (*Catil.* 53). The Greek model for rhetorical and moralizing history was Theopompus.[1] Sallust might also have known Ephorus and Timaeus. An effort to trace the matching speeches of Caesar and Cato back to Ephorus[2] has been prematurely rejected by critics.

Sallust was not a philosopher, although to serve his purposes he made use of philosophical topoi. Among other sources for the self-portrayal of the writer in the proems, Plato's *Seventh Letter* claims pride of place (e.g. *Iug.* 3. 2; Plat. *epist.* 7. 331 C). Already in the *Catilina* (1. 1), the *Republic* (586 A) and *Phaedo* (80 A) were linked, a combination perhaps mediated by the rhetorical schools, although it is possible that Sallust consulted Plato's own text. The philosophical thoughts of the proems cannot, however, be traced back to Plato in their entirety, and not even to Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, a work still exhibiting Platonic influence. Stoic elements point towards Posidonius as an intermediate source, even for Platonic doctrines. The opening of the *Catilina* itself refers to themes of contemporary philosophy, which could have been transmitted to Sallust by, among others, Cicero.[3] The chief thrust of the proems, which is to justify the search for fame and thereby also the activity of the historian, may not, however, be described as philosophical. In the use of isolated philosophical points to describe his own view of himself as an author, Sallust resembles, for example, Ennius, whose behavior with Pythagorean doctrines is similar. Sallust's interpretation of history is discussed below.

Cato the Elder was Sallust's most important Roman model. The latter formed the style of his own historical writing by taking up that of the founder of the genre, who previously had not determined Roman historiography to this extent (s. 'Language and Style'). Above all, Sallust's moralizing criticism of Rome is inspired by that of the grand old man, for the benefit (*commodum*, *Iug.* 4. 4) of the *res publica*.

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[1] F. Jacoby *apud* Norden, ibid. 46.

[2] W. Theiler, Ein griechischer Historiker bei Sallust, in: *Navicula Chiloniensis*. FS F. Jacoby, Leiden 1956, 144–155.

[3] V. Pöschl, Zum Anfang von Sallusts *Catilina*, in: Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 254–261.

Sallust's high literary claims as an author of an historical monograph had only one predecessor at Rome, Coelius Antipater. Just like Sempronius Asellio and Cicero (*de orat.* 2. 63), Sallust raised questions of causes and inner motives. Like the great orator, he emphasized the role of personalities in history and believed that parts of the 2nd century belong to the good periods of Roman history.[1] Finally, in using Cornelius Sisenna, Sallust was obliged in retrospect to correct the Sullan bias of his presentation.

Literary Technique

In Fronto's judgment Sallust wrote *structe* (p. 134 V.D.H.). A careful literary workmanship is also acknowledged in him by Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 3. 7–8). Here it is the overall framework that we should consider first.

A characteristic structural principle is symmetry. The opening and concluding sections of the *Bellum Catilinae* contain speeches by Catiline (20 and 58). The real narrative begins with a character sketch of him (5. 1–8) and ends with his heroic death (60–61). In the penultimate section, two opposing speeches, of about the same length, delivered by protagonists in the action (51–52), are set in contrast.

A second guiding principle of arrangement is the use of the technique of framing. Closely linked in sense with what precedes and follows, an excursus on the greatness of Rome and the decline of its morals (5. 9–13. 5) is inserted into the description of Catiline's character and that of his fellow-conspirators. Similarly, the retrospective glance at the so-called First Conspiracy (18. 1–19. 6) forms an inset in the narrative of the first meeting. Likewise, the character sketch of Sempronia (25) is an insertion in its context. The long excursus on the gloomy state of the Republic (36. 4–39) creates a break between the start of the conspiracy and its uncovering.

In spite of its larger dimensions, the structure[2] of the *Bellum Iugurthinum* is easier to grasp than that of the *Catilina.* There is a remarkable parallelism, for example, in the sequence of the two main

[1] M. Rambaud, Cicéron et l'histoire romaine, Paris 1953, 121–134.

[2] K. Büchner 1953; A. D. Leeman 1957; A. La Penna 1968; F. Giancotti, Struttura del *Bellum Iugurthinum* di Sallustio, Torino 1971.

final sections: the activity of Metellus, at first on his own, and later with Marius in mind; and then the deeds of Marius, which in their final stage are lent support by Sulla.

Structure is accentuated by speeches. Memmius' words (*Iug.* 31) occur soon after the opening of the main action, while those of Marius (*Iug.* 85) are placed shortly after the beginning of the final section. The content of both speeches also has an important function, for it is they which give expression to basic thoughts about the conduct of politics.

The sequence of 'proem, historical retrospect, important speech,' is already found in the *Catilina*, and recurs in the *Histories*. It was to be imitated later in his *Histories* by Tacitus.

In the *Histories* Sallust avoids a precise correspondence of books and years in favor of other structural principles. In the 1st book rebels like Lepidus and Sertorius clearly take center stage. In the later portions Pompey and Lucullus assume a leading role. The letters introduced mark formal divisions: that of Pompey indicates the winter of 75–74, that of Mithridates the turn of the year 69–68 (*hist.* 2. 98; 4. 69). The conclusion of the 2nd book is highlighted by Pompey's letter and the anticipation of Lucullus' consulship in the next year. Geographical digressions underline by their frequency and variety the 'ecumenical' character of the *Histories*, and it may be assumed that in this work also they acted as divisional markers. As for *political* digressions, in the *Histories*, nothing is known which would be comparable to *Catil.* 36. 4–39. 5, and *Iug.* 41–42. This means that all the greater emphasis was thrown on the interplay of speeches on the one hand, and of geographical digressions on the other. In the geographical digressions, Sallust displays a panorama of the larger world; in the speeches, the inner world of politics and morals. Together, they establish the dimensions of the historical action and its interpretation. These otherwise so contrasting sorts of passage occur with striking frequency. They both offer places for the reader of the story to pause and supply a first vantage-point from which the whole may be assimilated and understood.

Particular features of Sallust's narrative technique are: proems, character sketches, speeches, letters, digressions, dramatic arrangement, and *peripeteiai.*

The subtlety of the structure found in the proems cannot be wholly illumined by reference either to 'archaic' ring-composition or to the

rhetoric of the schools. The controlling principle is that of 'self-unfolding antithesis'.[1] In the *Catilina*, it is Plato's *Seventh Letter* which furnishes the literary framework within which personal political disappointments may be retraced. In the proems of both monographs, the author's chief aim is to supply a justification for his own literary activity (s. 'Reflections on Literature'); the general philosophical discussion which in each case precedes serves the same purpose. The literary technique corresponds to that of the epideictic prologue, for example, to the proem of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, with its defence of the δόξα of eloquence as opposed to that of the more popularly esteemed athletics.

Let us now turn to character portrayal. It is true that the Roman people should be regarded as the real hero of the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (cf. *bellum, quod populus Romanus cum Iugurtha rege Numidarum gessit*, 'the war which the people of Rome waged with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians; *Iug.* 5. 1). But, in Sallust's interpretation of history (*paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse*, 'that it had all been accomplished by the eminent merit of a few citizens'; *Catil.* 53. 4), the Roman people is represented by individual heroes: Metellus (43–83, from 63–83 jointly with Marius), Marius (83–114) and Sulla (95–114 jointly with Marius). Sulla makes his first appearance in chapter 95, where this new departure is emphasized by direct description of character. At a corresponding place (63. 3–6) Marius is introduced with a short biography.[2] These sketches of Sulla and Marius have been compared with the scholastic pattern of encomium,[3] but we had rather call them 'paradoxical portraits', in which good and bad features are boldly juxtaposed.[4] The *Catilina* (5) opens with a direct description of its hero's character. He is raised beyond individual detail to a type. Features of the criminal and the obsessed (Catil. 15. 4–5) mark him out as the *desperado* of the post-Sullan period, as as figure symptomatic of a sick society. Similarly, the character sketch of Sempronia (*Catil.* 25), which is hardly of a piece with the work as a whole, may be intended to illustrate the change in Roman society.

The literary technique of σύγκρισις is related to this. In his com-

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[1] Sallust's style is not 'archaic,' but archaizing. The best treatment of the structure of the proems is found in LEEMAN, Form 77–97.

[2] G. WILLE, Der Mariusexkurs Kap. 63 im Aufbau von Sallusts *Bellum Iugurthinum*, in: FS K. VRETSKA, Heidelberg 1970, 304–331.

[3] K. VRETSKA, Bemerkungen zum Bau der Charakteristik bei Sallust, SO 31, 1955, 105–118.

[4] A. LA PENNA, Il ritratto paradossale da Silla a Petronio, RFIC 104, 1976, 270–293.

parison of Caesar and Cato (*Catil.* 53–54), the author evidently resorts to rhetorical methods of presentation (53, the technique of the proem; 54, antitheses). Here individual description is related to a basic understanding of *virtutes* and *vitia.* However, by contrast with encomia and invectives, Sallust does not indulge in painting in black and white. Even Catiline or Sempronia have good qualities, though one-sidedly developed ones, while Caesar's and Cato's virtues are complementary and thus only in conjunction produce a unified whole. This shows that rhetorical devices are not adopted uncritically, but used in the service of the author's own creative intentions.

To indirect characterization[1] speeches and letters make an essential contribution. Sallust's habit of introducing more or less freely invented speeches was criticized by Pompeius Trogus (*frg.* 152 Seel = Iust. 38. 3. 11), but a fixed convention of ancient historiography was at work (cf. Thuc. 1. 22). The interpretation of the speeches is hampered in principle by the fact that they aim not only at characterizing the speaker but also at analyzing the historical situation, often passing far beyond the historical moment. In essence, in his oratorical duel between Caesar and Cato, Sallust is no longer thinking exclusively of the situation in 63 B.C., but of the achievement of Caesar's and Cato's entire lives as it appears in retrospect. Micipsa's admonition about concord (*Iug.* 10) deals with a theme moving Sallust less in reference to Numidia than in regard to Rome. The consul Lepidus can, in the view of scholars, not have spoken as Sallust makes him (*hist.* 1. 55 M.) at the beginning of 78 B.C. The point is that the speech introduces him as a protagonist and advances a basic theme of the work, the collapse of the Republic.[2]

In the center of both monographs, we find a political excursus. In the *Histories,* however, there is only the use of the geographical excursus. A clearer distinction is therefore made between the functions of speech and excursus (s. above: Sources).

The narrative itself has a 'dramatic' character. Sallust simplifies the course of events, organizing it as a series of individual scenes. In the manner of Hellenistic historiographical technique, he gives a certain emphasis to the role of chance (*Iug.* 71. 1–4), or to that of tears and

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[1] On what follows cf. LEEMAN, Form 69–76.

[2] An exemplary interpretation on this theme is offered by A. KLINZ, Die große Rede des Marius (*Iug.* 85) und ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbild des Sallust, AU 11, 5, 1968, 76–90.

shifts of mood (*Iug.* 70. 1 ; 5; 71. 2; 5; 72. 2). Catiline recalls (*Catil.* 15. 4–5) tragic figures such as Orestes hunted by the Furies.[1] At the end he dies like a hero (*Catil.* 60–61).[2] The action in both monographs clusters around a *peripeteia*, the sudden reversal of fortune. The excursus in the *Catilina* (36. 4–39. 5) is introduced at a lull in the dramatic development, directly before the embassy of the Allobroges and the discovery of the conspiracy. The excursus on the parties in the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (41–42) is likewise found before the change of fortune. With Metellus, the events of the war take a turn for the better. The *archaiologia* in the *Catilina* (6–13) is made up of two opposed stages—the 'good old days' and the 'decadent present'—between which the destruction of Carthage (*Catil.* 10. 1) denotes the turning point.

Yet Sallust uses the methods of emotional historical writing more sparingly than, for example, Phylarchus, the butt of Polybius' criticisms.[3] Sallust's aim to write more than a 'sentimental drama' about Jugurtha is proved, for example, by the emergence of Marius and Sulla toward the end. The Jugurthine War is viewed as a part of Roman history and of universal history, as will be shown later. Literary means do not exist independently. They are subordinate to the historian's purposes.

Language and Style

Sallust is the real creator at Rome of historical style. He consciously looks back to the Elder Cato,[4] and it is thanks to him that Cato's language first becomes paradigmatic. The fragments of Claudius Quadrigarius, although they are much older, sound more 'normal', more 'classical' than the archaizing diction of Sallust.[5] His stylistic purpose at first encountered misunderstanding. Asinius Pollio accused him of having employed a philologist to excerpt knotty phrases from Cato.[6]

In fact, Sallust's vocabulary is enriched by numerous borrowings

[1] Cic. *S. Rosc.* 67; *Pis.* 46; Verg. *Aen.* 4. 469–473.

[2] P. Mazzocchini, Note a Sallustio, *Catil.* 60–61, AFLM 15, 1982, 637–644.

[3] Polyb. 2. 56; K. Vretska, Studien zu Sallusts *Bellum Iugurthinum*, SAWW 299, 4, 1955.

[4] In the introduction to the *Historiae*, he calls him *Romani generis disertissimus*.

[5] Archaisms (e.g. with *-tim* and *-bundus*) are occasionally found in Sisenna who, however, has a somewhat careless style.

[6] *Nimia priscorum verborum affectatione* (Suet. *gramm.* 10).

from Cato. An archaic effect is also created by his fondness for alliteration. Other elements display 'epic' coloring.[1] Where archaic orthography is concerned, not too much reliance should be placed on modern editions, since at times they are too zealous in their restoration of old forms. It must be admitted that copyists are inclined to 'modernize' spelling; but the reverse danger also threatens. At the time of the archaist Fronto, and certainly at the start of the present century, a naive delight in new discovery led scholars to read archaic Latin even where it was not transmitted. A true-to-life picture of Sallust's Latin as it has been transmitted to us is not to be obtained from the available editions of the monographs, but rather from Maurenbrecher's edition of the *Histories*.

Sallust's syntax and style are visibly different from those of Cato. Sentence structure is not as loose as in archaic Latin, but extremely tight.[2] In his view of style, Sallust may be called an 'Atticist', though he is perhaps the only author who succeeded in uniting this artistic principle with great linguistic richness and exceptional color.

A basic feature of his method of writing is *varietas*. Yet a surprising degree of concinnity is perceptible when the reader returns from Tacitus to Sallust. Asyndeton and parataxis bear witness to Sallust's *brevitas*,[3] what Quintilian calls his *velocitas* (*inst.* 10. 1. 102), a quality allowing him to say much in few words. It is in this 'conciseness' that Quintilian recognizes a difference from the style of oratory, which above all should be clear and explicit (*inst.* 4. 2. 45; 1. 1. 32).

To this main aim of brief presentation other principles, such as archaism or innovation (and Sallust is an innovator indeed) are subordinate. In his creative union of old and new, Sallust recalls Lucretius.[4] We should not believe that he wanted to challenge the *optimates*[5] by using the vulgar Latin of democrats, for it is not easy to encounter a more aristocratic stylist than Sallust.

Stylistic development cannot be so clearly described in Sallust's

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[1] E. Skard, Sallust und seine Vorgänger, Oslo 1956; S. Koster, Poetisches bei Sallust, in: S. Koster, Tessera. Sechs Beiträge zur Poesie und poetischen Theorie der Antike, Erlangen 1983, 55–68, with the bold attempt to discover in numerous passages a hexametric or iambic coloring (bibl.).

[2] On Sallust and Cato s. now G. Calboli, I modelli dell'arcaismo. M. Porcio Catone, AION (ling.) 8, 1986, 37–69.

[3] Cf. A. Klinz, *Brevitas Sallustiana*, Anregung 28, 1982, 181–187.

[4] A collection of stylistic procedures is found in W. Kroll, Die Sprache des Sallust, Glotta 15, 1927, 280–305.

[5] Partly misleading: W. Richter, Der Manierismus des Sallust, ANRW 1, 3, 1973, 755–780, esp. 756.

case[1] as in that of Tacitus. Nevertheless, between the *Catilina* and the *Iugurtha* may be noted a deliberate crescendo. Typical features of style deployed in the first essay increase in frequency. This is true, for example, even of the historic infinitive, which appears more often in the second work, and thus loses some of its effect.[2]

Sallust's strives for a diction both impressive and expressive. This is the reason why from the very beginning he avoids political or half-political clichés such as *gravitas, honestas, humanitas, lenitas, verecundia, consensus*, and even *claritas*.[3] After the *Catilina* certain terms disappear: *crudelitas* (although *saevitia* remains), *cupiditas* (*cupido* and *lubido* survive), *desidia* (*ignavia, inertia, socordia* remain), *eloquentia* (although *facundia* survives). His fondness for the choice and forceful word evidently increases.

Compared with the *Catilina*, the *Iurgurtha* shows more extensive use of: *formido, metuo, metus, anxius, vecordia, aerumnae, cupido, ignavia, socordia, opulentus*. Among the words describing fear, Sallust discovers *terror* for the first time in the *Iugurtha*, and *pavor* in the *Histories*. Conversely, the adjective *formidulosus*, in vogue in the *Catilina*, is later dropped.

Linguistic differences are hardly detectible between the historian's narrative and the interspersed speeches, although the speeches are couched in somewhat more leisurely style. Similarly, the characters are not distinguished by language. Sallust's Caesar uses, not Caesarian, but Sallustian Latin. Marius proves his 'deficient rhetorical education' in a masterfully shaped speech. The speeches may indeed to an extraordinary degree be adapted to the speakers' *ethos*, but this is not a matter of linguistic usage in the strict sense.

Sallust did not find writing easy: *et sane manifestus est etiam ex opere ipso labor*, 'and certainly his works give evidence of the labor which he expended on them' (Quint., *inst.* 10. 3. 8). His language is not the Latin of everyday, and his liking for *facio*, for *agito* and similar frequentatives cannot in itself justify such a verdict. We are dealing with the selective language of an artist.

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[1] R. Syme 1964, 240–273.

[2] B. Hessen 1984.

[3] *Claritudo* appears first in the *Iugurtha*.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature and Language

Sallust was inspired to write by the Elder Cato,[1] who believed that Roman heroes lacked in fame because they had not found such eloquent eulogists of their glory as the Greeks (*Catil.* 8). The author's aim however is not merely to confer glory, but also to seek it for himself. In the proems to his *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, Sallust bases his literary identity as a historian on the notion of *virtus* ('moral energy').[2] In old Roman thought, *virtus* and *gloria*[3] were closely connected. 'Intellectual activities' in Republican Rome were limited to politics. Sallust transferred this notion to the literary sphere, since the present, overshadowed by the Triumvirs Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus, could not offer any satisfactory possibilities for the display of civic *virtus* (*Iug.* 3). Sallust's personal desire for glory found fulfillment in a new form, writing.

This outlook, emphasizing authorship as a cultural achievement, was supplemented by a corresponding emphasis on the effect of writing on the mind of the hearer. The *memoria rerum gestarum* (*Iug.* 4. 1) produces a fiery enthusiasm for *virtus* and *gloria*. In this regard historical writing may be compared with the portraits of Roman ancestors (*Iug.* 4. 5–6). This means that Sallust, in his own opinion, was certainly a pioneer in the aesthetics of literary achievement. But in his view of the effect of his writing, he remained profoundly indebted to the traditional categories of conventional thought found among his readers.

There was one point however where Sallust made no concessions. He was well aware that readers would believe only what seemed possible or attainable to their own limited capabilities (*Catil.* 3. 2). But he ignored this limitation and pursued what he recognized as correct, without regard to the effect of the moment.[4]

He also strove to avoid partisanship, although he never discussed the difficulty of discovering the facts. This means that his work is not exempt from errors owed to ignorance or superficiality.

On the other hand, he was particularly concerned with matching

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[1] von Albrecht, Prose 21–32.

[2] Similarly, in the prologue to the *Panegyricus*, Isocrates establishes the priority of eloquence over athletics.

[3] On *gloria*: U. Knoche 1934; V. Pöschl 1940; A. D. Leeman 1949.

[4] W. Suerbaum 1974.

the importance of his topics with the corresponding level of language and style: *facta dictis exaequanda*, 'the style and diction must be equal to the deeds recorded' (*Catil.* 3. 2).[1] He recognized his duty to use language filled with dignity and significance, and measured his presentation by its object.[2] In his avoidance of political clichés, in his recognition that words have often lost their real meaning, the author and the moralist meet. In Cato's speech (*Catil.* 52. 11) we are told, in reference to Caesar's words on leniency: 'long ago we have lost the real names of things' (*vera vocabula rerum*; cf. Thuc. 3. 82. 4).[3]

To give away the property of others is called 'generosity', destructive temerity becomes 'bravery'. The devaluation of language is a symptom of political decadence (*Catil.* 52. 11). All the honors reserved for *virtus* are now claimed by *ambitio* (52. 22). This thought is developed further in the *Histories* (1. 12). 'Senate' and 'people' are honorable pretexts for lust for personal power (cf. *hist.* 3. 48. 11). Even the terms 'good' and 'bad' have changed their meaning. The criterion for 'goodness' is no longer service to the state but wealth, unjustified power and defense of the existing state of affairs. His warning against using fine words as a consolation for dictatorial power is remarkable: no one should call 'tranquillity' (*otium*) what in reality is slavery (*servitium, hist.* 3. 48. 13). Sallust even assails the misuse of *dignitas* and *libertas* to cover caprice and selfishness (*Iug.* 41. 5). It is difficult here not to think of Caesar. To the fact that words have lost their full sense corresponds the reality of the degradation of public offices. It is at this point that Sallust's concerns with language and literature make contact with his moral criteria. It is this analogy which is behind his purpose in equating literary achievement with service to the state (cf. *Iug.* 4. 3–4). In the *Catilina* Sallust still grants priority to political activity, but in the *Iugurtha* he delivers an annihilating verdict on

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[1] A. D. Leeman, Sallusts Prologe und seine Auffassung von der Historiographie, in: R. Klein, ed., Das Staatsdenken der Römer, Darmstadt 1966, 472–499, refers (p. 480 note 15) to the source in Diodorus' Prologue 1. 2. 7 συμφωνούντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν λόγων τοῖς ἔργοις (Ephoros) which ultimately goes back to Isocrates, Paneg. 4. 13 (χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἴσους τοὺς λόγους τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν) (s. now Leeman, Form 77–97). Yet Leeman rightly emphasizes that Sallust's meaning is different from that of Isocrates: cf. also H. Hommel, Die Bildkunst des Tacitus, Würzburger Studien 9, 1936, 116–148.

[2] W. Bloch 1971, 72; on this W. Suerbaum 1974.

[3] A comparison with the more ontological arguments of Thucydides is given by K. Büchner, *Vera vocabula rerum amisimus*, in: Hommages à R. Schilling (ed. H. Zehnacker and G. Hentz), Paris 1983, 253–261.

contemporary politics (*Iug.* 3 and 4). In the proem to the *Iugurtha*, greater emphasis is placed on the independence of the spirit, although spirit, in Roman fashion, remains linked with *virtus*.

In his proems Sallust pursued what for his Roman readers were quite novel thoughts. The employment of such proems to justify his literary activity is reminiscent of Terence.[1]

Ideas II

Sallust's relationship to philosophy in general has been touched upon in the discussion of his sources. Here, particular attention may be paid to his understanding of history. As a pragmatic historian, he aims to explain in events *quo consilio, quaque ratione gesta essent.*[2] For Sallust, history is conditioned not merely by rational laws but also by psychological and moral factors. This explains his descriptions of character, his speeches, his political digressions and his gnomic generalizations.[3] We will now discuss in sequence the so-called 'gradual darkening' of his view of history; the role of personality and *virtus*; the question of bias; the link between his work and its period; and the mutual relationship between internal and external political events.

Did Sallust's picture of history 'darken'? To answer this question we must look not only to the proems, since their prime task is to explain Sallust's approach to his own writing. More important—beginning with the *archaiologia* in the *Catilina*—are the digressions in which general developments at Rome are criticized. In the *Catilina* an original phase is presupposed, a time at which morality was taken for granted (*Catil.* 2. 1; 9. 1). The 'key year' for the beginning of moral decline at Rome was the destruction of Carthage (*Catil.* 10). It was under Sulla that the steepest collapse occurred (*Catil.* 11. 4–11. 8).[4] In the *Iugurtha* (41) the destruction of Carthage likewise marks the turning point, but earlier it was only the fear of enemies that produced good political conduct. In the *Histories*, however, there is actually a basic discord *vitio humani ingenii* (*frg.* 1. 7 M.). Roman morals

[1] To this extent Quintilian (*inst.* 3. 8. 9) is right: *nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis*: cf. A. D. Leeman, cited above, antepenultimate footnote.

[2] Sempronius Asellio, c. 125 B.C., *apud Gell.* 5. 18. 8.

[3] Williams, Tradition 619–633.

[4] The hotly discussed question of the chronological order governing the intrusion of *avaritia* and *ambitio* into public life (*Catil.* 10. 1 and 11. 3) is best examined by K. Vretska (Comm., vol. 1, p. 213).

were good only at the beginning of the Republic and between the Second and Third Punic Wars, and even then only out of fear of powerful enemies. Injustice and disharmony existed in Rome from the very beginning. This means that now the picture of the early days is diametrically opposed to that of the *Catilina* (*hist.* 1. 18), since originally it was merely the right of the stronger that prevailed. Sallust increasingly distances himself from the Roman belief in man's natural goodness. In his view it is man's task in history to overcome human nature by moral action.

Sallust assigns the decisive place in history to personality and to its intellectual and moral achievement. The *animus* is the guide of our life (*Iug.* 1. 3). Its deeds (*ingeni facinora*) are immortal (*Iug.* 2. 2). The historian's closeness to Plato here should be neither overemphasized nor wholly ignored. The thesis of the preeminence of the *animus* is central, although Sallust is no philosopher. But we must take his word for it that, though he is a layman in philosophy, he is in earnest about the application of this principle. Yet he subordinates it to an unphilosophical end, fame. *Animus* proceeds along the path of *virtus* towards *gloria* (*Iug.* 1 3). What matters is *virtus*, not 'all-powerful' chance, which is called mistress of all things,[1] and yet incapable of either bestowing or taking away *virtus*.[2] Hence, for example, the achievement of Marius is seriously impaired by the fact that on certain occasions he owed his victories to chance (e.g. *Iug.* 94. 7 *sic forte conrecta Mari temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit*, 'thus Marius' rashness was made good by fortune and gained glory through an error of judgment'). It is in this light that we should see the mutual relationship between *fortuna* and *virtus*. As soon as *virtus* wanes, *fortuna* begins her mad reign. Their relationship therefore is complementary (e.g. *Catil.* 10. 1). In the central passages of the work, *fortuna* is the counterpart to *virtus*, though at times this notion is used in a less loaded fashion (e.g. *Catil.* 2. 4–6).[3] At the side of *fortuna* there are also other opposing

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1 *Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque* (*Catil.* 8. 1).

2 D. C. Earl 1966, 111: 'Sallust's political thought... centres on a concept of *virtus* as the functioning of *ingenium* to achieve *egregia facinora*, and thus to win *gloria*, through *bonae artes*.'

3 On *fortuna*: G. Schweicher, Schicksal und Glück in den Werken Sallusts, diss. Köln 1963; E. Tiffou, Essai de la pensée morale de Salluste à la lumière de ses prologues, Paris 1974, esp. pp. 49–50; 380–383; idem, Salluste et la *fortuna*, Phoenix 31, 1977, 349–360; H. A. Gärtner, Erzählformen bei Sallust, Historia 35, 1986, 449–473; C. Neumeister 1986 (see bibl.).

forces. Sallust's own time is basically disinclined to *virtus*, something that could provide occasion for a tragic interpretation of the period. Certainly Sallust takes into account the mechanism of war and internal politics, but for him the free decision of the individual is paramount. His ethical perspective prevents him from overestimating superficial success. State offices, for example, are in his eyes not impressive as such. Rather, they receive their value from the *virtus* of their holder (*Iug.* 4. 8).[1]

Is Sallust pursuing a particular political program? On the one hand, he selects the Jugurthine War 'because then the first opposition was raised to the pride of the nobility' (*Iug.* 5. 1). But on the other, he emphasises his lack of partisanship (*Catil.* 4. 2), and does not suppress even weaknesses shown by the *populares* and *homines novi* (e.g. *Iug.* 4. 7; 92–94; 63. 6; 64. 5). They too were concerned only with personal advantage.

Is he prejudiced in favor of Caesar? Undoubtedly he attempts to rescue his benefactor from the suspicion of complicity in the so-called 'first Catilinarian conspiracy'. Caesar's and Cato's speeches are full of surprises. Caesar appears as the representative of legality. He champions philosophical ('Epicurean') ideas and, in the fashion of Cato the Elder, even appeals to the ancestors, arguing generally in the style of the latter's *Speech for the Rhodians*. Sallust's portrait of Caesar is drawn wholly in retrospect. It contains features which were only later visible in full.

The Younger Cato might have been assailed as doctrinaire. On the contrary, in Sallust he is a practical, energetic statesman. His ideas are precisely those which Sallust himself supports in his proems and digressions; and it is Cato who in Sallust is given the final word. Even in the well-known comparison ('*synkrisis*'), it is he who appears almost in a more favorable light than Caesar.[2] Sallust indeed goes so far as to allow Catiline to appeal to his *dignitas* (*Catil.* 35. 3; 4), just as Caesar was to do when invading Italy. Cato criticizes the Caesarian variety of *mansuetudo et misericordia* (*Catil.* 52. 11 and 27). Could Caesar and Cato *together* have rescued the Republic? Sallust supplies no

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[1] We had met this important thought earlier in the context of Sallust's 'Thucydidean' criticism of language.

[2] So in particular C. Becker 1973, esp. 731–742 with bibl.; a different view in K. Büchner, Zur Synkrisis Cato-Caesar in Sallusts *Catilina*, GB 5, 1976, 37–57, who regards the *virtutes* of the two speakers as unique in either case.

answer, content to present their qualities as complementary.[1] The same is true of the heroes of the Jugurthine War.

Sallust's heroes may at times be categorized as variants of Platonic types of constitution and individual.[2] Catiline and Sulla may be seen as tyrannical, Cato as aristocratic, Scaurus as oligarchic, Metellus as timocratic, Marius as democratic. But this proves little about Sallust's dependence on Plato, although a great deal about his ability to draw subtle distinctions between different characters. This makes a good argument against the theory that he is following a particular political program.

His references to Cicero are by no means enthusiastic, although *optimus consul* need not be meant ironically. A repetition of the well-known speeches against Catiline, already published at that time, would have been pointless, and also would have offended against the conventions of historical writing. Sallust is able to hold in check his antipathy for Cicero and generally aims to avoid partisanship, even if not always with perfect success.[3]

In considering the historian's relationship to his time, we must note that, unlike Livy, Sallust did not dedicate himself to history as an escape from the present. He wrote under the triumvirs, to whom his praise of Cato and his discreet recognition of Cicero could not have been welcome. Moreover, in allowing Caesar to express opposition to proscriptions, anger and bloodshed (*Catil.* 51. 32–36), he was actually playing Caesar against the Caesarians: *potest alio tempore, alio consule, quoi item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi*, 'it is possible that at another time, when someone else is consul and is likewise in command of an army, some falsehood may be believed to be true' (51. 36). Sallust was not satisfied with projecting into his picture of Catiline Sulla's negative features. He employed the person of Cato the Younger, along with the language of the Elder, to expose the weaknesses of oligarchy, a problem that in his day was once again relevant.[4]

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[1] Tacitus unites in his *Agricola*, with the aid of allusions to Sallust, features of both men: M. Lausberg, Caesar und Cato im *Agricola* des Tacitus, Gymnasium 87, 1980, 411–430.

[2] B. D. MacQueen 1981.

[3] A theory of his tendentiousness is found in E. Lefèvre, Argumentation und Struktur der moralischen Geschichtsschreibung der Römer am Beispiel von Sallusts *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Gymnasium 86, 1979, 249–277.

[4] On the question of echoes of Sallust's own time in his work, s. G. Perl, Sallust und die Krise der römischen Republik, Philologus 113, 1969, 201–216.

War and party strife, the struggle against external enemies and internal debates are closely linked. In the *Catilina* the enemy comes from within the ranks of society. In the *Iugurtha*, the enemy himself assails the venality of the city (*Iug.* 35. 10). The motif of 'corruption' serves to link external and internal political events.

In the *Iugurtha* the great speeches and the excursus on the parties reveal the problems of internal politics. Similarly in the *Histories*, after a retrospective introduction, the speech put by the historian in the mouth of the consul Lepidus (1. 55) establishes a weighty emphasis on internal politics at the very beginning.

At the start of the *Bellum Iugurthinum*, Sallust explains that he is narrating this war both because of its military significance and because it witnessed the first opposition to the pride of the nobility, a struggle which led finally to the Civil War and the devastation of Italy. In fact, the question of one's attitude towards Jugurtha became in those years a touchstone even for domestic Roman relationships. The fact that events *domi bellique* were related in this way lends to the work its inner unity. Sallust spares neither the self-interested *factio* of the *optimates* nor the people stirred up by the tribunes, guided more by hatred of the mighty than by concern for public welfare (40. 3), and inclined to unrestrained arrogance just like the nobility. The responsibility for the collapse of political order lies at the doors of both parties.

A positive counter-theme is supplied by *concordia*. It stands as a norm everywhere in the background of the narrative of the collapse. Micipsa gives clear expression to the thought in the speech he makes to his sons: *concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur*, 'harmony makes small states great, while discord undermines the mightiest empires' (*Iug.* 10. 6).

Sallust's concentration towards the end of the *Iugurtha* on Marius and Sulla, rather than on the Numidian king, allows us to recognize that we are not concerned with an individual tragedy. The author's view extends to the whole picture.

Sallust does more than present the moral universe. Increasingly, he gives consideration to the external theater offered by the cosmos. In the *Histories* there are numerous geographical digressions, illustrating the mutual interaction between the external expansion of the empire and the inner tensions of Roman society. This double theme is already felt in the *Iugurtha*, and even more in the *Histories*. Only if both aspects are taken with equal seriousness is there the hope of understanding Sallust's purpose in all its significance.

Transmission

The numerous medieval manuscripts of the monographs (*Catilina* and *Iugurtha*) may be divided into two classes: the complete, although stereotyped, *integri*,[1] and the somewhat more valuable *mutili*,[2] which show a lacuna from *Iug.* 103. 2 to 112. 3. According to A. W. Ahlberg[3] both may be traced to an identical archetype which existed in antiquity, although this conclusion is not unchallenged. The edition by A. Kurfess relies exclusively on the work of R. Zimmermann,[4] who evaluated the ancient secondary tradition (esp. Fronto, Gellius and Augustine) and the *integri recentiores*. In succession after him, most recently C. Santini and S. Schierling have tried to prove the value of these two types of transmission.[5]

The pseudo-Sallustian *Invective* is transmitted in two classes, whose oldest representatives are the Gudianus Guelferbytanus 335 (10th century) and Harleianus 2716 (9th century).

Four speeches and two letters from the *Histories* are preserved in Vaticanus Latinus 3864 (9th–10th century), along with the speeches and letters from the monographs and the (disputed) Letters to Caesar. Some larger fragments of the *Histories* are found in the remains of an old manuscript (4th–5th century): Fragmentum Berolinense, Vaticanum, Fragmenta Aurelianensia. We also possess two small papyrus fragments from the 2nd to 3rd centuries[6] and about 500 quotations in ancient authors.

The orthography of Sallust's text appears to have been partly 'normalized' during late antiquity, but during the time of the archaists the reverse may also have happened. For this reason no old-fashioned forms should be 'restored'.

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[1] Leidensis Vossianus Latinus 73 (l; 11th century), Parisinus Latinus 6086 (n; 11th century), Monacensis Latinus 14477 (m; 11th century); cf. now F. Carpanelli, Ricerche filologiche su un codice sallustiano (Vat. Lat. 3327) non ancora esplorato, Prometheus 10, 1984, 147–153.

[2] Parisinus Latinus 16024 (P; 9th–10th century); Parisinus Latinus 16025 (A; 9th century) and 6085 (C; 10th–11th century), Palatinus Latinus 887 (K; 10th–11th century), and Palatinus Latinus 889 (N; 11th century), Berolinensis Latinus 205 (H; 11th century); with lacuna supplied later: Vaticanus Latinus 3325 (R; 12th century) and Parisinus Latinus 10195 (D; 11th century); Parisinus Latinus 5748 (O; 11th century).

[3] Prolegomena in Sallustium, Göteborg 1911.

[4] Der Sallusttext im Altertum, München 1929.

[5] C. Santini, Un codice sallustiano a Perugia GIF 32, 1980, 55–64; S. Schierling, New Evidence for Diomedes in Two Passages of Sallust, Hermes 113, 1985, 255–256.—On the secondary transmission via Augustine s. now: M. Cagnetta, Il Sallustio di Agostino, QS 11, 1985, no. 22, 151–160.

[6] C. H. Roberts, ed., Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. 3, 1938: Theological and Literary Texts (nos. 457–551), esp. 473; cf. A. Kurfess, edition, pp. 179–181.

Influence

The censorious tone of Sallust's writings challenged comparison with the author's way of life. This already began with critical utterances on the part of Pompeius Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey the Great, and the so-called invective against Sallust. Naturally, optimate prejudice played its part here. Lactantius, the 'Christian Cicero', quote Sallust's remark about the dominant role of the mind and the subservience of the body (*Catil.* 1. 2) while commenting: 'True enough, if he had lived in the way he spoke' (*inst.* 2. 12. 12, p. 157, 16 Brandt). The pagans of late antiquity show no more leniency in their judgments, for example Symmachus, *epist.* 5. 68 (66). 2. Macrobius is annihilating (*sat.* 3. 13. 9): 'Sallust, the stern critic and censor of others' extravagance.' Even in the 18th century, the force of this criticism was still felt, although now Sallust also found defenders, who included C. M. Wieland: 'We know very little about his life. Let us therefore leave the question open and be content with what he has left us.'[1]

In the sphere of literature in the broadest sense Sallust has provided stimulus at every period.[2] Yet, even as a stylist, at first he encountered misunderstanding. Livy distanced himself from the use of archaisms (*apud* Sen. *contr.* 9. 1. 14). Asinius Pollio (*apud* Suet. *gramm.* 10; Gell. 10. 26. 1) criticized his imitation of Cato, as did the epigrammatist cited in Quintilian (*inst.* 8. 3. 29). The historian Pompeius Trogus censured the introduction of speeches into historical work (*apud* Iust. 38. 3. 11), although this remark is equally applicable to Livy and practically the whole of ancient historical writing.

From the time of Velleius Paterculus (2. 36. 2), who imitated him,[3] and Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 101), Sallust has rightly been recognized as *aemulus Thucydidis.* Scholars like Valerius Probus and Aemilius Asper studied his language. Quintilian also recommended him as reading for advanced students (*inst.* 2. 5. 19). Martial called him the first

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[1] C. M. Wieland, *Briefe* und *Satiren* des Horaz aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und mit Einleitungen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, ed. M. Fuhrmann, in: C. M. Wieland, Werke in 12 Bänden, vol. 9, Frankfurt 1986, 642; Wielands Gesammelte Schriften, Akademie-Ausgabe 2, 4, ed. P. Stachel, Berlin 1913, 433.

[2] On the question of reception: A. La Penna, Il *Bellum Civile* di Petronio e il proemio delle *Historiae* di Sallustio, RFIC 113, 1985, 170–173; E. Rawson, Sallust on the Eighties?, CQ 81, n.s. 37, 1987, 163–180 (on Lucan).

[3] A. J. Woodman, Sallustian Influence on Velleius Paterculus, in: J. Bibauw, ed., Hommages à M. Renard, Bruxelles 1969, vol. 1, 785–799.

Roman historian (14. 191) and Suetonius, in the *De viris illustribus*, treated him first among the Roman historians.[1] Sallust found successors at first in the otherwise little known historian L. Arruntius (Sen. *epist.* 114. 17–19), and then in Tacitus, who called Sallust *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*, 'the most brilliant historian of Rome' (*ann.* 3. 30. 1). The archaists set a high value on him. Fronto imitated him in his *Eulogy of Verus*. Gellius (9. 14. 26) also praised his *fides* in the *Iugurtha*, and attests (18. 4. 1) the frequency of interpreters of Sallust to be seen in the streets of the day.

Silius Italicus exploited Sallust's geographical digressions; Vibius Maximus (about 100) combined Sallust and Livy into a world chronicle. Plutarch used Sallust's *Histories* in his Lives of Sertorius and Lucullus. Zenobius translated Sallust into Greek; he also figured among the sources of Ammianus. Grammarians liked to quote him.

In rhetorical schools he was read as an orator. Influences from these schools led the Church Fathers towards study of his content. Sallust's interpretation of history preoccupied Minucius Felix.[2] His presentation of the causes of Roman decline was noted by Augustine, to whom we owe essential fragments of the proem to the *Histories*.[3] Like Jerome, Augustine praised not merely Sallust's rhetorical qualities,[4] but also his devotion to truth,[5] which formed the basis of the historian's authority in the Middle Ages (Isid. *orig.* 13. 21. 10).

In the Middle Ages, Sallust was frequently read in school. His stylistic influence may be detected already in the 9th century. In the 10th, Widukind sought guidance from him, as well as from Tacitus and Livy. Wipo followed Sallust's example in inserting speeches into his history. Bruno (*De Bello Saxonico*) presented Henry IV, in the vein of Sallust's portrait of Catiline, as a vicious man, who however was *militiae laboribusque indefatigabilis*, 'untiring in hardship and warfare'. Petrarch, following Augustine, viewed Sallust as *nobilitate* (= ae) *veritatis historicus*, 'a historian, highly renowned for his truthfulness' (*Rerum memorandarum libri* 1. 17).

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[1] G. Funaioli RE 1 A 2, 1920, col. 1949.

[2] K. Büchner, Drei Beobachtungen zu Minucius Felix, Hermes 82, 1954, 231–245.

[3] Aug. *civ.* 2. 18; 3. 17; 3. 21; 5. 12.

[4] Jerome *epist.* 132. 6 CSEL 56, p. 230; Aug. *epist.* 167. 2. 6 CSEL 44, p. 593.

[5] *Nobilitatae veritatis historicus* Aug. *civ.* 1. 5 (a critical interpretation of the passage of Augustine is found in E. Gallicet, *Sallustius, nobilitate veritatis historicus*, CCC 6, 1985, 309–330); *auctor certissimus*: Jerome *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, in P. de Lagarde, Onomastica sacra, Göttingen 1887, no. 117, 12.

In the early modern period, ancient authors were viewed as teachers of the conduct of life, and therefore also of politics. Sallust did more than serve as a model for new historical works.[1] When read 'against the grain', the *Catilina* became in the Renaissance a textbook of revolution.[2] Inspired by the revolution of 1848, Henrik Ibsen gave to the character of Catiline a new dramatic interpretation, while shortly after the revolution of 1917 the lyric poet Alexander Blok wrote an important essay on Catiline.[3]

The theory that Sallust was a political partisan seems never to have been formulated in antiquity. In modern times it was represented by Paulus Benius Eugubinus,[4] and then, for example, by Theodor Mommsen and Eduard Schwartz.

Finally, this master of style and form inspired great authors in the last years of the 19th century. Friedrich Nietzsche declared: 'My feeling for style, for the epigram as style, was awakened almost in a moment by contact with Sallust... concise, severe, with as much substance as possible within it, a cold rejection of 'fine words' and also of 'fine feeling'—in that I recognized myself.'[5] Hugo von Hofmannsthal said: 'And from Sallust there flowed into me in those happy, animated days, as through channels never choked, the recognition of form, of that deep, true inner form, which can only be apprehended on the far side of the fence of rhetorical artistry: a form of which it may no longer be said that it gives order to content, since it penetrates content, absorbs it, producing poetry and truth together, a tension of eternal forces, something as glorious as music and algebra.'[6]

Sallust's achievement is both unique and epoch-making. In the

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[1] B. Oricellarius, *De bello Italico commentarius ex authentici manuscripti apographo nunc primum in lucem editus*, London 1724; A. Poliziano, *Commentarium Pactianae coniurationis*, printed at Basel in 1553. Marginal notes by Politian are found in an edition of Sallust from 1477 (Vicenza): A. J. Hunt, Three New Incunables with Marginalia by Politian, Rinascimento 24, 1984, 251–259; Leonardo Bruni's political thought and literary style were reminiscent of Sallust as well.

[2] J. Burckhardt, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien, repr. of original edition, ed. by K. Hoffmann, Stuttgart 1985, 43.

[3] von Albrecht, Rom 38–57.

[4] *De historia libri quattuor*, Venetiis 1611; *In Sallustii Catilinariam commentarii... His additur Iugurthinum Bellum*, Venetiis 1622.

[5] *Was ich den Alten verdanke*, Werke, ed. by K. Schlechta, Darmstadt 1973, vol. 2, 1027.

[6] H. von Hofmannsthal, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Prosa II, ed. H. Steiner, Frankfurt and Wien 1951, Ein Brief (from P. Lord Chandos to Francis Bacon), pp. 7–22, esp. p. 9.

Catilina he created a new literary style. As a work of history, the book reveals weaknesses. The significance of Catiline's character is exaggerated, and the historian accepts without question Cicero's picture of the revolutionary. Yet Sallust's analysis of political relations, in spite of its moralizing tone, is not wholly mistaken. The dominance of wealth, the resulting rapacity and unscrupulousness of impoverished aristocrats, the substitution for lawful political debate of *amicitia* and *factio*, the perversion of honorable strife for public office, honors and fame into a conspiracy against the public weal: all this is a devastating diagnosis of the shape of events following Sulla, with burning relevance to the contemporary, and to the return of civil war, proscription and despotism.[1]

Sallust's later works deployed this picture on a larger scale. The *Jugurthine War* appears to anticipate the confrontation between Marius and Sulla and the latter's dictatorship (*bellum* and *vastitas Italiae*). The background—*militiae et domi*—is filled with life and adapted to give a picture of the interaction of events. Already the *Jugurthine War* acted as the measure of the progress of a sickness, of the collapse of political style within the *res publica*. Sallust emphasizes the theme of corruption, since it shows the mutual dependence of external and internal events. Finally, the *Histories* develop the same problem on a worldwide scale.

The division within the *res publica* is also evinced by the failure of individual *virtus* to benefit the whole except to an imperfect degree. As early as the *Catilina*, in the figures of Caesar and Cato, complementary aspects of *virtus* diverge and are left in isolation. This is made even clearer in the *Iugurtha*, where the state as a whole decays, although personalities such as the 'timocratic' Metellus and the 'democratic' Marius, considered in themselves, perform remarkable individual achievements. But there is no Micipsa to advise unity, and even if there had been, he would have found no audience.

In recent years almost more painstaking attention has been given to the disputed subordinate works (the *Invective* and the *Letters to Caesar*) than to those certainly genuine. There is no first class edition of the monographs, and the *Histories*, Sallust's most mature work, continue to be neglected. A stronger emphasis on Sallust's later work would give to our picture of the first great Roman historian the universality and breadth appropriate to his importance.

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[1] R. Syme 1964, 138.

Appendix Sallustiana

The *Invective against Cicero* is twice cited by Quintilian as a work of Sallust (*inst.* 4. 1. 68; 9. 3. 89). The fictitious date is autumn 54 B.C., but at that time Sallust, as a fledgling quaestor, was hardly in a position to make such an assault on a famous consular, and there are also evident anachronisms.[1] The little work is not without merit, and may be considered a rhetorical prosopopoeia from the Augustan period.[2]

The *Letters to Caesar*

These two letters are preserved anonymously[3] from antiquity in Vaticanus Latinus 3864 (V; 9th–10th century). They are not arranged in accordance with their fictitious dates, since the first letter implies the year 48 (or 46?) B.C. and certainly falls after the Battle of Pharsalus and the murder of Pompey, while the second letter claims to be older (around 50 B.C.). Even so, the 2nd letter seems to imitate the 1st and to expand upon it. This shows that the two letters come from different authors and that at least one of them must be spurious.

The pronounced Sallustian language is no proof of authenticity—quite the reverse. It is more adapted to historical than to epistolary style, and in any case this language was only fashioned by the historian several years later specifically for his historical writing.[4] The imitation is indeed 'obtrusively' Sallustian. In fact, collocations like *pravae artes* and *malae libidines* are exaggerated and un-Sallustian. *Non peius videtur* (1. 8. 8) is a jarring Graecism. Principally, however, many elements which appear for the first time in late Sallust are already completely present in these allegedly early works. The *Epistulae* are a patchwork of Sallustian phrases.

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[1] G. Jachmann, Die Invektive gegen Cicero, Miscellanea Berolinensia 2, 1, 1950, 235–275; R. G. M. Nisbet, The *Invectiva in Ciceronem* and *Epistula secunda* of Pseudo-Sallust, JRS 48, 1958, 30–32; recent work on the *Appendix Sallustiana* is discussed by C. Neumeister 1986, esp. 51–55.

[2] R. Syme 1964, 314–318; similarly now L. Canfora, Altri riferimenti ai poemi ciceroniani nell *Invectiva in Ciceronem*, Ciceroniana 5, 1984, 101–109.

[3] The ascription to Sallust is a hypothesis of the late Middle Ages. Doubts about genuineness were expressed from J. Lipsius on. Comprehensive arguments in favor of Sallustian origin are offered by W. Steidle 1958, 95–104; K. Büchner 1982, 2nd ed., epilogue 470–472.

[4] Linguistic criteria intended to illumine the question of originality (stylometry) have been developed in different studies by E. Skard. A comprehensive criticism of them in K. Thraede 1978.

In the manner of the proem to the *Catilina* (3. 3), at the beginning of the second letter allusion is made to the early stages of Sallust's political career as if they were already past history. But in 50 B.C. this would be absurd. In 2. 9. 4, M. Favonius appears to be considered among the *nobiles*, to whom he did not in fact belong. Caesar, in a way quite inappropriate at that date, is addressed as *imperator* (2. 6. 6; 12. 1). Neither the flattering picture given of Sulla, nor the negative one of Cato fits the period. The second letter, contradicting its own fictional date, presupposes Caesar's absolute power, that is, his war and victory. That he alone could organize the state is something unthinkable for that time, and there must be an anachronism. The demand for secret voting in the senate sounds odd in the Republican period, and the request for that body's enlargement is out of place in 50 B.C.[1] The self-presentation of the author as a man unconcerned with *arma* and *equi* is odd in the Republican period and the gloomy threat of madness (2. 12. 6) adds to the confusion. But there are greater things in store. The author of the 2nd letter (2. 9. 2) copies the *Invective* (3) and makes it even more 'Sallustian'.

The 1st letter is less absurd. But it too presupposes Caesar's absolute power and speaks of him as *imperator*. It is just as full of artificial turns, and is composed in the style which Sallust was to create only later for his historical works.

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[1] On the problems, now s. C. Virlouvet, Le sénat dans la seconde Lettre de Salluste à César, in: C. Nicolet, ed., Des ordres à Rome, Paris 1984, 101–141. On the general question of 'appropriateness to the period' cf. the account of recent scholarship in C. Neumeister 1986, esp. 53–54. An attempt to identify the writer of the letters with a member of the Symmachus circle is made by L. Canfora, Crispus Sallustius autore delle *Suasoriae ad Caesarem senem?*, Index 9, 1980, 25–32. Scholarship in recent decades can register great progress in the study of the *Epistulae*. The reasons leading the present author to continue to doubt their authenticity, in agreement with R. Syme and others, have been stated here, but he remains open to argument; s. now: W. Schmid, Frühschriften Sallusts im Horizont des Gesamtwerks, Neustadt 1993.

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B. BIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAPHY AT ROME

General Remarks

Biography means 'description of life'.[1] We are not concerned then with a uniform and clearly defined genre showing conformity to particular rules, and this makes it difficult to give biography a definition. It may enjoy literary shape, as in the case of the *Agricola* of Tacitus and the *Bioi* of Plutarch. But it may also limit itself to the setting out of material in order. Thus, in Greek scholarship, biographies of poets are published for academic purposes in connection with editions of their works, and biographies of philosophers in doxographic texts, although there are also biographies of poets written in literary style. At Rome, the factual, sober type of biography had predecessors in inscriptions, official records and similar material, while rhetorical biography might recall funeral speeches. Both forms may blend in different degrees.

There are contacts with, and differences from, neighboring genres. Let us first dwell on some points of contact. Both *encomia* and biographies group achievements according to patterns of behavior (virtues) or types of trial. Both *literary portraits* and biographies may be incomplete and deploy only certain characteristic individual features. A common type concentrates on an important phase in its subject's life, some central experience such as the recognition of a vocation (e.g. a conversion), or a most critical period (e.g. the end of a life). In the case of important politicians, biography cannot ignore their *historical* accomplishments.

Differences are found in so far as *encomia* emphasize political, moral or intellectual achievements, while biographies are concerned with a person's *life* and therefore may also make mention of negative aspects ('vices'). An author of a literary portrait may find it enough to indicate particular qualities or certain telling incidents, while a biographer

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[1] For a definition cf. Berschin, Biographie 1, 14–21. Autobiography is even more difficult to define satisfactorily.

should take into account the *general lines* of a person's life. *Historical writing* throws the spotlight on public action, while biography stresses personal traits.

The three neighboring types of literature mentioned presuppose careful stylistic finish, while this is not necessarily the case in biography (s. 'Literary Technique' below).

Greek Background

Not all societies display an interest in individual personality, and for this reason biography is not developed among all peoples. In Greece, it is a late phenomenon, and its roots were, first, political. For example, an existing or intended interest in personality is connected at times with the rise or spread of monarchical or tyrannical forms of government. Thus, idealizing royal biographies make their appearance. They might be simple eulogy of the ruler, and from the 4th century on, the *encomium* assumed a fixed shape. But they may be meant to serve, as 'manuals for princes', a pedagogical purpose, the education of the ideal monarch. In both cases, they incorporate concerns which are not purely biographical.[1]

Later, many biographies of Plutarch and Suetonius center around the personalities of rulers, although no longer in a purely encomiastic sense.

A second inspiration for biographical interest is found in philosophy. As intellectual teachers, provoking imitation, great thinkers may be deemed worthy of biographical presentation. The uniqueness of personality was made evident to the Greeks with particular clarity in the case of Socrates. Yet Plato did not write a biography of his master. In his freely conceived *Apology*, and in his even more freely shaped dialogues, he developed his teacher's suggestions about method with a degree of independence making it almost impossible to distinguish what is Platonic and what is Socratic. Xenophon in his *Reminiscences of Socrates* took a different, though no less unhistorical, attitude. He was less concerned with scholarly insight than with ethical practice, and in any case his first intention was not to describe his teacher's life. From a literary and technical point of view, this sort of speech

[1] Isocrates, *Evagoras*; Xenophon, *Agesilaus, Cyropaedia* and the obituary of Cyrus (*anab.* 1. 9).

and dialogue verges upon drama. Character is presented by way of example in the light of behavior in particular circumstances. This means that there is less concern with the person than with its way of thinking and behaving.

Later biographies of philosophers, joined in the school tradition with description of their doctrines, show the exemplary life of a man of wisdom. It was they which inspired the lives of the saints developed in late antiquity.

A third motive for interest in biography is scholarly and literary. Biographies of literary personalities (authors) are found as early as the 4th century B.C. In the Hellenistic period it became normal to prefix to the works of the classical writers the author's biography, to show among other things the connection between life and work.

So much may be said about some roots of biography in Greek intellectual life. Later, the genre received encouragement from the factual inquiries furthered by the Peripatetics. A means to secure internal structure was supplied by philosophical ethics, in particular by the character analysis practiced by Aristotle and Theophrastus, and the contrast between virtues and vices. Yet what remains is not sufficient to allow the reconstruction of a specifically Peripatetic form of biography.

Along with this, literary rules began to develop for the writing of biography. They were partly derived from the encomium (s. Literary Technique).

Among the classical models of Greek biography were to be found Aristoxenus (4th century B.C.), Antigonus of Carystus (3rd century B.C.), Hermippus of Smyrna (3rd century B.C.) and Satyrus (2nd half of 3rd century B.C.). Of these, Aristoxenus' *Bioi* of Archytas, Socrates and Plato were not, as the fragments prove, free from niggling criticism. Antigonus wrote lives of philosophers in a lively and vivid style. Hermippus relied upon material drawn from the Alexandrian library, but unfortunately also on unreliable sources for his influential accounts of legislators, philosophers and authors. Satyrus described the lives of kings, politicians, orators, philosophers and poets; his *Life of Euripides* (*Pap. Oxy.* 1176) displays artistic style in avoiding hiatus, and is cast as a dialogue, a form otherwise known only from hagiography. In his biographical interpretations of literary texts, especially of comedies, Satyrus is inclined, for modern notions, to go far too far.

Roman Development

Interest in individual personality received a strong impulse at Rome from Hellenistic influence. Yet it had never been entirely absent and was felt more intensely there than in Greece. Our picture of early Roman society may be rather one-sidedly marked by those selfless civic virtues which Cato, in challenging the aristocracy, felt obliged to emphasize.

In any case, both biography and autobiography at Rome had strong native roots. Family pride was an old and powerful motive. Biographical information was offered by *tituli*, inscriptions beneath the statues of important men. The *laudatio funebris*—the eulogy of the dead at the funeral—is related to the encomium and contains essential elements of biography. Such speeches were collected in family archives. Their conventional style turned the dead man into an *exemplum*.

Moreover, in Rome there must have been biographies of magistrates concerned with the precise record of facts. A later branch of this type, which may be characteristic of the nature of Latin biography, is seen in the *Liber pontificalis*. Its roots reach from the 6th century back to the 2nd century A.D. 'Is it presumptuous to argue from this biography of Roman magistrates, persisting over centuries, to the existence of older, lost works of a similar type?'[1] There is an evident analogy between the presentation of individuals in such books and the Romans' self-presentation on inscriptions and monuments.

A further presupposition for Roman biography—the self-assertion of the *homo novus*—was a reaction to the overwhelming power of the *gentes*. Already the Elder Cato collected his speeches, at first for practical and documentary purposes, but also so as to introduce them into his historical work and with that to confer upon himself immortality. Another important self-made man, Cicero, glorified his own consulship in prose and verse.

However, this biased self-idealization was from the very beginning subject at Rome to certain limitations, which may be especially appreciated in the Roman plastic arts and in poetry. The naturalistic death masks and the realistic portraits of the Republican period proclaim a sense of the individual which passed beyond any parallel Greek impulses. The typically Roman penchant for ironic and down-to-earth self-portrayal in poetry, as found in Lucilius, points in the same

[1] Letter of W. Berschin: cf. Berschin, Biographie 1, 270–277; 2, 115–138.

direction. This satirical personal poetry culminates in Horace, who, however, did not yet produce a connected autobiography, and as a person conceals more about himself than he reveals.

Ovid wrote the first poetic autobiography.[1] Unlike the self-portraits of the satirists, it is meant to be an apologia, inspired by the particular situation of the banished poet. In this respect, the tradition he follows is Ciceronian rather than Horatian.

The rise of autobiography in prose in the true sense is linked with political developments. The great individuals who controlled politics in the late Republic took center stage in a novel way, not simply as actors, but also as literary advertisers of themselves. In the wake of others, Sulla too, whose career signposted the future of Roman history, composed an autobiography now unfortunately lost, certainly aiming to justify his political actions. The 'democrat' Caesar rivaled his optimate precursor, not only as an all-powerful dictator, but also as the author of *Commentarii* in which the intended picture of himself is doubly concealed behind the many characters of the surface narrative and the 'sober' effort to give an account of his conduct.

Sulla's freedman, Cornelius Epicadus, completed the biography of his patron and is therefore the first Roman biographer known to us by name.

However, thanks to Hellenistic influence, biographies without political relevance kept on finding more lively imitation in Rome. Varro wrote the first Latin collection *De viris illustribus*. But it is Nepos who in a certain sense may be regarded as the creator of Roman literary biography. Such biographies, bereft of any immediate apologetic purpose, reflect individual systems of values, and may be regarded as documents revealing the blending of Greek and Roman culture. This is the series continued by Hyginus.

Tacitus enriched the biography of his father-in-law *Agricola* with elements typical of historiography. Conversely, he centered his historical works around the personalities of the emperors.

From Suetonius on, imperial biography is in rivalry with traditional historical writing, which it overshadows for a long time within Latin literature (Marius Maximus, Historia Augusta, Aurelius Victor).

Eusebius wrote a panegyric *Vita Constantini*.

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[1] It is developed from the *sphragis*, the brief presentation of himself by a poet at the end of his work.

Late antiquity witnessed individual lives of philosophers: Porphyrius composed a *Life of Plotinus*, Marinus a *Life of Proclus*. The Βίοι σοφιστῶν were collected by Philostratus and continued by Eunapius.

With his *De viris illustribus* Jerome continued the tradition of Suetonius, and produced the first Christian history of literature.

Christian *Lives of the Saints* represent another type, exemplified in Evagrius' translation of the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius, Jerome's *Vita S. P, Vita S. Hilarionis, Vita Malchi*[1] and Sulpicius Severus' *Vita S. Martini*.

Literary Technique

In the presentation of the subject, different principles are in play, an arrangement by chronology counterpointing one by theme. Biography moves between two poles (without coinciding with either of them): on the one hand, there is the 'on the spot' portrait, drawn as a whole and consciously neglecting certain details. On the other, there is the continuous narrative, concerned with historical completeness. Unlike the historian, the biographer, even when he is engaged in narrative, is less concerned with historical events as such than with their evidential value for the life in question. This explains why at times he may resort to historically trivial but psychologically revealing anecdotes. Favorite dishes, hobbies, other peculiarities may reflect essential features of character. He chooses his material according to its significance in this sense. Thus it may happen that particular phases of the life, such as youth and final days, may be especially emphasized, while others are passed over.

A systematical presentation based on theme, adapted to chronology in different ways or actually ignoring it, may be arranged according to virtues or even vices.[2] Philosophical ideas may play some part in this (s. Ideas II), but there may also be close contact with the rhetorical encomium. In both cases, the ἤθη of the hero are to be presented through his πράξεις with moral and pedagogical intent, although the decisive difference is that biography may also find space for negative behavior.

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[1] The *Life of Malchus* is not the Life of a Saint, although it serves the purpose of Christian edification.

[2] A division by areas of relationship—family, public life, the gods—is also possible.

In practical terms, biographies may be factual sketches in a scholarly vein, or be developed according to literary principles.[1] The latter type is found in Plutarch (d. after 120); the former, with certain limitations, in Suetonius. Suetonius sees his task as that of orderly presentation of the material, while largely eschewing literary ornament. In the tradition of scholarship, even documents are cited. Simultaneously he establishes the biography composed in the scholarly manner as a form of historical writing.

In the Lives of philosophers, the sequence of life/doctrines is typical. Diogenes Laertius (perhaps towards the end of the 3rd century A.D.) regularly appends to the Life a brief summary (συναγωγή) of the doctrines. A characteristic feature of these Lives is the use of anecdotes illustrating the nature of the thinker under discussion. In the case of Epicurus, Diogenes is able to rely (book 10) on authentic testimonies.

Biographies were collected and organized according to categories: legislators, tyrants, poets and so on. Such collections were then themselves collected under the title 'Of Famous Men' (Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν). Evidence of this is found in Varro, Nepos, Hyginus, Suetonius. From the time of the late Republic on, Greeks and Romans were also brought into parallel (Varro, Nepos, later Plutarch). Lives of philosophers were organized according to schools and their heads (cf. Diogenes Laertius).

In the Hellenistic period the growing role of great personalities and of their decisions had led to an increasing influence of biographies (of Alexander) on historical writing. This is true of Sallust, and much more so of the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus, something quite understandable given that the emperor's decisions affected the whole world. Conversely, in Tacitus' *Agricola*, biography is enriched with historical features. In addition to the usual speeches and battle descriptions, literary use is also made of themes drawn from the life of Alexander. With Suetonius, as may be especially seen in the Lives illustrating the year of the four emperors, biography is in open rivalry with history, not in form, but in content and purpose.

A peculiar type is biography cast in the form of dialogue. The *Life of Euripides* by Satyrus is an example (second half of 3rd century B.C.),

[1] According to Cicero's Letter to Lucceius (*fam.* 5. 12, esp. § 6), a historical monograph resembles a stage play. Events are grouped around the person of the hero. At this point, the historian may write as an encomiast, although biography and encomium are otherwise strictly separate from history.

and there are also examples from Christian late antiquity (Palladius, Sulpicius Severus).

The adoption of elements from Hellenistic miraculous tales and novels fostered the development of a literature combining edification with entertainment. This gave rise to the hagiographic legend (Athanasius, Jerome).

Viewed as a whole, the Lives of the philosophers[1] have more to do with the type than the individual. The aim is to show moral progress towards perfection through the different stages noted in ethical theory. Some Lives of philosophers have the character of aretalogies. A case in point is Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*. Lucian's work *Concerning Alexander of Abonuteichus* is a parody of this genre. The categories of the biographies of philosophers were easily adapted to Christian hagiography.

Inside Christian biography,[2] the following groups may be distinguished: Acts and Passions of Martyrs, Lives of Monks, Lives of Bishops, biographical series of the 6th century.

Acts of Martyrs

The point of departure for Christian hagiography is the court record of the *Acta*, exemplified in the account of the trial of the Scillitan martyrs about 180 at Carthage. In the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (202 or 203), the simple narrative of an editor is supplemented by Perpetua's own descriptions and the words of a fellow prisoner. This combination of narrative and autobiography is called '*commentarius* form.'[3] Cyprian's martyrdom has come down to us in the shape of *acta*. It may be ranked with Pontius' *Vita Cypriani*, the oldest Life of a saint in Latin. It is a Latin *sermo* in the form of a rhetorical panegyric, something already evident from the verbose proem. It may be interpreted as an encomium.[4]

An expanded version of the *acta*-type is illustrated by the narrative *passio* (e.g. *Passio SS. IV Coronatorum*). Here we find the literary technique of a 'background style'. The reader is asked to experience the

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[1] A. Dihle 1986, 74.

[2] W. Berschin 1986 is basic.

[3] H. A. Gärtner also points to elements of literary recasting: Die *Acta Scillitanorum* in literarischer Interpretation, WS 102, 1989, 149–167.

[4] For a comparison with Menander Rhetor and the not much later *Panegyrici* cf. Berschin, Biographie 1, 64.

more recent event against the background of the trial before Pilate, evoked by typological quotations.

Dramatic features are encountered in the Passions of Sebastian, Laurence and Agnes. The *Passiones apostolorum* have links with ancient novels. The new heroic figures of these texts are drawn from humble circumstances: women, soldiers, slaves.

Lives of Monks

The *Life of Antony* by Athanasius (about 357), a work of some originality, is a definitive model for Latin hagiography of the 4th century. Two Latin translations are available: an older, anonymous version, and a more recent by Evagrius (about 370). They reflect the change of style from early Christian simplicity to the humanism of Jerome's time. Athanasius' work influenced Jerome (*Vitae Pauli, Hilarionis, Malchi*), Sulpicius Severus (*Life of Martin*) and Paulinus (*Life of Ambrose*).

The *Life of Malchus* is expressly described by Jerome as a *vita*, and associated with the two other biographies. It proves that a Latin *vita* in no way needs to comprise the life of its subject as a whole. A central event is enough. Here, the *vita* almost becomes a short story. In Jerome, biography and epistolary form may blend. His letter on the death of Paula is a precursor of later lives of female saints.

A new rhetorical flowering of the Lives of monks occurred in the time of Theodoric (Eugippius, Ennodius, Dionysius Exiguus).

Lives of Writers

The significance of the Suetonian type of biography for Christian Latin biography is from time to time energetically disputed.[1] But Jerome's *De viris illustribus* remains firmly attached to the Suetonian tradition. Biography, history and scholarly method are already combined in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. A long section, embracing the 5th and beginning of the 6th book, is centered on the personality of Origen.

Lives of Bishops

Towards the end of the 4th century, biographers begin to pay greater attention to bishops, though from an earlier period the *Vita Cypriani* by Pontius may be mentioned. Sulpicius Severus, in his *Vita Martini*,

[1] G. Luck, Die Form der suetonischen Biographie und die frühen Heiligenviten in: Mullus. FS T. Klauser, JbAC, suppl. vol. 1, Münster 1964, 230–241.

created the new model of an episcopal biography, drawing on his knowledge of monastic Lives. He was followed by Paulinus of Milan (*Vita Ambrosii*), Possidius (*Vita Augustini*), and Ferrandus (*Vita Fulgentii*). Hilary in his *Vita Honorati* produced an elegant *laudatio funebris* with prose rhythms in classical style. In accordance with the changing taste of the age, the anonymous *Vita Hilarii* is rhetorically overloaded, although less conservative in its rhythms. Five authors lent luster to the *Vita Caesarii*.

Biographical Series of the 6th Century

Venantius was the author of a series of Lives of bishops, most of whom were not personally known to him. He introduced a new method of organizing his material, dividing the *Vita S. Hilarii* from the *Liber de virtutibus*.

Biographical material is also found in Gregory the Great, especially in the *Dialogi*, whose style also distinguishes them from the rest of his work.[1] Gregory of Tours also belongs in this context.

Autobiographies

The literary techniques of *autobiography* are especially complex: there had been *hypomnemata* (*commentarii*) in the Greek world since the days of Ptolemy I, Antigonus Gonatas and Demetrius of Phalerum. At Rome, memoirs had been known since the time of the Gracchi, for example, by Aemilius Scaurus, Sulla, Cicero, Augustus, and Tiberius. The style of autobiography might be modelled on Xenophon (Cic. *Brut.* 132). Augustus' unusual account of his career may be set in the tradition of inscriptions by rulers. Caesar elevated the *commentarius* to the level of history, likewise under Xenophon's patronage. In historical works may be found autobiographical remarks by their authors, so far as they were participants in the action (Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cato, Ammianus Marcellinus) and also in their proems, in partial evocation of Plato's *Seventh Letter* (Sallust).

The autobiographical material may be presented in the form of a judicial speech, as by Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates (esp. Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως), Cicero, Apuleius. This leads to occasional imitation of Plato's *Apology*.

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[1] His pessimism is related to the desolate state of Italy. The somewhat more hopeful mood in the new kingdom of the Franks is reflected in the works of Gregory of Tours.

In his account of his consulship, Cicero chose the forms of epic and of the prose *commentarius*. The description of his education and career (*Brut.* 304–324) is quite unusual.

A special type of autobiographical text, the philosophical or religious testimony to a conversion,[1] is prepared in some passages of Cicero's *Letters* and Seneca's *Epistles*. Characteristic authors here are: Dion of Prusa, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Aelius Aristides, and Libanius. It is on this basis that the important autobiographical literature written by Christians is developed by Gregory of Nazianzus, Justin, Hilary, Augustine, Ennodius, and Patrick.

Language and Style

The language and style of biography may vary, depending on whether the 'Plutarchian' or 'Suetonian' model is in play. The latter type corresponds to the sober style of the scholar, the ancient *grammaticus*. A typical feature of this category is the literal quotation of sources, even in Greek. The former type shows a stronger rhetorical coloring, though even in Suetonius literary adornment is not completely absent.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The formal elements noted above, reminiscent of the encomium (for example, efforts towards systematic division and so on) may be mentioned here, if the author expressly confirms that they are constitutive features of his text. They are not, however, sufficient to determine a whole genre.

In general, the ancients did not establish strict generic rules for biography. Biographies written at Rome may be fruitfully contrasted here with the moral theories which (if scholars may be trusted) underlie the biographies of Plutarch.

It is in fact in Plutarch that some efforts towards a theory of biography may be found. His prefaces show that, in the eyes of contemporaries, biography was distinguished from history.

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[1] P. Courcelle 1957; H. Görgemanns, Der Bekehrungsbrief Marc Aurels, RhM 134, 1991, 96–109.

In Plutarch, the aim of edification is particularly important in determining the genre. The intellectual origins of biography lie in the moral theory of the Peripatetics, and presuppose a systematic ethics and rule of life. This has been taken to explain why biography in Greek literature did not become a common medium of historiography.[1] However, we should not forget that, from the days of Alexander on, even in the Greek world, biography and history converged, if only from the point of view of material.

It is a big step from here to Roman political biography. The latter has its antecedents in the quite different political conditions of Rome.

To narrow down ancient biography exclusively to private life is to ignore Xenophon, whose role at Rome in particular is significant. Such a view in any case only partially fits the *vita* as it is offered to us by Roman literature.

Ideas II

Biographies of philosophers aim to present a particular way of life. This is especially clear in Iamblichus, who did not write 'on the life of Pythagoras' but expressly 'on the Pythagorean way of life' (Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορείου βίου).

The lists of virtues which underlie these lives in individual cases depend on the author's philosophical point of view.

The importance of the Peripatetics for the rise of biography in Greece shows especially from the following results of their anthropological studies: the contrast between *ethos* and *pathos*, the classification of particular types of lives and characters, or the interplay of natural bent and acquired virtue. In general, in ancient biography, intellectualism dominates, linked with a moralizing point of view. The value of an individual is determined by free moral decisions, while the milieu is not felt as a determining factor.

Attention to the individual does not mean the same as attention to the private person. The Romans therefore found no reason for not mingling biography and history. Lives of the Emperors are increasingly dominated by 'princely virtues' and 'typical features of the tyrant'.[2]

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[1] A. Dihle 1986, 18–19.

[2] A. Scheithauer, Kaiserbild und literarisches Programm. Untersuchungen zur Tendenz der *Historia Augusta*, Frankfurt 1987 (with older bibl.).

W. Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Bd. 1: Von der *Passio Perpetuae* zu den *Dialogi* Gregors des Großen, Stuttgart 1986. * W. Berschin, ed., Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock (articles by 12 authors), Heidelberg 1993. * R. Blum, Die Literaturverzeichnung in Antike und Mittelalter. Versuch einer Geschichte der Biobibliographie von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, Frankfurt 1983. * A. Buck, ed., Biographie und Autobiographie in der Renaissance, Wiesbaden 1983. * P. Courcelle, Antècèdents autobiographiques des *Confessions* de saint Augustin, RPh 31, 1957, 23–51. * A. Dihle, Studien zur griechischen Biographie, AAG 3, 37, 1956. * A. Dihle, Die Entstehung der historischen Biographie, SHAW 1986, 3, 1–90. * B. R. Fredericks, *Tristia* 4, 10: Poet's Autobiography and Poetic Autobiography, TAPhA 106, 1976, 139–154. * M. Fuhrmann, Biographie, KlP 1, 1964, 902–904. * J. Geiger, Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography, Stuttgart 1985. * B. Gentili, G. Cerri, Storia e biografia nel pensiero antico, Bari 1983, Engl. transl. Amsterdam 1988. * H. Gerstinger, Biographie, RLAC 2, 386–391. * K.-P. Johne, Kaiserbiographie und Senatsaristokratie. Untersuchungen zur Datierung und sozialen Herkunft der *Historia Augusta*, Berlin 1976. * T. Krischer, Die Stellung der Biographie in der griechischen Literatur, Hermes 110, 1982, 51–64. * A. Lamedica, Il P. Oxy. 1800 e le forme della biografia greca, SIFC 3, 3, 1985, 55–75. * P. Lejeune, L'autobiographie en France, Paris 1971. * Leo, Biogr. * F. Leo, Satyros' Βίος Εὐριπίδου, NGG 1912, 273–290. * G. Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie, Bd. 1, 1–2, Frankfurt 3rd ed. 1949–1950. * A. Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography. Four Lectures, Cambridge, Mass. 1971. * G. Niggl, ed., Die Autobiographie. Zu Form und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung, Darmstadt 1989. * W. Steidle, Sueton und die antike Biographie, s. Suetonius. * D. R. Stuart, Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography, Berkeley 1928, repr. 1967. * R.-R. Wuthenow, Das erinnerte Ich. Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jh., München 1974.

NEPOS

Life and Dates

Cornelius Nepos (his praenomen is unknown) was probably born about 100 B.C. Certainly, by 63 B.C. he was no longer a young man (Plin. *nat.* 9. 137). His native city was perhaps Ticinum, and certainly he was a Transpadane[1] like Catullus, who addresses him in

[1] Pliny *nat.* 3. 127; Pliny *epist.* 4. 28. 1.

his dedicatory poem and who is himself mentioned in complimentary terms by Nepos (*Att.* 12. 4). He never held senatorial office, dedicating himself entirely to his family (cf. Cic. *Att.* 16. 14. 4) and literature (Plin. *epist.* 5. 3. 6). Just like Varro or Atticus, he was a cultivated man of letters, of equestrian rank. Like Marcus and Quintus Cicero, Hortensius and perhaps Varro he was among Atticus' friends. In 65 B.C. he was a member of the audience listening to Cicero's speech in defense of Cornelius.[1] The great orator at times speaks about him in somewhat cool terms (*Att.* 16. 5. 5), yet there was a correspondence available between him and Nepos. As biographer, Nepos described Cicero's life, and was also perhaps active as an editor (of Cicero? of Catullus?). Fronto mentions him (*epist.* 15 V.D.H.) in the same breath as Lampadio, Staberius, and Atticus. He outlived his friend Atticus[2] and reached the end of his long life only under Augustus.[3]

Survey of Works

1. The three books of *Chronica*, written before 54 B.C., were Nepos' oldest work in prose (Catullus 1. 3–7). They gave a chronological synopsis of the principal events in Greek and Roman history, including literary history.

2. The *Exempla* appeared after 44 B.C. in at least five books (*frg.* 12 Peter = *frg.* 21 Marshall). They represented a new genre at Rome, a collection of anecdotes organized by theme. Probably, like the later work of Valerius Maximus, they were in each case categorized under Roman and Greek examples.

3. Nepos published separately detailed *Lives of Cato* and *Cicero.*

4. His principal work, *De viris illustribus*, treated in at least 16 books foreign and Roman kings, generals, orators (cf. the Cornelia fragment), historians, poets and grammarians. Two further groups are unnamed. We possess the book[4] concerning foreign generals, which was once followed by a now-lost book on Roman commanders (*Hann.* 13. 4). There also survive parts of the account of Roman historians (Cato, Atticus; his remark on Cicero's importance for the writing of history comes from the introduction). The 1st edition of the *Life of Atticus*, which was one of the lives of historians, followed

[1] Jerome *c. Ioh.* 12 (419) = PL 23, 381 MIGNE.
[2] Died 32 B.C. (Nep. *Att.* 19. 1).
[3] Therefore perhaps after 27 B.C. (Pliny *nat.* 9. 137; 10. 60).
[4] On the question of authenticity, see below under Influence.

between 35 and 32 B.C. Nepos himself (*Att.* 19. 1) refers to a 2nd edition,[1] which must have come between 32 and 27 B.C. The Lives of Datames, Hamilcar and Hannibal, like the chapter on *reges* in the *Lives of Generals*, may have been additions to the 2nd edition, and the effort to deny the existence of a 2nd edition[2] is not convincing.[3] It is in the Life of Hannibal (13. 1) that Atticus is spoken of as now dead.

The surviving book *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* contains twenty biographies of Greek generals.[4] This is followed by a survey of the kings who in fact had already been treated in an earlier section of the work. By way of appendix are found treatments of Hamilcar and Hannibal. It seems that the work does not aim at artistic structure, and a quite casual transition may be noted, which perhaps comes from remarks added to the second edition: *De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur non praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem*, 'as we think that enough has been said about this subject it seems appropriate to mention Hamilcar and Hannibal' (*reg.* 3. 5). Yet the organization of these Lives may have been better planned than is often assumed.[5]

The *Lives of Cato and Atticus* are naturally taken from the book dealing with Latin historians. The structure of the individual biographies is examined below under Literary Technique.

5. Nepos also wrote minor poems (Pliny *epist.* 5. 3. 6), and perhaps also a work on geography. He was hardly, however, the author of a treatise on the increase of luxury in all walks of life. The references made to this topic may have been found in his other works.

Sources, Models, Genres

A model for the *Chronica* was provided by the chronicle of Apollodorus of Athens (2nd century B.C.), though this was composed in comic

[1] Bibliography on the argument over the 2nd edition is found in O. Schönberger 1970, 154, note 5.

[2] H. Rahn, Die *Atticus-Biographie* und die Frage der zweiten Auflage der Biographiensammlung des Cornelius Nepos, Hermes 85, 1957, 205–206.

[3] R. Stark, Zur *Atticus-Vita* des Cornelius Nepos, RhM 107, 1964, 175–176.

[4] Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon, Lysander, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Dion, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, Datames, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Agesilaus, Eumenes, Phocion, Timoleon; in favor of the authorship of Hyginus, cf. P. L. Schmidt, Das Corpus Aurelianum und S. Aurelius Victor, RE Suppl. 15, 1978, 1583–1676, esp. 1641–1647; Nepos' authorship is supported by J. Geiger, Cornelius Nepos and the Authorship of the Books on Foreign Generals, LCM 7, 1982, 134–136.

[5] O. Schönberger 1970, 155.

trimeters. Apollodorus, too, took account of literary history. Like Apollodorus, Nepos set the foundation of Rome in 751/50 B.C.

In the *Exempla* (five books), Nepos probably followed the Greek paradoxographers.[1]

Recently, it has again been assumed that historical works, of a kind easily accessible at that time, were sources for his biographies. Nepos cites by name Thucydides,[2] Xenophon (*Ages.* 1. 1), Theopompus and Timaeus (*Alc.* 11. 1), and Dinon (*Con.* 5. 4). On Hannibal (13. 1. 3) he cites Silenus and Sosilus. Elsewhere, he alludes to Atticus, Polybius, and Sulpicius Blitho. Supposedly he also used Ephorus and Callisthenes. The earlier widespread assumption of intermediate sources, such as a Greek work Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν,[3] is now viewed skeptically,[4] since the titles which are known do not contain any lives of politicians. Yet there were *encomia* of politicians independent of such collections, and Nepos shows himself influenced by the technique of the encomium.

In any case the claim that among the Greeks before Polybius there were no lives of politicians rests partly on an *argumentum ex silentio*, and partly on a very narrow definition of biography, excluding on a priori grounds all that is available to us.[5] Nepos himself refers (*Epam.* 4. 6) to *complures scriptores*.[6] In the Hellenistic period the purposes of political biography had in many cases been taken over by historical writing.[7]

Nepos in part follows the Peripatetic biographical tradition, which was to be carried to perfection by Plutarch. In the *Life of Datames*, Dinon may actually have been used. In the case of Atticus, Nepos wrote from personal knowledge, as he must have done in his lost *Life*

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[1] L. Traube, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller, SBAW 1891, 397 = L.T., Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen 3, ed. S. Brandt, München 1920, 9; W. Spoerri, LAW s.v. Buntschriftstellerei.

[2] *Them.* 1. 4; 9. 1; 10. 4; *Paus.* 2. 2; *Alc.* 11. 1.

[3] For the ancient works on ἔνδοξοι ἄνδρες cf. W. Steidle 1951, 141–142; Schanz-Hosius 1, 358.

[4] J. Geiger 1985, 56–58. It must be remembered, however, that ancient authors are notorious for suppressing their intermediate sources and citing instead famous authorities.

[5] See now, however, J. Geiger 1985. Antigonus of Carystos also wrote on legislators (were they perhaps not politicians?), a point left unmentioned by J. Geiger 1985, 54.

[6] J. Geiger 1985, 34–35 assumes that these predecessors were historians, not biographers, even though Nepos means biographies.

[7] J. Geiger 1985, passim.

of Cicero. Nepos knew that letters were important documents for the historian, remarking of Cicero's Letters: *quae qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum,* 'their reader would little need a continuous history of the period' (Nep. *Att.* 16). Letters had been used already by Hellenistic biographers.

Independently of the question whether Nepos was the creator of political biography, biography at Rome played a special role. It was particularly congenial to the Romans, as can be seen for example from their use of *imagines.* According to Jerome,[1] the first biographers at Rome were Varro, Santra, Hyginus, and Nepos. Varro's *imagines* also proclaim an interest in biography. They had a short text added, and were not limited to politicians. Nepos' book on foreign generals was dedicated to Atticus, who a short time before had composed epigrams for portraits of Roman statesmen (Nep. *Att.* 18. 5–6). It was perhaps Atticus who encouraged Nepos to include politicians in his biographies.

There were also in Rome numerous autobiographies, a relatively rare genre in Greek, which had flourished since the days of Gaius Gracchus:[2] Rutilius Rufus and Aemilius Scaurus had written memoirs. Many freedmen were active as biographers. Cornelius Epicadus completed and published Sulla's reminiscences. L. Voltacilius Pitholaus narrated the deeds of Pompeius Strabo and Pompey the Great,[3] although probably in an historical context. Tiro was the freedman and biographer of Cicero.

Within Roman literature, with his *Chronica, Exempla* and collection of *Vitae,* Nepos was a pioneer. In taking the lives of politicians into his collection, he acted, so far as may be seen, without precedent. It must moreover be regarded as a novelty that in his collection there appeared the biography of someone still living (Atticus).

Literary Technique

Nepos was obliged to distinguish his method from that of the historians (*Pel.* 1): *quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam eius enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere,* 'for I am afraid that, if I should start to

[1] *Apud* G. Funaioli, GRF, Leipzig 1907, 384.
[2] E. Badian, The Early Historians in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Latin Historians, London 1966, 1–38.
[3] Nepos, *frg.* 57 Marshall = Suet. *rhet.* 27.

explain the whole matter, I might seem not to tell the story of his life, but to write history'. The form of Nepos' biographies is not generically fixed, but wavers between different possibilities.[1] According to a convenient and in the meantime outdated distinction, 'Alexandrian biography' presented, along with a sketch of the external events of the life, a picture of character filled with anecdotes. This type is used especially in the lives of poets. On the other hand, 'Peripatetic' biography of the type practiced by Plutarch preferred an artistic structure.[2] In Nepos both types were blended. Even literary and political biography could not at Rome be sharply distinguished.[3] Biographies in the narrower sense known to us appear in Greek always in series. There, individuals figure as representatives of a species (e.g. poet). Series of political biographies seem not to be attested before Nepos.[4]

The literary form of Nepos' biographies is varied. There is the simple chronological presentation, although with the inclusion of statesmen by Nepos a moral aim and an approximation to the narrative technique of history also make their appearance. The Lives of Cimon, Conon, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus are brief, but even they are not purely 'Alexandrian'. In spite of their short compass, interest in *virtutes* and *vitia* may still be detected.

Conversely, he also uses forms close to the encomium. This is seen in his biography of Epaminondas, whose character aroused more admiration than his career. For Agesilaus and Atticus, too, Nepos employed the methods of the eulogy. The theory of the epideictic encomium allowed for two arrangements: according to ἀρεταί or by chronology (Quint. *inst.* 3. 7. 15). The biographers employ both forms without distinction.[5]

A contrast to the encomium is offered by the antithetical and ambivalent characterization of Alcibiades (1. 2–4). In this, in spite of the enthusiastic finale (11. 6), praise and blame mingle. This has been regarded as a 'Peripatetic' feature.[6] The Life of Dion is a crescendo

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[1] Leo, Biogr. 207; 211.

[2] Well-founded criticism of this distinction in S. West, Satyrus: Peripatetic or Alexandrian?, GRBS 15, 1974, 279–286.

[3] W. Steidle 1951, 142 and elsewhere, against Leo. A division is once again defended by J. Geiger 1985, passim.

[4] J. Geiger 1985, passim.

[5] W. Steidle 1951, 131.

[6] E. M. Jenkinson 1973, 710.

followed by a diminuendo. The first contains elements of ἔπαινος, the latter those of ψόγος.[1]

Nepos dwells largely on the qualities of the commander; this preoccupation by no means springs only from literature or from the pressure of the genre. It is ordained by Roman life.[2] In Nepos specific features of Latin biography crystallize. In the *Iphicrates*, between the picture of *disciplina militaris* and that of his hero's death, Nepos introduced remarks about external appearance and character; later on, Suetonius would adopt the same technique.[3] The typically Roman division according to *vita publica* and *privata*[4] is also important. Nepos cleverly offsets chapters concerning the private life with others concerning the public *persona*, thus oscillating between an 'eidological' and a 'chronological' perspective.[5] From the sequence of events may be deduced the inner development of the hero.[6] The author delivers his own verdict in preliminaries or postscripts. 'The collection of these verdicts would perhaps produce 'basic notions' of a Roman view of history'.[7] Even so, the judgment is often concealed in the arrangement of the material.

Language and Style

Nepos' Latin is classical, although not so pure as has been claimed. Colloquial usage shows its influence on a writer to whom excessive scruple is somewhat alien. There is much old-fashioned language, rather surprising in a contemporary of Caesar and Cicero.

Diction is in the Attic manner, limited to the *genus tenue*. It is only occasionally that modest rhetorical flourishes are found, e.g. *actorem auctoremque* (*Att.* 3. 2). In general, the style is relaxed, corresponding to the unpolitical life and mature age of the author. Though uneven, it is not unpleasing, and often indeed quite graceful. An example is the use of double and triple cola and the subtle rhythm of a passage of praise, such as that found in *Epam.* 3.

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1 N. Holzberg 1989, 188–189.
2 W. Steidle 1951, 112.
3 W. Steidle 1951, 145.
4 W. Steidle 1951, passim, e.g. 148.
5 E. M. Jenkinson 1967, 1–15.
6 O. Schönberger 1970, 157.
7 O. Schönberger 1970, 158.

Nepos knows how to tell a good anecdote. He is able to make the point in the right place, to avoid distracting detail and to emphasize the essentials. His narrative art may be compared with that of Cicero. The unassuming charm of his presentations is revealed only on careful reading, for which there are as yet relatively few aids available.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Leve et non satis dignum ('light and not dignified enough'). This is how Nepos supposes (*praef.*) that his *genus scripturae* will be judged. He means by this phrase biography as a literary genre.[1] Was it less respected perhaps because it was practiced by freedmen, or was the author simply defending his Atticizing style? The problem is, as he tells us himself, rather one of content, since it is precisely the 'insignificant' details which in a biography speak most loudly. *Summi viri* in his remarks here does not mean 'politicians,'[2] but *viri illustres* (ἔνδοξοι).

Nepos is conscious of his literary goal. Treatment of historical facts in a moralizing author follows different principles from those of a critical historian. The opening remarks of the *Life of Pelopidas* illustrate the point: 'Pelopidas of Thebes is better known to historians than to the general public. I myself am in doubt how to present his achievements. I am afraid that, as soon as I begin to present his deeds, I could create the impression, not of relating his life, but of writing history. Yet, if I touch upon them only superficially, I must be wary that readers to whom Greek literature is unknown may be insufficiently alerted to the significance of this man. I must therefore seek to avoid both dangers and bring remedy to my readers' satiety, and, what is more, to their lack of information.'[3]

Here, the author is concerned with *delectare* and *docere*. Basically, Nepos does not perceive himself as a historian, though in the present case he finds himself compelled to give appropriate attention to history. It is not a question of the difference between a narrative

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[1] W. Steidle 1951, 141.

[2] A different view in J. Geiger 1985, 38.

[3] On the distinction between biography and history (Nep. *Pel.* 1) s. Polyb. 10. 21, esp. § 8; Plut. *Alex.* 1. 2–3; *Nic.* 1. 5; *Galba* 2. 5; W. Steidle 1951, 11.

which shows scholarly fullness and one that is selective and artistic,[1] but rather of avoiding a drift into historical writing. The test is always the *significance* of the hero (*quantus ille fuerit*, 'what an important man this was'; *Hann.* 5. 4). The purpose is *exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae*, 'to give an impression of his manners and career' (*Epam.* 1. 3). Nepos therefore remains faithful to his *biographical* aim. What is historical here has only the function of illustration. The author's interest in *tituli* and family trees is again something typically Roman (Nep. *Att.* 18. 4): *quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum* ('nothing can be more delightful than these books to those who have some desire for knowledge about famous men').

Ideas II

The categories of praise and blame are not philosophical but rhetorical. Nepos' distancing of himself in his *Letter to Cicero* (*frg.* 39 Marshall) from the principle *philosophia magistra vitae* might seem to justify the conclusion that he rejected Greek education. But the introduction to his book about generals corrects this misapprehension. Indeed, the author shows a rare openness to Greek culture: 'There will be people who, lacking Greek education, will accept nothing that does not suit their own way' (*praef.* 2). Nepos is not therefore the arch-conservative Roman of the old school, as he presents himself in his correspondence with Cicero. Even in the *Chronica*, which form a kind of *apologoi*, the part given to Greek was large. However, Nepos is not a theoretician. He relishes what is practical, and this means that the conclusions he draws from events are shrewd rather than lofty (*Thras.* 2. 3; *Epam.* 3. 2). Even so, he dares to put a Greek general as a model before the eyes of Romans (*Ages.* 4. 2). He is not a sensation-monger; in his biographies only a subordinate role is played by sex (e.g. *Alc.* 2. 3). In this respect Nepos, like Cicero, is still under the influence of old Roman ways of thought.

Looked at from the historical point of view, his treatment of the Greeks is much less reliable than that of the Romans. Nepos knew the Roman aristocracy, and had first-hand acquaintance with much of his material. His political attitude was that of a Republican (s. *Dion* 9. 5: *quam invisa sit singularis potentia*, 'how the power of a

[1] W. Steidle 1951, 109 is correct against Leo.

single person is detested'). In his day this warning against the rule of an individual was becoming only too relevant. But, as a Roman knight, he preserved the freedom from partisanship of one who stood aloof from politics. In the *Life of Hannibal* nothing can be detected of any Roman phobia against the foreigner. In accordance with the Roman feeling for *virtus* and Nepos' own didactic intent, the presentation of virtues and vices plays a large part (*Paus.* 1. 1; *Epam.* 10. 4; *Timoth.* 1). Yet Nepos succeeds in depicting living human beings.

Transmission

We possess more than seventy manuscripts, and know of fifteen which have disappeared. The fundamental codex Petri Danielis or Gifanianus (perhaps from the 12th century) is unfortunately now lost. Excerpts made by P. Daniel are accessible in old editions (Francoforti 1608; and Pauli Manutii in *Attici vitam* scholia, ed. Venetiis 1548; Amstelodami 1684). Chiefly, however, there are copies: in the first place the Leidensis B.P.L. 2011 (L; 15th century); in this manuscript, which was used by H. Boeiler in his edition (Strassburg 1640) and rediscovered by P. K. Marshall, the *Life of Cato* and the Cornelia fragments are missing. The second copy, the Parcensis (P; 15th century), comes from the Premonstratensian monastery of Park near Leuven and was destroyed by fire in Leuven in 1914. We possess collations by L. Roersch.[1] Principally however, there are manuscript marginal notes by C.(=K.) L. Roth in a copy of his edition printed in 1841 which is in the possession of the Academic Library at Basle (bequest of K. L. Roth, no. 3). This copy is faulty, but along with L offers a good foundation.

The oldest manuscript, the Guelferbytanus Gudianus Lat. 166 (A; end of 12th century) derives through an intermediary from the Codex Danielis and in general is good, although in places worse than LP (*Them.* 1. 3; *Alc.* 3. 2; *Ages.* 8. 1). A is only once right against LP at *Hann.* 4. 3.

In the *Vita Catonis* L is missing, as is P in the *Vita Attici*. The Cornelia fragments are given by neither L nor P.

All remaining manuscripts date from the 15th century and are dependent on A.

Influence

Nepos' *Chronica* were overshadowed by the work of Atticus which actually began with the foundation of Rome. Yet Nepos had direct

[1] N. Holzberg 1989.

influence on Gellius (17. 21. 3) and indirect on Solinus. Pliny the Elder used a table of dates depending on Nepos, and his possible influence on Plutarch and the Scholia Bobiensia to Cicero deserves note. Nepos was also the common source of Ampelius and the so-called Aurelius Victor (*De viris illustribus*).[1] He was Suetonius' most important predecessor, though unfortunately he is not named there often enough. Hyginus, Suetonius and Jerome (*vir. ill. praef.*) imitated his biographies. Ausonius sent, though with critical reservations, the *Chronica* of Nepos to a certain Probus.[2]

The 1st editions of the *Vitae* appeared under the name of Aemilius Probus. In the manuscripts we are told that the *Vitae of Cato* and *Atticus*, along with the Cornelia letter, were excerpted from Cornelius Nepos. However, the *Lives of Generals* bears at beginning and end the name of Aemilius Probus, while an epigram before the *subscriptio* contains a dedication by Probus to the Emperor Theodosius II (408–450). It was not until O. GIFANIUS (ed. of Lucretius, Antverpiae 1566) and D. LAMBINUS (ed. Parisiis 1569) that the *Lives of Generals* were also ascribed to Nepos, with sound reasons from the point of view of both content and language.[3]

In modern times, Nepos has frequently served as a school author, recommended especially by, among others, Comenius.[4] The first translation into a modern language did not appear until 1550 (Remigio Fiorentino). Goethe remembered from his schooldays 'Cornelius Nepos who looks so stiff to young people.'[5] Mantua raised the claim to have been his birthplace, and there a memorial was erected in 1868. More than anything else, the stern verdict of German scholarship[6] has largely excluded him from the curriculum. It is only nowadays that Nepos, and in particular his worthwhile *Life of Atticus*, are beginning to be rediscovered.

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[1] G. WISSOWA 1900, col. 1416.

[2] Auson. *epist.* 12, p. 238 PEIPER = 16, p. 174 SCHENKL; 10, p. 247 PRETE.

[3] On the issue of Probus cf. L. TRAUBE, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller, SBAW 1891, 409–425 = L.T., Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, vol. 3, ed. S. BRANDT, München 1920, 20–30.

[4] O. SCHÖNBERGER 1970, 153, referring to F. A. ECKSTEIN, Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht, ed. H. HEYDEN, Leipzig 1887, 212.

[5] *Dichtung und Wahrheit* 1, 1; W.A. 1, 26, 48 (22, 36).

[6] NORDEN is severe, LG 42–43. SCHANZ-HOSIUS, LG 1, 4th ed., 358–359, and TEUFFEL-KROLL, LG 2, 6th ed., 455–456, are somewhat more lenient.

In some respects Nepos was a pioneer. The *Chronica* were the first work of history in Latin not limited to *Roman* history. Catullus praised Nepos' courage (*ausus es*, 1. 5). He is an author free from the blindness of the chauvinism native to many Romans (cf. *Hann.* 1. 1–2 and the prologue to *De excellentibus ducibus*). He brought great figures of Greek history within the purview of readers who knew no Greek (cf. *vir. ill. praef* 2: *expertes litterarum Graecarum; Pel.* 1: *rudibus Graecarum litterarum*).

Nepos was not absolutely the first, but he is the first surviving, Roman biographer. Moreover, he was the first known to have composed series of biographies of statesmen. This is in itself an important fact, quite apart from whether it was or was not an innovation on Nepos' part to take politicians into the ranks of ἔνδοξοι. His *Chronica* and *Exempla* were also lasting achievements of Roman literature. Scholars miss in Nepos a larger historical perspective, a sense of order and arrangement and the ability to distinguish what is essential from what is inessential; his 'dull moralizing' has also been found objectionable.[1] All this is to ignore the biographer's purpose of making the essence of the character visible in unpretentious details.

No doubt, Nepos was the first to recognize the historical value of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*,[2] and his *Life of Atticus*—the first known Roman biography of a contemporary—draws its knowledge from first hand, and is an important document of the period. It gives us a picture of representatives of the equestrian order without political ambition, an important supplement to characters like Cicero, Sallust, and Tacitus and to a notion of Roman ways influenced by them.

Nepos is among the still unappreciated authors. Scholars and teachers should pay more attention to him. His style is more relaxed and accessible than that of Sallust or Tacitus, and suited, with its simple clarity, for reading by beginners. Even in content his unprejudiced tones, of a kind not often heard in Rome, deserve in our time to find a new audience.

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[1] G. Wissowa 1900, col. 1416.
[2] *Att.* 16. 3–4.

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C. ORATORY, PHILOSOPHY, EPISTOLOGRAPHY

ROMAN ORATORS[1]

General Remarks

In republics, living speech sets a humane model of political and legal debate long before it assumes literary form. The cultivation of public speech is a criterion of the civilization of a particular people, while insensitivity to the status and importance of speech is a symptom of dawning barbarism.

Political, epideictic and forensic speech were already prefigured in the earliest Roman period. Political speech is exemplified in the expression of an opinion in the senate (*dicere sententiam in senatu*), the address to the assembly (*contio*) or to the army (*allocutio*), or the remarks of the Censor justifying his reproofs. Epideictic speech is found in the *laudatio funebris*. Judicial speech is especially significant. The *patronus*[2] is obliged to defend his clients in court without recompense.

Greek Background

Though Rome had its own independent tradition of oral speech, Greek rhetorical theory and the practice of Greek orators quite early provided an important example. There is no doubt that Roman civilization as a whole was penetrated from the very beginning by Greek elements, even if the date when Greek influences made themselves felt may, in matters of detail, be differently fixed. As early as in the Elder Cato traces of Greek rhetorical theory have been surmised.[3]

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[1] A survey of orators of the Republican period is contained in the section on 'Roman Development' below.

[2] *Patronus* is the intercessor, *orator* is the mediator (ambassador). *Orare* denotes oral intervention before the tribunal. It is telling that the old Roman *orare* lives on in the language of the Church ('to make intercession, bidding prayer,' 'to pray').

[3] LEEMAN, Orationis ratio 1, 21–24; a skeptical view in VON ALBRECHT, Prose 1–32. At any rate, Terence already presupposes a knowledge of rhetoric in his audience: G. CALBOLI 1982, 50–71.

In this the influence of Hellenistic oratory preceded that of Attic. This is a phenomenon finding parallels in other literary genres, and connected with the peculiar nature of the development of Roman civilization. It was left to Cicero to become a serious rival of the classic Demosthenes, just as it was Virgil who first rivaled Homer.[1]

Roman Development

We already touched upon the pre-literary roots of speech at Rome. Great orators were held in high regard (Cic. *off.* 2. 66). Important speeches were published quite early on, an example being that of Appius Claudius Caecus against the peace overtures of Pyrrhus (280 B.C.). *Laudationes funebres* were also published. The Elder Cato made a collection of his speeches and incorporated them in part into his History. Cato's admirer, Cicero, could still read many of them although in his day they were already little known and difficult to find. Cato's claims to both persuasiveness of content and beauty of form are so evident that influence of Greek theory has been supposed. After all, if Greek rhetors had not been influential, they would not have been expelled from Rome in 161. A younger contemporary of Cato, C. Sulpicius Gallus, was steeped in Greek culture. Knowledge of rhetoric and even of astronomy contributed to his brilliant repute.

Roman *humanitas* in the circle of the Younger Scipio Africanus (consul 147 and 134; censor 142) was shaped not only by philosophy (Panaetius), but also by rhetorical and grammatical theory. For all his *gravitas*, Scipio himself constructed artistic periods. He was an adherent of the analogical school[2] and of a purism which pointed ahead to the future. His wise and gentle friend Laelius passed in his lifetime as the better speaker, even though he was more under the sway of an older fashion.[3] The fiery Servius Sulpicius Galba enjoyed the reputation of a powerful speaker, but since he shrank from the labor of the file, his thoughts, once reduced to writing, lost all their effect (Cic. *Brut.* 98).

More than anywhere else, it was on the lips of the tribunes of the

[1] And Sallust and Livy who rivalled Thucydides and Herodotus.

[2] Examples: Gell. 6. 11. 9; Macr. *Sat.* 3. 14. 7; Lucil. 963 M. = 972 K. (*pertisum*); Fest. 334 L. (*rederguisse*).

[3] Cic. *Brut.* 82–84; 94.

people that speech made powerful political impact.[1] The formidable mother of the Gracchi (Cic. *Brut.* 2. 11), contrary to all aristocratic usage, had personally taken charge of her sons' education and training. They owed her an unspoiled familiarity with their native tongue and a complete surefootedness in finding simple and precise expression, which enabled them to survive without damage their studies of Asian oratory.[2] Their good taste was not impaired while their technique was improved. Gaius was constantly supervised by a Greek trainer to help his vocal cords withstand the strain of the Forum.

The most celebrated speaker of the late 2nd century, C. Scribonius Curio (praetor probably 121) fascinated his still somewhat naive audience by digressions of general content ('on love,' 'on torture,' 'on the power of rumor') which a few decades later were no longer taken very seriously (Cic. *Brut.* 124). They did, however, mark an important stage on the way that led towards the greatest of Roman orators—though he would treat matters of universal import no longer separately, but in close connection with the particular instance. Cicero himself studied the arousal of sympathy using, among other examples, a *peroratio* of C. Sulpicius Galba (Cic. *Brut.* 98), the son of the gifted Servius.

Notable among speakers of the generation before Cicero were the spell-binding Antonius and also Crassus, remarkable for his rhetorical and legal training.[3] The two of them share the dialogue in the *De oratore.* As censor in 92 B.C., Crassus issued an edict against the *rhetores Latini*, probably in an effort to serve the interests of his social class. The process by which mere rhetorical craftsmanship gave way to a philosophically based *humanitas*, both including the *mores maiorum* and yet setting them on a new footing, culminated in Cicero.

Stoic influence was seen in Q. Lutatius Catulus (consul 102), famous for his elegant pronunciation; in Q. Mucius Scaevola (consul 95) and in Rutilius Rufus (consul 105), who had been a pupil of Panaetius (Cic. *Brut.* 114). In oratorical practice Stoic *brevitas* is something of a drawback. Among the orators influenced by Stoicism, Cicero allows importance practically only to the Younger Cato who, in spite of his

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[1] The greatest Roman orator, Cicero, was forced in his lifetime to experience the downfall of the political power of the word and the victory of brute force.

[2] Among other things, C. Gracchus was a pupil of the famous Diophanes of Mytilene (Cic. *Brut.* 104).

[3] Cicero ascribes a higher degree of education to Crassus than he is likely to have possessed. Yet his knowledge of the law is attested by other good sources, and the fragments display a detailed knowledge of rhetoric.

philosophical views, had at least studied rhetoric with experts in the art (*Brut.* 118–119). Julius Caesar Strabo appears in Cicero (*de orat.* 2. 216–290) as an adept in securing humorous effects.

From Cicero's own day we must mention Hortensius, although on his own ground, that of Asian[1] oratory, Cicero proved more than a match for him.

Among the strict Atticists, representing a different ideal from that of Cicero, may be numbered Q. Cornificius, C. Licinius Macer Calvus, M. Calidius, and Cicero's friend, M. Junius Brutus. The most important among them, Calvus, seems to have complemented the marked simplicity of his style with an extremely passionate delivery.[2]

The importance of oratory in any practical and political sense was understandably limited in the imperial period. Instead, within the framework of the institutions which had now become prominent, different forms of oratory blossomed. As a eulogy of the emperor, the panegyric acquired fresh significance. In the rhetorical schools, declamation was practised. In the Christian Church, the art of the preacher guided oratory to new horizons.

Literary Technique

The Roman speech, even in Cicero, its master, knew no stereotype. Its structure was determined by the situation and by the aim of persuasion.[3] Even so, it is fruitful to compare Cicero's rhetorical practice with his theory (s. Cicero, below).

It was not always considered indispensable to make a detailed, written preliminary version of speeches. Such elaboration mainly occurred after delivery. Yet the first steps toward literary form may be detected fairly early at Rome. Striking passages, such as beginnings and ends, or those with particularly awkward content, such as the narrative of the action in question, were written up ahead of time by speakers for their own reassurance.

Individual parts of the speech had different purposes, and so were cast in different styles. The proem was rich in ornament, and this may already be studied in the Elder Cato. The art of *narratio*, by

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[1] Cicero (*Brut.* 325) calls the style of Hortensius 'Asian.' Previously (*de orat.* 3. 43) the word only denoted what origined in Asia Minor: cf. KENNEDY 97.

[2] Sen. *contr.* 7. 4. 8; cf. Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 115.

[3] STROH, Taxis.

contrast, which fascinated precisely by simplicity, could be observed in C. Gracchus. The *excursus* of a general character is attested in Curio (end of 2nd century B.C.). Graceful digressions, providing a respite for the audience, are said by Cicero (*Brut.* 82) to have been introduced by Servius Sulpicius Galba (consul 144). It was he who also successfully appealed, by a type of pathetic *commiseratio* (unheard of in Rome), to the sympathy of the people (Cic. *Brut.* 90), even drawing on the extra-literary means of producing in court his client's infant children. Generally, it must be assumed that the play of question and answer, as in the interrogation of witnesses, was changed into continuous speech in the subsequent written version. The metamorphosis of a delivered speech into a piece of literature implied that, even in style, nothing was any longer left to chance, and much that in delivery could be left unsaid because it was well known, or was self-evident from the situation or expressed by the tone of voice, was explicitly verbalized. Extreme examples are the never delivered, but carefully elaborated speeches of the *Actio secunda* against Verres, with their polished and dramatic narratives.

Cicero's particular achievement was to compose speeches showing internal coherence, in which there is a pervasive emotional tone from beginning to end. The ability to illumine a problem of general interest by a particular example was also his. In this way he elevated his hearers to loftier and more emancipated levels of appreciation.[1]

Language and Style

In principle the orator's language must be that of his listeners, if he is not to make himself ridiculous and lose all power to convince his audience. More than any other verbal medium, speech must steer clear of linguistic extravagance, and this gives rise to the special difficulty of rhetorical prose. The orator must speak like everyone, but better than everyone.

Even so, differences of style are visible. Cato the Elder,[2] in spite of his reputation for brevity, creates a surprising impression in his speeches by the heavy, archaic adornment of his triple expressions. The fullness of older Latin gives it a natural affinity with Asianism,

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[1] A certain amount of preliminary work, even if at a humble level, was accomplished here by Curio with his general digressions (s. Roman Development).

[2] von Albrecht, Prose 9–20.

a tendency which, in different periods of Roman literary history, is a constantly recurring temptation. Cato in fact arouses the impression of pithiness more as a consequence of his habit of defying the laws of psychology by using shorter cola in the second part of a sentence than in the first.

The strict taste of the Younger Scipio set a new trend. His Latin was regarded by Cicero as more modern than that of Laelius, whom he criticized for his fondness for old-fashioned words (*Brut.* 83).

The fragments of the speeches of the greatest Latin orator before Cicero, C. Gracchus, are crystal clear and matter-of-fact. The reputation of his speeches for powerful effect rested on a combination of simple language with impassioned delivery.[1] His admired model, M. Aemilius Lepidus, is said to have been the first to introduce at Rome artistically structured periods and elegant style (Cic. *Brut.* 95–96).

Crassus, the Roman orator most admired by Cicero, followed the Asian manner in his choppy clauses. Cicero's rival Hortensius also favored this ideal of style. In his speech defending the actor Roscius, Cicero defeated him on his own ground.

Latin oratory was quick to adopt—and never abandoned—the rhythmical clausulae developed by the Asians. Examples are found in C. Fannius (consul 122), Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (consul 109), C. Papirius Carbo (tribune 90 or 89) and, of course, in the famous Crassus.[2] Cicero managed to free himself from the staccato Asian colometry, but never called into question prose rhythm as such. Later, its use continued to be a mark of formal Latin prose.

Even in his own day, Cicero was criticized by extreme Atticists, who stamped his diction as Asian and redundant. For his part, Cicero felt himself to be Demosthenes' true successor. He was a master of all the registers of the Latin language, making use of them to match the subject matter, the occasion and the participants. Without ever allowing form to dominate content with doctrinaire pedantry, or content to destroy form, Cicero created for Latin prose a classical synthesis which rose above all schools.

Under Augustus the schools of rhetoric took up the pointed style, thus distancing themselves from Cicero's classical, artistic periods. With that, in prose, the imperial fashion had already begun.

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[1] VON ALBRECHT, Prose 33–53.
[2] NORDEN, Kunstprosa 1, 172–175.

The mannerism prevalent under Nero gave way under the Flavians, with Quintilian and Pliny, to the dominance of a new classicism.

In the days of the Antonines, an archaizing reaction followed, led by Fronto, though it must also be admitted that it was inspired by an honorable search for the *mot juste*.

Later centuries witnessed several renaissances, including that under Theodosius. The latter, influenced by Gallic eloquence, paid renewed attention to Cicero and Pliny, though avoiding any exaggerated purism.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Do speeches belong to literature? Once they have been published, they certainly do. Yet the act of publishing speeches despite their marginal political relevance, is condemned by T. Mommsen as 'unnatural decadence'.[1] This is surely too severe. If Cicero had not put out his speeches, the world's literature would have lost a brilliant contribution, and Mommsen himself would have lost intelligent written evidence of the period. But one point is correct. Even if speeches are literary, their authors are compelled to emphasize their unliterary character. This put literary theory in the first instance here at a disadvantage. Reflection on authorship is not forbidden, but it is advantageous to conceal it. In the presence of the audience which he seeks to convince, an orator may only exceptionally, and with the greatest caution, permit himself to speak of the art of oratory, since by emphasizing his skill, he may gamble away his credibility. The more prudent course is for him to warn his listeners against the dazzling rhetoric of his opponent, while emphasizing his personal sincerity. Thus the marked emphasis on the speaker's ignorance of the names of famous Greek sculptors in the *Verrines* has an ingratiating effect. While these speeches were intentionally directed to a large audience, Cicero's *Pro Archia* was delivered before a gathering of highly educated listeners. Here, he was allowed in his introduction to express his wish to deploy all his rhetorical skills—so far of course as they 'existed at all'—on his client's behalf, and in doing this he betrayed his knowledge of rhetorical categories. The mention of the art of rhetoric is excused

[1] 'Unnatur und Verfall', RG 3, 619. The publication of non-political speeches was helpful at least to those still young enough to be students.

in this case by the emphasis on the orator's own readiness to be of assistance. A further justification is found in the predominantly epideictic character of that speech. Even so, the reader is left with a certain sense of unease.

In oratorical texts the speaker's self-portrayal is determined by circumstances and therefore one-sided and incomplete. It requires supplementation. Speeches cannot be adequately understood without the background of writings on theory. But there is a general aspect, even more relevant to the critic than the rhetoric of the schools, as presented, for example, by the *Auctor ad Herennium* or by Cicero in his youthful *De inventione*.

The speaker's view of himself is particularly closely linked with the values of the society he is addressing. This explains why the political and intellectual changes from period to period are reflected with especial clarity in the speakers' varying interpretations of their task. For the Republican period we possess in Cicero's *Brutus* an authentic account containing many great names of politics. It offers the evidence for Cicero's ideas on the all-encompassing role of the orator in Republican society, as stated in the *De oratore*, a work going far beyond the point of view of the rhetorical school. Cicero's ideal of education is inspired by the high political vocation of the orator to be the ruler of the state. In the Roman orator knowledge of the topic, the chief source of eloquence, must cover politics, law, and—even more importantly—the principles of ethics that lie behind law and govern the life of the community. Only his allegiance to the *res publica* accounts for Cicero's loyalty to his mission and his struggle to defend a position already lost. To read the speeches in this light is to discover, in place of the accepted interpretation of vanity and political blindness, the profound understanding of his role by the orator who, at a moment when history was in the balance, lent his voice to the Republic. The *res publica* spoke through Cicero, and with him fell silent.

Under the principate the orator could no longer identify his function in this way, and we easily understand the laments over the decline in eloquence in the 1st century A.D., continuing until Tacitus' *Dialogus*. At a different historical conjunction, with the end of despotism, and the advent of an effective and enlightened monarch like Trajan, Pliny could define the social mission of the orator in changed times in a new and positive way. There is need to condemn the bad *princeps*, to praise the good and to pray for him (*paneg.* 94), since of course the well-being of the *imperium* depends on that of its good ruler. The

place of the values of Republican Rome is now in fact taken by the ruler's virtues. To the lot of his subjects correspondingly fall the qualities typical of citizens and magistrates, such as moderation. Now it is the speaker's office, at the best, to hold a mirror up to the prince and to present to him indirectly the expectations of the citizen body. At the worst, since not every emperor is a Trajan, and not every panegyrist a Pliny, the gloomy historical reality is disguised behind an idealized, courtly façade. The panegyrist is not however allowed to develop an independent personality, since the epideictic genre now prevailing aims rather to affirm than to alter. In lending his voice to spiritual and moral forces lying at the foundation of the state and presenting their claim on the living, he has made no change in principle except to become, instead of a hero and prophet, a vassal and a priest. Only when the allegiance to Old Rome rests on free choice, as is the case with Symmachus in his *Relatio*, does the ethos even of an imperial orator acquire a personal tone.

A particular problem for any orator, acknowledged at least since Plato's criticism of rhetoric in the *Gorgias*, is his relationship to truth. That was a challenge never abandoned, but the combative orator of the Republic had to make concessions here just as much as the subservient speaker of the Empire, though on different grounds. One was concerned with championing his point of view, the other with not endangering his own life. The uncompromising dedication of the speaker to what is good and true is found in Augustine (*doctr. chr.* 4. 6–5. 8). But here the political community is replaced by one that is religious, and the never clearly defined code of secular society by a dogmatic truth.

Ideas II

The orator's world of ideas must be largely accommodated to that of his listeners. Extreme instances are the differing verdicts on the Gracchi and on Marius expressed in speeches addressed to the senate or to the people, and the more frequent appeal to the gods in speeches delivered before the latter. The concealment of one's own expertise from an uncultivated public is part of this.[1] In his speeches, Cicero even avoids the word *philosophia*.

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[1] H. Jucker, Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen, Frankfurt 1950.

Conversely, there are happily many instances in which speakers successfully challenge their listeners' ways of thought. In his speech *On Behalf of the Rhodians*, Cato bravely assailed Roman *superbia* and delight in war. The young Cicero skillfully and courageously attacked Sulla's favorite Chrysogonus and lashed out at the brutalization of his epoch in which it had become acceptable that citizens were murdered every day (*Pro S. Roscio Amerino*). Cicero's *De Marcello* is not a courtier's eulogy of a ruler's clemency, but the honorable effort of a Republican to bind Caesar to service of the *res publica*.[1] The impression that Cicero often charged through open doors[2] rests on an optical illusion. His success in presenting even complex problems unambiguously was so great that even serious scholars have taken the cases in which he was involved as simpler than they were.

In the Imperial period the political and forensic speech lost significance and influence, although this by no means implies that these genres disappeared. Beyond this, the eulogy as *panegyric* discovered a broad theme in the depiction of imperial virtues, for which Pliny's speech on Trajan provided the model. Late antiquity moreover furnishes examples of political speech and pamphlet which once again deserve attention. Of these, perhaps the best known concerns the quarrel over the Altar of Victory between Symmachus and Ambrose. Finally, the sermon turned the speech into a vessel of Christian exhortation.

An orator is under the pressure to conform. The intellectual challenge of speeches rests in the last instance not least on the reflection they offer of the speaker's way of thinking, and of that of his audience, though it may be hard to recognize their differences. This makes interpretation especially difficult. A mass of often trivial commonplaces must be scrutinized for the subtle nuances which show the speaker to be in advance of his listener or listeners, and where he seeks to offer guidance. Great prudence and sensitivity are needed to establish in each individual case where the fascinating 'phase difference' between the author's thought and that of his audience begins. The interpretation of the world of ideas of Latin oratory is to a particular degree a task to be shared by philologists, jurists, and ancient historians.

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[1] S. Rochlitz, Das Bild Caesars in Ciceros *Orationes Caesarianae*, diss. Heidelberg 1991, Frankfurt 1993.

[2] Mommsen, RG 3, 619.

ORF, ed. by H. Malcovati. * von Albrecht, Prose 9–20; 33–53. * G. Calboli, La retorica preciceroniana e la politica a Roma, in: Éloquence et rhétorique chez Cicéron. Sept exposés . . ., Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 28 (1981), publ. 1982, 41–99 (with a discussion 100–108). * M. Fuhrmann, Die antike Rhetorik. Eine Einführung, München 3rd ed. 1990. * Kennedy passim. * Kühnert, Bildung und Redekunst. * Leeman, Orationis ratio 45–49; 56–57. * Leeman, Form, esp. 9–26; 27–38; 39–47; 49–68. * Leo, LG 21–46. * Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 169–175.

PHILOSOPHICAL WRITERS AT ROME

General Remarks

It was only late that philosophers gained access to Rome, and their compulsory departures from the city often occurred with surprising haste. In 173 B.C. the Epicureans Alcaeus and Philiscus were sent packing; in 161 B.C., teachers of wisdom and rhetoric were denied leave to remain; in 155, the celebrated philosophers' embassy was dumbfounded to be sent back home. These events may be excused by the earliness of the period. But what may be said of the fact that even towards the end of the 1st century A.D., at a time of complete blending between Greek and Roman culture, something similar occurred? The path of philosophy leading to Rome and even, in the case of Marcus Aurelius, to the imperial throne, seems to have been especially long.

The brusqueness of the original rejection shows that the attractions of philosophy for the younger generation had been correctly assessed. As early as 155 B.C., the Academic Carneades had delivered two complementary speeches, arguing for and against justice in public policy, thus offering to a large number of young men a fascinating example of unprejudiced thinking by an individual, and of the power to influence the thoughts of others. Romans of the old stamp are likely to have thought that the very basis of their constitution was being undermined.

Even at that time, two opposed elements in the Roman character were brought into conflict: their strongly marked sense of patriotic duty, and their no less developed feeling for the person and his rights. On the one hand, there was an effort to bring to conscious fulfillment and acceptance the emancipation of the individual, something inevitable ever since Rome's encounter with Hellenistic culture. But, on

the other hand, as individual freedom increased, the opposite problem became more acute. The evolution of the *imperium* to include the whole world made the question of the moral foundations of such a state and its position in the history of the world ever more pressing. To answer both challenges the Romans sought counsel from Greek philosophy, wherever it could be found, without showing too much concern for differences between schools and loyalties to systems.

In spite of the well-known Roman preference for practical morals, their interest in philosophy—contrary to a widely held view—was not limited to ethics and politics. Even in Republican times, dialectics and logic aided the assimilation of ideas and their interaction in law and speech, which were the lifeblood of Roman society. When, thanks to revolution and the advent of the principate, a political vocation lost its attractions for the individual, attention was centered upon the inner being and the discovery of psychology. But an effort was also made to use the methods of physics to comprehend nature and to do justice to man's call to the contemplation of heaven and to pure cognition.

Admittedly, philosophical literature at Rome in all areas went no further than 'applied philosophy'. Yet in this area, the didactic poem, the dialogue, the essay and the letter attained considerable literary distinction. Their specifically philosophical fruits were only later given technical expression. But this has its own significance. Experiences which in Roman literature found utterance in pre-philosophical form were crystallized towards the end of antiquity into a philosophy of the person, of time, and of history.

Greek Background

Even where philosophy is concerned, we find, in a way characteristic of Roman writers, that the starting point in the first instance was contemporary literature. The pre-Socratics were mainly viewed through Hellenistic spectacles.[1] Even the masters of Greek philosophy, such as Plato, Aristotle; and Theophrastus, were known initially through their schools and the sciences on which those schools had set their mark.[2] Usually, reception followed its path towards full assimilation

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[1] Lucretius' recourse to Empedocles shows surprising independence, though its primary motive was not philosophical but literary.

[2] Cicero's rivalry with Plato in the *De re publica* displays in this perspective his

over substantial historical bridges[1] (s. Roman Development). Yet at all periods, a genuinely Socratic impulse may be traced at Rome, using its energies to attain mastery of life.

In the late Republican period Cicero's Academic Skepticism and Lucretius' Epicureanism gave rise to great literature. The same may be said of Stoicism[2] in the first two centuries A.D., of Middle Platonism in the 2nd century; and of Neo-Platonism from the middle of the 3rd century. Finally, these were joined by Aristotle's logic.

The advantage of time enjoyed by Greek over Latin literature was later once again apparent in the realm of Platonism. What may be thought of as its greatest representatives, the pagan Plotinus and the Christian Origen, were active in the 3rd century, whereas the serious reception of their works in Latin literature had to wait until the 4th century to gain momentum worth the name. Then indeed it produced astonishingly original works whose Roman features set their mark on the philosophy of Europe.

Roman Development

At Rome the harbingers of philosophy were poets, who drew their inspiration from the culture of south Italy and Sicily, whether represented by dramatists or philosophers. Accordingly, Ennius had a 'Pythagorean' dream, and he Latinized authors as varied as Epicharmus of Syracuse and Euhemerus of Messene (Messina). The voice of the latter, reminiscent of the Enlightenment, is occasionally echoed also by Pacuvius and Accius. Generally speaking, Latin tragedy in the Euripidean and Hellenistic mold, was both an introduction to myth and a pro-seminar on general philosophy. Roman comedy too had philosophical undertones.

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total daring. It was in general the claim by Antiochus of Ascalon to restore the Old Academy which first made possible this fruitful revival.

[1] The influence of Pythagoras, Epicharmus and Euhemerus was mediated by Magna Graecia; that of the Socratics, and of Xenophon in particular, by the acquisition of the library of Pella. Political connections with Pergamum and Rhodes fostered close contacts with Stoic influences, which made themselves felt in many areas (ethics, logic, theory of language, rhetoric, hermeneutics, philosophy of law, natural science). At times, especially in the 1st century B.C. because of Nigidius Figulus, and at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. because of Sotion, neo-Pythagoreanism found a new voice. This tendency, for its south Italian roots, passed as 'native,' although its admixture of Platonic and Stoic elements was old.

[2] Tertullian (c. A.D. 200) still displays a strongly Stoic cast of thought.

With the victory over Macedonia in 168, rich library holdings were brought to Rome. Characteristically, it was a modest follower of Socrates like Xenophon whose home-made practical wisdom gained immediate popularity, and his importance for Roman intellectual life must be accorded great significance. Philosophy as dialogue, aiming to stimulate personal reflection in the service of active life, was a concept the Romans learned from Socrates; and in this respect they were in fact closer to Socrates than many Greek system builders.

It was the Scipionic Circle which gave to Greek thought at Rome a secure haven. There it was grasped in all its educative and humanizing effect. Political relations with Pergamum and Rhodes led to an encounter with Stoicism, and this school especially found acceptance in a form that was modified and accommodated to high Roman society. Panaetius, the principal representative of the Middle Stoa, was an intimate of the Scipios, and his pupil, Posidonius of Rhodes, enjoyed close ties with Rome. But Rhodian influence was joined by that of Pergamum. The Stoic Crates of Mallos made disciples at Rome.[1] Roman mentality and Stoic philosophy met above all in strict moral standards and the readiness to sacrifice for the *res publica*. The abstract paradoxes in which thinkers of that ilk found satisfaction were less congenial to the Romans. The Stoa exercised influence in many areas of knowledge: on astrology and belief in fate (Manilius); on the philosophy of nature (Virgil, Ovid, Seneca); on philology and interpretation (Aelius Stilo, Varro, and all who followed); on logic, dialectics and the philosophy of law (Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Cicero).

Mediated by figures like the Younger Cato, Stoic attitude also became an embodiment of Republican feeling, from which members of the senate even in the 1st century A.D. could draw both consolation for their loss of political power and lessons in preserving their dignity and personal independence. It took a century of senatorial Stoic opposition before the emperors abandoned their objection to this kind of philosophy and began, in a sort of 'revolution ordered by authority', to find increasing support for their rule in this school of thought, which meanwhile had become the most influential intel-

[1] Adherents of the Stoa in Rome were: Laelius the Younger, Q. Aelius Tubero, C. Fannius, Sp. Mummius, C. Blossius, P. Rutilius Rufus, Valerius Soranus, L. Aelius Stilo, Q. Mucius Scaevola (the pontifex and the augur), L. Lucilius Balbus, Sextus Pompeius, Cato the Younger, Servius Sulpicius Rufus. As a writer Stertinius must be mentioned, who is alleged to have written 220 books in Latin on Stoic philosophy.

lectual current. Marcus Aurelius, whose *Meditations* were written in Greek, marked a culminating point.

Academic Skepticism, represented by Philon of Larissa, along with the Old Academy, which had been restored by Antiochus of Ascalon, found sympathetic hearers at Rome. An interest in Academic philosophy was shown by C. Aurelius Cotta (consul 75), L. Lucullus, L. Tubero and in particular by Cicero. Peripatetic leanings were displayed by M. Piso (consul 61) and M. Licinius Crassus (consul 70).

Epicureanism[1] gained more supporters at Rome than might have been expected in the case of a philosophical school holding somewhat aloof from public life. It may have met a human yearning for tranquillity and peace, particularly during the civil wars. In Caesar's circle there were several Epicureans,[2] though even republicans and friends of Cicero belonged to the same school.[3] One of its centers was found on the Bay of Naples. Cicero's enemy, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (consul 50 B.C.) was probably the owner of the *Villa of the Papyri* at Herculaneum. His protégé Philodemus, the last great head of the school, may have adapted certain teachings to Roman conditions, making political activity no longer an exception. Yet no change was needed, since most Romans had a remarkable ability to discharge their public offices conscientiously without bringing into

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[1] Epicureans in the strict sense were: T. Albucius (late 2nd century B.C.); C. Amafinius and Rabirius (2nd to 1st century B.C.). Composers of works in Latin prose on Epicurean philosophy were criticized by Cicero for their lack of logic. There were four books *De rerum natura et de summo bono* by Catius Insuber (d. 45 B.C.). Didactic epics *De rerum natura* were composed before the middle of the 1st century B.C. by the great Lucretius and a certain Egnatius (c. 55 B.C., three books). Among the early adherents of Epicureanism at Rome may be counted C. Velleius (beginning of 1st century B.C.), introduced as a speaker by Cicero in *nat. deor. 1.* A proof of the clannishness of the Stoic school among *grammatici* is offered by the fate of the Epicurean M. Pompilius Andronicus (2nd to 1st century B.C.), a freedman from Syria. Because of his philosophical views he could not find a foothold in Rome. He migrated to Capua and there wrote numerous works, for example *Annalium Enni elenchorum sedecim.*

[2] E.g. C. Cassius Longinus, the later conspirator against Caesar (consul design. 41 B.C.), C. Vibius Pansa (consul 43 B.C.) and the important jurist C. Trebatius Testa (c. 84 B.C.–A.D. 4), also an acquaintance of Cicero and Horace.

[3] They included Cicero's closest friend, the Roman knight T. Pomponius Atticus (d. 32 B.C.) and his older acquaintance L. Saufeius. Further, L. Papirius Paetus and M. Fadius (Fabius) Gallus, composer of a panegyric on Cato the Younger, L. Manlius Torquatus (praetor 49 B.C., died 46 fighting on Pompey's side) and Statilius, an officer with Cato at Utica and a friend of Brutus.

play their private views. From the Bay of Naples Epicurean influence spread to Virgil, Horace, and their friends.[1]

The great poets just mentioned indicate the gulf separating the private from the official sphere. In the former, Epicurean beliefs prevailed, in the latter, those of Stoicism. Similarly, in dialectic, theology and natural philosophy, Varro was a Stoic, but in ethics an Academic, while M. Brutus was a Stoic in ethics, but otherwise an Academic. The so-called Cynic diatribe influenced Horace, and even before him the 'Roman Cynic', Varro. In each of these cases, philosophy is not a matter of commitment to dogma, but a tool of self-knowledge. Nigidius Figulus and P. Vatinius were sympathetic to Pythagoreanism, of which traces are also found in Varro, Virgil, Ovid, and Seneca. This is indicative of the religious turn taken by philosophy which would be characteristic of the imperial period as a whole.

It is true that, under the empire, Epicureanism continued to flourish.[2] In general however, a Stoic trend in the 1st to 2nd centuries was followed by one sympathetic to Plato. Beside and along with Middle and Neo-Platonism, mystery religions (at their head a Christianity seeking to present itself as the 'true philosophy') became means used by the individual to secure his own internal independence until the emperors diverted the course even of this stream to their own purposes. A peripheral feature deserving attention is the genuine link with Epicurean emancipation from superstition found in Christian authors such as Arnobius and Lactantius. In the struggle against pagan, Stoic, and Platonic *religio*, Epicureanism and Christianity were allies.

It was only in late antiquity that philosophical literature in Latin attained a purely scholarly character (s. the following sections).

Literary Technique

In the specialized literature of philosophy, Greek for long enjoyed a monopoly, and this meant that at first philosophical writings in Latin were for the most part destined for a wider public. Their aim was to

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[1] Quintilius Varus Cremonensis (d. 24/23 B.C.), the author of treatises *On Flattery* and *On Greed*, as well as the two editors of the *Aeneid*, L. Varius Rufus (author of the poem *De morte*) and Plotius Tucca, see M. Erler, Orthodoxie und Anpassung. Philodem, ein Panaitios des Kepos?, MH 49, 1992, 171–200.

[2] From the 1st century A.D., may be mentioned as Epicureans the historian Aufidius Bassus and two patrons of the poet Statius, P. Manilius Vopiscus and Pollius Felix.

serve general education, the dissemination of ideas, the practice of meditation rather than to meet the needs of the scholar.

A distinction may be drawn between the didactic poem (s. above), the didactic monograph concentrating on one theme and using literary means to reach a wider audience (e.g. Cic. *off.*), the philosophical dialogue (several times in Cicero), the 'one-sided' dialogue, intended for self-instruction or as edifying reading (Seneca's writings), the closely related philosophical letter (Seneca), the précis intended for beginners and amateurs (Apuleius) and the hybrid form destined for general reading and raising literary claims by a combination of poetry and prose (Boethius).

After the period around the beginning of the 1st century, individual representatives of different schools of thought had made some efforts at philosophical writing—with little literary success. It was Cicero and Lucretius who ventured in their different ways to come before the public with general presentations in Latin. Lucretius set out the doctrine of Epicurus in a poetic form preserving systematic order. Cicero composed in prose a series of philosophical treatises which, being organized by theme, permitted a survey of the main trends of Hellenistic philosophy. Unlike Lucretius, Cicero did not seek to convert his readers to a particular theory, but presented different points of view.[1] This undogmatic attitude found expression in the dialogic form,[2] although there was a difference from the Platonic dialogue. Instead of working out each single step logically through a small scale dialogue, the participants were each granted an opportunity to present their views in a connected speech, following the method of the Aristotelian dialogue. The discussion was set in the present, meaning that the author himself, in Aristotelian style, could appear as a partner in the discussion. It could also be set in the past in the manner of Heraclides Ponticus (4th century B.C.). Personal proems (also Aristotelian) and careful descriptions of scenery (in the spirit of Plato) were prefixed. Literary dialogues of the Christian period are the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and the works of Augustine written while at Cassiciacum.

In the 2nd century, Pompeia Plotina (Ulpia Marciana), the wife of Trajan and adoptive mother of Hadrian, secured privileges for the Epicureans at Athens.

[1] He left of course no doubt about his lack of sympathy with Epicurean views. In principle he accepted the tenets of Academic Skepticism, although partially also inclining toward positions held by the Stoics.

[2] Before Cicero, a dialogue in Latin had been written by M. Junius Brutus (2nd century B.C.) in his *De iure civili*.

Seneca inherited the dialogical method, but developed it in two directions. One led toward the philosophical letter, the other towards his *Dialogi*, which display only some elements of dialogic form in a way characteristic of the diatribe. Of the dialogue, the author gives expression only to the words of the principal interlocutor, aiming to provoke a response in the reader's own mind.

A general token of Roman philosophical writings is their wealth of practical examples. A procedure attentive in this way to individual cases is also characteristic of Roman writing on law. Much light is shed on the Roman way of thought when Gellius (1. 3. 21), in his debate with Theophrastus, faults him for handling a problem in a purely theoretical way, without giving examples.

Taken as a whole, literary forms show the following line of succession: relatively early there are artistically finished syntheses aimed at the general public (1st century B.C.); then, moralizing essays rise to prominence, discussing particular cases in edifying fashion (1st century A.D.); finally, after a considerable lapse of time, comes technical literature in the shape of literal translations, commentaries and treatises dealing with special problems.

This unusual sequence is in accord with the particular 'division of labor' between Latin and Greek, which must form the next subject of discussion.

Language and Style

Greek remained for a remarkable length of time the technical language of philosophy. Even the manual or journal intended for personal meditation (Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius) was composed in Greek. Seneca's effort to provide for the cure of souls in Latin seems at first not to have been wholly accepted. Philosophical teachers naturally made use of their Greek native tongue, and their zealous pupil began eventually to think in Greek even if he was a Roman emperor. A technical philosophical language in Latin had to be developed only when the knowledge of Greek began to fade even among the educated. This meant that for a long time Latin was overwhelmingly employed for more popular writings.

Yet it was precisely literature aimed at non-specialists that encountered unfavorable linguistic conditions. As a language without articles and with a pronounced disinclination for neologisms, especially of an

abstract kind, Latin put up strong barriers to any treatment of philosophical problems. After the pioneering achievements of Ennius and Lucilius, it was above all Lucretius and Cicero who made essential contributions to rendering Latin a fit vehicle for philosophical expression.

These great authors—and indirectly also the stubbornly down-to-earth nature of Latin—must be thanked for the fact that Roman philosophy came to be clothed in a human language, and not in some abstract technical jargon. It was the Latin authors who presented philosophy, not as something remote, but as wearing a tangible and attractive literary garb. This was an achievement which had perhaps not been attained with such perfection since the days of Empedocles and Plato, at least so far as the preserved texts reveal. By his colorful vocabulary and his choice of imagery, Lucretius incorporated the whole of nature and the entire history of civilization into a comprehensive philosophical poem. The moral, historical, and legal experience of the Roman people found entry into Cicero's world of discourse, in the guise of categories and binding *exempla*. The linguistic creativity of the systems developed by these two great authors opened to Roman philosophy the world of experience both in its spatial and its temporal dimension. The very method in which language was handled by them shows that they were not concerned with finding refuge in a realm of ideas distanced from reality, but rather with something typically Roman: the intellectual penetration and alteration of reality, accomplished in their case by means of language.

Seneca remained faithful to this humane style, while lending it an even more remarkable fervor through the urgency and energy of his short cola, which turn him into a 'second creator of Latin prose'. His language, inspired as it was by rhetoric, accompanied man on his inner pilgrimage, towards himself.

From the 2nd century A.D., a shift in language made itself apparent. Tertullian, who boldly exchanged the lawyer's toga for the cloak of the Christian philosopher, simultaneously abandoned the natural reluctance of Latin to use abstract nouns, with lasting effect that continues into the modern languages. Minucius Felix and Lactantius made yet another attempt to rescue Cicero's literary culture for altered times.

With the translations and commentaries of Marius Victorinus, the language of philosophy at Rome finally attained maturity. Now it was capable of satisfying technical claims, and could become the vessel

of the subtle psychology of Augustine and the strict logic of Boethius. Yet the Latin feeling for form was enough to ensure that even these serious philosophers composed their masterpieces in a style friendly to their readers. The way in which the genres vary in each case to match their audience will be explained in detail in the discussion of Christian literature.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Philosophy does not need many words; do not surrender to it with every fiber of your being.[1] This Ennian maxim long remained in force in Rome. Lucretius viewed himself as a doctor. The poetic ornament of his work was like the honey smeared by a physician on the edge of the cup to persuade a sick child to drink the bitter draught. This comparison is not particularly flattering to the maturity of the poet's audience.

Cicero's dedication to philosophy, as he remarks in correction of Ennius, was expressed *non paucis*. His more general aim in presentation inevitably needed many words. He knew that he owed his own successes to his philosophical training, although by no means only to moral philosophy. Being especially aware of his formal education in dialectic, he was critical of philosophical writers lacking logical training; by this attention to rational order he exercised fruitful influence even on jurisprudence. His Latin writings fulfilled in his eyes an educative mission, and were moreover intended to replace the works of his honorable, but stylistically unfinished predecessors (*Tusc.* 1. 6). His readers therefore could use his philosophical works even to learn how to express difficult ideas in good Latin (*off.* 1. 2–3). Cicero's notion of himself as a philosophic writer is convincingly reflected in his picture of Socrates. Behind the masters depicted in his great dialogues—Scipio in the *De re publica*, Crassus in the *De oratore*—there is Socrates, the wise preceptor of life and the master of dying, although the dialectician and debater is not forgotten either.

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[1] Enn. *scaen.* 376 V. = 95 J.; Cic. *de orat.* 2. 156 (characteristic of Antonius); *rep.* 1. 30 (adduced in the early period by Aelius Sextus to support the pedagogical value of philosophy). On the other side, Cicero's own view is found in *Tusc.* 1. 1 *sed non paucis, ut ille* (Neoptolemus in Ennius); compare for the thought Plat. *Gorg.* 484 c; 487 a (Callicles).

Seneca's aim is to lead his readers, especially those of the *Epistulae morales*, to a satisfying philosophical life. His tone is that of the preacher and missionary. Once again the figure of Socrates becomes a touchstone. Seneca in fact arranged his own death as an imitation of that of Socrates. The relationship to this central figure of philosophy is no less crucial even in later philosophical authors. For Apuleius, who is half-mystic and half-showman, the important feature of Socrates is his clear-sighted knowledge of men. Many Christians were arrogant enough to see in pagan philosophy, and even in Socrates, mere worldly pride. Others occasionally conceded the role of harbinger to morally eminent pagans. Hence it appears that a philosophical writer's attitude towards Socrates may be called a touchstone. In fact, the emphasis laid on particular aspects of Socrates reveals much of the speaker's own self-awareness.

Ideas II

For a Roman, philosophy was not necessarily a doctrine demanding total allegiance. Rather, he took from it categories enabling him to understand and interpret his own life and ambience. An extreme instance is provided by Ennius. In viewing himself as a reborn Homer, he was not primarily concerned with expressing a dogmatic belief in the Pythagorean transmigration of souls; he rather employed the formula presented by philosophy to express his own feeling about his nature and his awareness of himself. Greek material was taken over, not for its intrinsic value, but as an instrument. Even the bounds governing the reception of Stoicism were defined in the same way. Stoic ethics were employed to describe and express a personal attitude to one's *patria*. This Stoic terminology could be unceremoniously abandoned, if private attitudes to existence found better expression in Epicureanism. The relation to philosophy was one of convenience. Its notions had relevance only in so far as they assisted a Roman to grasp and describe the experiences he found important.

The objects of philosophical reflection in Rome were in one way more narrowly defined, but in another way more broadly developed than those of traditional philosophy. They were more narrowly defined when *ethics* was given priority over physics and logic, although this fact at times has been overemphasized. After all, Roman literature reveals profound traces of ancient physics, and whole works of some significance were dedicated to nature. Dialectic and logic found their

living application in the systematic study of law and other areas of knowledge.

The bounds of Roman interest in philosophy were more broadly developed than had previously been the case. At least it raised new problems, if without always solving them. A *philosophy of law* was not a Roman innovation, but it was the Romans who, with their *imperium* and their creation of Roman law, laid the foundation for this too. The struggle to work out the intellectual foundations of a universal political and legal order directed their attention towards the overarching natural law postulated by the Stoics, which transcends positive law. The rise of Alexander's empire and of the Roman *imperium* gave contemporary importance to questions about the *philosophy of history* of the kind already occasionally posed by Plato. Here, Stoic thinkers and the Hellenistic author of the biblical *Book of Daniel* must also be mentioned. After Polybius, Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, Livy, Trogus and Florus, Roman readers could not avoid the problem of a philosophical interpretation of history. Rome's greatest original thinker, Augustine, would provide a partial solution to them in succession to the Greek Fathers. However, his philosophy of history presupposed the Roman *res publica*, its rise and its collapse. At this point, experience of the Roman *imperium* enters a larger intellectual context.

Psychological problems—including that of the unconscious, of the creativity of the individual, and of his intrinsic value—found expression in Roman literature even before philosophy in the strict sense. The person, for long a basic category of Roman law, increasingly attracted in late antiquity theological and philosophical attention. The individual discovered himself as a person and evaluated his own thinking as the prime certainty in the theory of knowledge. Personal self-awareness created a linear (and no longer cyclical) perception of time. It was this that guided Augustine to his extraordinarily modern insight into time's subjectivity.

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THE LETTER IN ROMAN LITERATURE

General Remarks

Letters were originally written on the inside of wooden tablets coated with wax. Later they were committed to papyrus, which was rolled up, tied and sealed. Private messengers or acquaintances undertook their delivery.

The proper interpretation of literary epistles requires a knowledge of the basic form of a Roman letter. Contrary to modern practice, the sender is named before the receiver, and the greeting stands at the beginning rather than at the end: *C. Iulius Caesar M. Tullio Ciceroni s(alutem) p(lurimam) d(icit)*. If a vocative is used, this belongs not in the first,[1] but in second place. Perhaps the best known example is the opening of the *Acts of the Apostles*: 'The former treatise have I

[1] A neo-Latinist who begins with *Domini dominaeque!* (for 'Ladies and Gentlemen') is gatecrashing clamourously through an open door.

made, O Theophilus . . .' The classical compendium of a Roman letter is: S.V.B.E.E.V. (= *si vales, bene est, ego valeo*). At the end of the letter stands *vale* or a similar wish.

Literary letters make play with these elements and also with the ancient theory of the letter (on which s. 'Ideas I', below).

With increasing interest in the personal element, the letter gained in importance. Its unassuming form could be adapted to the most diverse contents. Particular periods elevated it to literary status and employed it for the most varied purposes. Although epistolary literature in its turn became highly stylized, and thus largely sacrificed the air of spontaneity (which had been its most attracting quality), it remained an important vehicle for personal poetry and personal prose at Rome.

Greek Background

What survives by way of letters from Hellenistic literature must be considered to a great extent consciously stylized or even forged. As long ago as 1699, Bentley showed the spurious nature of the letters of Phalaris (*Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*). Authenticity is disputed in the case of letters said to be by Isocrates, Demosthenes and Plato, although Plato's *Seventh Letter* is usually accepted as genuine. The *Letters of Epicurus* are certainly genuine, but they are mainly treatises in epistolary form.

From a later period, we possess letters by Julian the Apostate, Libanius, Synesius and Church Fathers. To the 'belletristic' type of epistolography belong: Alciphron (*Letters of Fishermen, Letters of Countryfolk, Letters of Parasites, Letters of Hetaerae*), Aelian (*Letters of Countryfolk*), Aristaenetus (*Love-letters*), Philostratus (*Love-letters*).

Roman Development

From the time before Cicero, a letter is known from the mother of the Gracchi, Cornelia, containing a moving warning to Gaius not to seek the tribunate.[1] Unfortunately, its genuineness is not wholly certain.

The preservation of Cicero's correspondence is a particular piece of good fortune. Of the 864 items in the four collections, 90 are

[1] Translation in Leo, LG 479; cf. p. 305 with note 4.

addressed to Cicero, and these letters from contemporaries may serve as a yardstick enabling us to measure more precisely Cicero's art. The variety of types of Cicero's own letters ranges from quickly thrown off personal notes all the way to official documents, whose words were meditated down to the last detail.

Among the Augustans the subsequent literary development of the epistle took poetic form. Horace shaped the moralizing letter as a genre in hexameters, continuing on a higher plane his satires. In parallel with Propertius' Arethusa epistle, Ovid created the elegiac form of the *Heroides*, a collection of letters revealing an encyclopedia of the feminine heart. His letters from exile discovered nostalgia for Rome as a theme, although they also pursued a practical end.

In Seneca the prose letter attained new heights and literary dignity. It became the vehicle of meditation and effort at self-improvement. It is no coincidence that the early imperial period marked a time when 'lower' genres such as letter, epigram and fable attained a high literary level and full maturity.

At the same time, the dedicatory epistle in prose enjoyed a victorious career in the most varied genres, from technical writing to collections of poetry.

The literary treatment of the epistolary genre in Pliny took a different form. His collection of letters is a mirror of his own self, and of the society in which he lived. Not least, he supplies evidence of their author's civic sense, which he presents as a model with a certain candor.

Fronto's correspondence gives publicity to his literary and rhetorical aims, which he rates higher than any philosophy.

Late antique collections of letters followed Pliny, if only for their number of books and their arrangement. They are—to think for example of Symmachus—often more the reflection of a society than of a personality. In writers like Sidonius, the empty compliments too often cloy. Jerome was a born letter writer. What he has to say is of the most diverse kind, ranging from the obituary to the treatise. He draws a vivid picture of his addressees or of those whose lives or sufferings he has shared. Augustine's letters, by contrast, show him as bishop from a far less personal side than his *Confessions*. Such documents from bishops serve, in succession to the epistles of the New Testament, primarily didactic and instructional purposes.

Literary Technique

The distinction between 'spontaneous' and 'literary' letters must not be regarded as absolute.

Documents intended for the senate might have the character of short speeches. Even in terse private letters, when they are written by educated authors, almost unconsciously a carefully calculated structure takes over. An example is Pliny *epist.* 1. 11: *Opening statement*: 'It is some time since you have sent me any letters.' *Objection*: 'You reply: 'I have nothing to write'.' *Argument*: 'In that case, just write to me that you have nothing to write, or simply what the ancients used to put: 'If you are well, that is good; I am well.' That is enough for me; after all, that is what matters most.' *Peroration*: 'Do you think I am joking? My request is serious. Let me know without fail how you are, since this uncertainty is extremely upsetting. Goodbye.' Many letters of Pliny are so brief and polished that they might be described as 'epigrams in prose.'[1]

Considerations of content give names to different subordinate genres: Letters of Congratulation, Letters of Consolation, Letters of Recommendation. These last were regarded as a special group, as is shown by their collection in Cicero *fam.* 13.

Epistolary form may also be used as a disguise. Thus there are letters seeking publicity, didactic letters and entire treatises in letter form, letters of dedication, invented letters and letters using a pseudonym. Horace's poetic epistles may be set between satire, didactic and private letter, without falling easily into any one scheme.

Epistolary novels, love-letters and mime-letters developed into literary genres, based on rhetorical ethopoeiia. The genre of Heroides established by Ovid is a parallel development to this in poetic form.

Language and Style

The variation from colloquial to highly rhetorical speech is found at its broadest in Cicero's letters. According to the addressee and the topic, his style alters in the most subtle shades. As criteria for public or private character may be noted: the employment of clausulae; the addition or omission of titles and date; the use of ellipses and hints intelligible only for a single reader, the addressee. The most private

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[1] A.-M. Guillemin 1929, 150.

letters are full of colloquialisms, proverbs, random Greek snatches or quotations, riddles or allegories. There are playful momentary formations such as the crossing between Latin and Greek seen in *facteon*. Official documents display a title and date. The most polite correspondence is that between enemies (such as Antony and Cicero).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Ancient notions find specific basic features[1] in all letters. *Brevitas*[2] occupies a quite special place, but its corollary of confinement to a single theme is followed perhaps only by Pliny. For the same reason, a letter had to avoid rhetorical flourish, although not charm (*elegantia sine ostentatione*: Iul. Vict. 446. 15 Halm).

A letter is a picture of the writer's soul (Demetr. 227; Sidon. Ap. 7. 18. 2). Letters are conversations between those absent, one end of a dialogue. This explains their nature as communication, their closeness to the educated (but not vulgar) language of everyday (Cic. *fam.* 9. 21. 1). A periodic style is to be shunned; the asyndeton is the adornment of a letter (Philostr. *vit. soph.* 2. 24. 1). The letter must be adapted to its recipient, a feature raised by Cassiodorus in his *Variae* to a principle. This means that for the most part philosophical subtleties are out of place. Ovid draws the consequences of this for the composition of love letters (*ars* 1. 467–468).

Cicero distinguishes various types of letters, notably *publicae* and *privatae* (Cic. *Flacc.* 37). Elsewhere he adopts a division into simple, factual missives and letters dwelling on feelings. The latter fall into the *genus familiare et iocosum* and the *genus severum et grave* (cf. Cic. *fam.* 2. 4. 1–2; 4. 13. 1; 6. 10. 4).

A type of letter related to the *genus iocosum* is one containing no information but simply intended to share. It must not be lightly dismissed, for it is here that writers and recipients exchange the most precious gift they have, time (s. 'Literary Technique' below).

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[1] An ancient theory of letters is found in Artemon of Cassandrea (*apud* Dem. *eloc.* 223–235); Cic. *fam.* 2. 4. 1; 4. 13. 1; 6. 10; 9. 21. 1 al.; Quint. *inst.* 9. 4. 19–20; Sen. *epist.* 75; most thoroughgoing treatment in Iul. Vict. (extr.); s. also Apollon. Tyan. *epist.* 19; Theon, *prog.* 115. 2 Sp. (under *prosopopoeia*); Philostr. *vit. soph.* 2. 33. 3; Greg. Naz. *epist.* 51; Isid. *epist.* 5. 133; Phot. *Ad Amphilochium* (pp. 14–15 Hercher); Procl. Περὶ ἐπιστολιμαίου χαρακτῆρος.

[2] Examples in J. Sykutris 1931, 193.

Ideas II

Cicero's private correspondence does not offer a philosophically idealized picture of its author, but rather allows the reader to share directly the writer's joy and sorrow. This is something most unusual and for this reason the expressions of weakness and discouragement revealed therein must not be used to condemn the writer. Who knows whether even Caesar himself did not at times lose heart?

Horace introduces his readers, mostly young men from Tiberius' entourage, respectfully and politely, yet beyond possibility of misunderstanding, to moral insights into *recte vivere.* In these refined works of art, whose literary merit has not yet been wholly appreciated, the philosophical message may not be separated from its perfect literary form. Truth and beauty form a classical unity.

Conversely, in their letters, Ovid's heroines make no effort towards inner balance. They neither wish to teach nor to learn. Rather these elegiac epistles are a mirror of the feminine soul, even and particularly of its errors. His letters from exile, which bear many resemblances to the *Heroides,* illumine the theme of separation from the man's perspective. There is also the purpose of influencing the recipients to intercede for the author's recall, leading to the discovery of the immortal theme of nostalgia for Rome.

Seneca's aim is not to affirm his reader's tranquillity, but to disturb him. He must discover the way to a life lived consciously and intensely. If rhetoric in Ovid's *Heroides* was meant to plumb the psychological depths, now it becomes a means of instruction and self-education, aiming to set in motion the will.

A principal theme of Pliny's correspondence is formed by the virtues, though they are not those of the philosopher, but of the citizen and magistrate. In this respect, the letters are a necessary counterpart to the *Panegyricus,* which praises the virtues of the ruler. Incidentally, a picture of the society of the day and of the writer emerges, yet one more emphatically stylized than in Cicero. Pliny's collection was organized by its author as a work of art.

Not all the letters of late antiquity are of personal human interest. They are dominated by the values of aristocratic society, of the school or of the Church, and even from here the historian may extract valuable lessons. But occasionally in them may be felt the heartbeat of the times. Fronto, teacher of rhetoric by conviction, cannot accept that his disciple Marcus Aurelius is lost to philosophy. Another histo-

rical gulf is reflected in the poetic correspondence between the worldly Ausonius and his student turned monk, Paulinus. Beauty of form is increasingly felt to be insincere. In contrast to the often vacuous letters of the aristocracy of late antiquity and some of their Christian imitators (especially in Gaul), in the leading doctors of the Church a strongly practical aim prevails. But we also find personal tones, especially in Jerome, who puts before us the great virtues and the small vices of his spiritual brothers and sisters with the power of a born satirist.

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CICERO

Life and Dates

M. Tullius Cicero was born in 106 B.C. in Arpinum. His youthful years witnessed the rise to power of his countryman C. Marius, whom he later memorialized in a poem. Like Marius, Cicero was a *homo novus*. Unlike him, he owed his success to nothing except his training and talents. At Rome he studied Greek rhetoric and listened in the forum to important Roman orators. He was one of the audience around the son-in law of C. Laelius, Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur,

noted for his knowledge of legal matters. Scaevola's vivid memories of the Scipionic Circle did not fail to make their impression on the young Cicero, as the guise he later gave to his dialogue *De re publica* shows. It was Philon of Larissa who inspired the young man's enthusiasm for philosophy. He was a skeptical Academic, who had lived in Rome since 88 B.C., and it was he who taught Cicero among other things how to tackle a dispute from two opposed points of view (*in utramque partem disputare*). This was an exercise whose value for rhetorical *inventio* is manifest. After Philon's death (about 85 B.C.), Cicero became a pupil of the Stoic Diodotus, and, when his teacher became old, gave him a permanent refuge in his own house.

It took long years of study until the orator appeared before the public, and it may not be coincidence that this was after Sulla had restored the aristocratic constitution. It was in particular the speech in defense of S. Roscius Amerinus, containing a courageous attack on a protégé of Sulla, which helped the ambitious orator to secure his reputation. These were the days which also produced the rhetorical textbook *De inventione*, though later, in his more mature years, the author came to distance himself from its publication.

His activity as an advocate undermined Cicero's delicate health, and was interrupted by a period of study that took him to Greece and Asia Minor (79–77 B.C.). He spent six months in Athens with Antiochus of Ascalon, then head of the Academy. In his somewhat dogmatic version of Platonism, Antiochus approximated the Stoics. Among the teachers of rhetoric with whom Cicero came into contact on his voyage, the most significant was Apollonius Molon, whose school was on Rhodes. It was Molon who freed him from youthful tendency to exuberance, and taught him a more restrained technique of delivery, something that would be of great help in his career as an orator.

By 76 B.C., Cicero was quaestor in Lilybaeum in Sicily. His dedicated zeal in the discharge of his duties was, however, as he later learned to his disappointment, quite unremarked in distant Rome. From now on, he concentrated his activities on the capital. During the consulship of Pompey and Crassus (in 70 B.C.), he collected crushing evidence for his prosecution of C. Verres, who had been propraetor in Sicily, forcing him to go into voluntary exile. Appointed praetor in 66, Cicero showed himself, in his famous speech supporting the lex Manilia, where he described the qualities of the ideal general, a partisan of Pompey. His consulship (63 B.C.), conducted with vigi-

lance and energy, was both the culmination and the turning point of his career.

In the years that followed, he was obliged to defend himself for his execution of the Catilinarian conspirators, and finally (58–57 B.C.) to go into exile. After his return, his most significant writings were produced (*De oratore*, 55 B.C.; *De re publica*, 54–51), along with masterly speeches (*In Pisonem, Pro Milone*). This period, often exaggeratedly regarded as one of *otium* on Cicero's part, was concluded by his proconsulship in Cilicia (51–50 B.C.) and the civil war that followed. These were indeed barren years, in the course of which several thankless tasks were thrust upon one who always remained a civilian at heart.

After Caesar had accepted his former adversary into his good graces (47 B.C.), Cicero intervened with Caesar to defend former supporters of Pompey in speeches of refined elegance, steering a skillful course between 'monarchist' eulogy and Republican frankness. Rhetorical treatises (*Brutus, Orator*) attested his effort to come to terms with Atticism. The death of his daughter Tullia in February of 45 was a shattering experience. His grief provoked a fresh creative impulse. He began by writing a consolation for himself, which was followed in quick succession by a series of theoretical works in which practically all areas of philosophy were conquered for Roman literature.

After Caesar's death Cicero, as a partisan of the Republic, dedicated himself relentlessly to the struggle against Antony. With their harsh language and their vivid eye for detail, the *Philippics* opened a new phase in Cicero's literary development. Proscribed by Antony and Octavian, the greatest of Rome's orators was cruelly assassinated in 43 B.C. His head and hands were exposed to public view in the Forum. It was the same year that saw the death of both consuls, an event which may be regarded as symbolic of the end of the Republic. The future belonged to the force which in Cicero's youth had taken its first steps, and whose growth during his lifetime, though a convinced supporter of civil power, he had been forced to observe: the professional army. It was this innovation by Marius which made the political development of the 1st century B.C. possible, one that led from the financing of private armies to military dictatorship.

Cicero has been reproached with 'posing in succession as a democrat, as an aristocrat, and as the tool of monarchs'.[1] In fact, in his

[1] MOMMSEN, RG 3, 619.

early *Pro Roscio Amerino* he had opposed Sulla's favorite Chrysogonus, though later he convinced the people to reject a popular agrarian law. In the *Pro lege Manilia*, he celebrated the military leadership of Pompey, and in the *Pro Ligario* the leniency of Caesar. But it must also be observed that Cicero, the son of Roman knights, always championed the interests of his order and was obliged to do this, as political circumstances changed, in different ways, unless he wished totally to surrender his political influence. He was correct in recognizing the importance of the knights, among whom Augustus too would find support. There were certainly many dissonances in Cicero's career. For example, he was forced to defend his arch-enemy Gabinius, although one notes with satisfaction that the speech lacked brilliance. But this is to be blamed less on the individual than on the complex political circumstances of the late Republican period. A *homo novus*, without an aristocratic *gens* behind him and lacking the financial means of someone like Crassus, could not be too selective in the choice of his clients. His activity as lawyer was the only means enabling him to develop a net of relationships intended to secure his political advancement. Along with his allegiance to the knights, his loyalty to the Republican constitution remained steadfast. Both as a young man and later, he sided with the senate against Caesar, and in his old age again with the senate against Antony. When Caesar was dictator, Cicero defended the supporters of Pompey, confessing himself, with a mixture of pride and modesty, a fellow-Pompeian. Right to the end, he sought to win first Caesar and then his heir for the Republic, which he treasured above all else.

Cicero's speeches, treatises and letters are inestimable documents, even if only as testimonies of their time. But they accomplished more than this. They enlarged the intellectual horizon of the Roman world in different directions. Cicero was the founder at Rome of a literature with claims to artistry that dealt with the philosophy of politics, of ethics, of law and of oratory. His picture of the Roman Republic is admittedly idealized, but supported by personal political experience and knowledge of affairs. He was granted the gift of putting much into words before it fell victim to final destruction. Yet he was not a backward-looking dreamer. He gave his Romans many a fresh insight into things they had no notion of before, a rich seed of ideas for future generations.

Survey of Works 1: Periods of Literary Activity

The effort to divide Cicero's literary activity into periods is easiest in the case of his *rhetorical treatises*. The *De inventione* (81/80 B.C.) belongs to the early period (I), the *De oratore* (55 B.C.) belongs to the middle period (II), while the *Brutus* and *Orator* (both 46 B.C.) fall into the final period (III).[1] The philosophical treatises, too, although beginning later, may be fitted into this chronological framework. The *De re publica*, along with the *De legibus*, which was perhaps revised later, must be assigned to the second period, while the rest of the philosophical works[2] are to be given to the third. *Letters*[3] of Cicero have been preserved only from 68 on. The bulk of these derives therefore from the second and third periods.

In the case of the *speeches*,[4] a division into ten periods is appropriate. The first period is divided from the second by Cicero's journey to the East (79–77 B.C.). A third group begins with the *Verrines* (70 B.C.). His praetorship

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[1] *De optimo genere oratorum* is dated after 52 (perhaps in 46 B.C.); to 46 the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. The dating of the *Partitiones oratoriae* is uncertain (46–45?).

[2] *De finibus bonorum et malorum* and *Academica, Tusculanarum disputationum libri* (45 B.C.), *De natura deorum, De senectute* and *Timaeus* (45–44 B.C.), *De divinatione, De fato, De amicitia, De officiis, Topica* (44).

Inter alia, the following are lost or preserved only in very fragmentary form: *Hortensius* (45), *Consolatio* (45), *De gloria* (44), *De virtutibus* (44), *De auguriis* (perhaps after *div.*), *De iure civili in artem redigendo* (date unknown), translations of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (a youthful work) and Plato's *Protagoras*. On the dating of the philosophical writings: K. Bringmann, Untersuchungen zum späten Cicero, Göttingen 1971; K. A. Neuhausen, Laelius. Einleitung und Kommentar, Heidelberg 1981, 20–24.

[3] *Att.* (68–44 B.C.); *ad Brut.* (43); *epist.* (62–43); *ad Q. fr.* (60–54).

[4] Survey of speeches according to ten periods

I: Preceding the visit to Greece: *Quinct.* (81); *S. Rosc.* (80).

II: After the return to Rome: *Q. Rosc.* (perhaps 76), *Tull.* (72–71).

III: The Verrines: *div. in Caec.; Verr.* (70); *Font.* (69), *Caecin.* (69 or 68).

IV: Cicero praetor (66): *Manil.; Cluent.*

V: Cicero consul (63): *leg. agr.; Rab. perd.; Catil.; Mur.*

VI: Before his exile: *Sull.* (62); *Arch.* (62); *Flacc.* (59).

VII: After his exile: *p. red. in sen.* (57); *p. red. ad Quir.* (57, perhaps only a pamphlet); *dom.* (57); *har. resp.* (56); *Sest.* (56); *Vatin.* (56, perhaps revised in 54); *Cael.* (56); *prov. cons.* (56); *Balb.* (56).

VIII: Mature period: *Pis.* (55); *Planc.* (54); *Scaur.* (54); *Rab. Post.* (54–53); *Mil.* (52).

IX: Caesarian speeches: *Marcell.* (46); *Lig.* (46); *Deiot.* (45).

X: *Phil.* (44–43).

Lost speeches: there are fragments of a further 17 speeches, and about 30 are known by their titles. The most important are: *Pro Cornelio de maiestate* (65), *Oratio in toga candida* (an attack from the year 64 on his rivals for the consulship, Antonius and Catiline), *In Clodium et Curionem* (61), *De aere alieno Milonis* (an interrogatio, 53). Cicero also wrote *laudationes* on Cato Uticensis (46) and the latter'ds daughter Porcia, the wife of M. Brutus.

and consulship mark the fourth and fifth periods. The sixth and seventh periods are grouped around his exile (58–57 B.C.). The eighth corresponds to his maturity (55–52 B.C.), the Caesarian speeches make a ninth division, and the *Philippics* are the tenth and concluding group.

Survey of Works 2: Speeches

Pro P. Quinctio (81 B.C.)
In a private lawsuit Cicero appeared for P. Quinctius against S. Naevius, who was defended by the famous advocate Q. Hortensius. Parts of the speech are lost.

Pro S. Roscio Amerino (80 B.C.)
In his first criminal case Cicero defended young Roscius from Ameria, who was accused of patricide. Chrysogonus, one of Sulla's favorites, was responsible, along with others, for placing Roscius' father's name on the proscription lists, and for securing after his murder Roscius' property, which had meanwhile been expropriated, for an extremely low price. Since Chrysogonus was particularly anxious to secure Roscius' conviction, none of the better known advocates dared to defend him. Cicero courageously undertook the challenging task, and with great dexterity secured an acquittal.

Pro Q. Roscio comoedo (probably 76 B.C.)
The speech in defense of the actor Roscius has only been partially preserved. Although Cicero had learned from Molon of Rhodes to economize his powers, the Asian style is especially notable in this speech, perhaps delivered shortly afterwards. This may håve been intended to defeat the famous orator Hortensius with his own weapons.

Pro Tullio (72 or 71 B.C.)
The speech for Tullius also is only preserved in fragments. Two neighboring property owners are engaged in a boundary dispute. Cicero prosecutes Fabius, whose retainers had killed two of Tullius' slaves.

In Verrem (70 B.C.)
The above speeches for the defense were still close to the Asian manner, but with the speeches against Verres, Cicero succeeded in establishing his own style (third period). As governor of Sicily in the years 73–71 B.C., C. Verres had unscrupulously used extortion against its inhabitants. Cicero secured by his *In Q. Caecilium divinatio* the right to appear as Verres' accuser, and with a brief but packed speech, delivered on 5 August 70 B.C. (*actio prima*), and accompanied by witnesses and documents, he secured in the space of nine

days Verres' voluntary departure for exile. Later, he published the massive evidence intended for the *actio secunda* in five books, organized by topic and with rhetorical embellishment: *De praetura urbana, De iurisdictione Siciliensi, De re frumentaria, De signis, De suppliciis.* They contain real gems of narrative art in Latin.

Pro M. Fonteio (69 B.C.)
This speech in defense of Fonteius has survived only in fragments. It forms a counterpart to the speeches against Verres. Unfortunately in this case Cicero is defending a magistrate whose administration of his province differed little in essentials from that of Verres.

Pro A. Caecina (probably 69 or 68 B.C.)
This fully preserved speech is concerned with the claim to a piece of property, and is a source for our knowledge of late Republican law on this topic. Cicero himself adduces this speech as an example of the simple style (*orat.* 102). It was perhaps his last oration in a civil case. From now on his concerns were centered on weightier questions.

De lege Manilia (*De imperio Cn. Pompei*: 66 B.C.)
The fourth period of Cicero's oratory begins with the first political speech delivered by him as praetor. The tribune C. Manilius had proposed to grant Pompey supreme powers in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, along with the administration of the provinces of Bithynia and Cilicia, and the authority to conclude peace and alliances on his own initiative. Q. Hortensius and Q. Catulus raised objections to this concentration of power in the hands of an individual. In defense Cicero points to the necessity and difficulty of the war against Mithridates which, according to him, Pompey was peculiarly equipped to conduct. The largely epideictic speech is an important 'mirror for generals,' in places almost a 'mirror for princes.'

Pro A. Cluentio Habito (66 B.C.)
Cluentius was accused of poisoning his stepfather Oppianicus. On top of this, he was said eight years before to have prosecuted his stepfather for wishing to poison him. At that time, Oppianicus was found guilty and had to go into exile. Cluentius is now charged with bribing the jurors. In this speech, Cicero makes play with his superior tactical skill. Later, he is said to have remarked that he succeeded in throwing dust in the eyes of the jury (*Quint. inst.* 2. 17. 21).

De lege agraria (63 B.C.)
The fifth period is marked by Cicero's speeches as consul. Of his four speeches *De lege agraria*, the second and third are preserved completely, and the first

in part. Cicero attacks the proposal by the tribune of 64, P. Servilius Rullus, made under Caesar's inspiration, to appoint an almost almighty commission of ten to sell state lands and with the proceeds buy lots to found colonies in Italy.

Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo (63 B.C.)
One of Caesar's henchmen, the tribune T. Labienus, accused the senator Rabirius of murdering the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus during a revolt in 100 B.C. Cicero's speech frustrated Caesar's purpose of securing Rabirius' conviction and so deterring senators from intervening against revolutionary movements.

In Catilinam (delivered 63 B.C., revised for publication in 60)
The four speeches against Catiline fall into two pairs. Cicero delivered the first two speeches in November, one before the senate and the other before the people. The first speech was only partially successful. Catiline left Rome, but without his followers. This led Cicero in his last two speeches to assail Catiline's partisans and demand their punishment. The third speech was delivered on December 3 before the people and the fourth on December 5 to the senate. In the speeches to the people, Cicero gives an account of events. In those to the senate there is more argument, for here he had to influence decisions. It was in fact Cato who, on the fifth of December, succeeded in carrying a measure to execute the Catilinarians.

Pro Murena (63 B.C.)
L. Murena was accused by his unsuccessful rival for the consulship of 62 B.C. of using improper means to influence the outcome of the elections. The witty and spirited speech, full of quips at the expense of Stoics and lawyers, led to an acquittal.

Pro Sulla (62 B.C.)
The sixth period in Cicero's oratorical development, that preceding his exile, began in 62 B.C. Sulla was accused of taking part in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Cicero took up his defense, a fact that from the very outset weighed in the defendant's favor. A lack of evidence pointing to innocence was compensated for by a comparison with real revolutionaries. An acquittal followed.

Pro Archia (62 B.C.)
The Roman citizenship of the poet Archias of Antioch was challenged under provisions of the lex Papia (65 B.C.), since Archias' name did not appear on the census lists. The defense counsel could not appeal to laws or documents and so spoke in general terms, and in a way that lends interest even

now to his remarks, of the important part played by education and poetry in Roman society. This large perspective meant that the little problem of the poet's Roman citizenship practically disappeared: if he had not already been a citizen, he should be made a citizen as a reward for his services.

Pro L. Valerio Flacco (59 B.C.)
Flaccus was accused of extortion in his province of Asia. Since the details of the indictment could not be disputed, Cicero attempted to throw suspicion on or ridicule the witnesses. His success here was also owed to expansion and generalization. He argued that Flaccus' merits as a whole were decisive for the assessment of his personal character, and moreover that his condemnation would offend all *boni.*

Oratio cum senatui gratias egit (57 B.C.)
and
Oratio cum populo gratias egit (57 B.C.)
The seventh period embraces the speeches after his return from exile. In two separate but related speeches Cicero thanked the senate and people for his recall, reviled his opponents, the consuls Gabinius and Piso, and justified his own conduct. The second of these speeches was perhaps not delivered but simply published in pamphlet form.

De domo sua ad pontifices (57 B.C.)
During Cicero's exile, Clodius had demolished his house and built on the site a temple of Libertas. The college of *pontifices* was called upon to decide on the propriety of the dedication. Cicero secured the return of his property. In Mommsen's view, this was the most detailed and important speech of Cicero dealing with public law. Even Cicero himself regarded it as one of his best, and wanted young students to read it (*Att.* 4. 2. 2).

De haruspicum responsis (56 B.C.)
The *haruspices* had interpreted a subterranean peal of thunder as a token of the desecration of sacred ground, and Clodius referred this to Cicero's construction of a house on the site of the temple of Libertas. The orator succeeded in showing that the words of the priests referred to Clodius himself.

Pro Sestio (56 B.C.)
In 57, Sestius had been a leading supporter of Cicero's recall. In revenge, Clodius used the *lex Plautia* to raise an accusation *de vi* against Sestius. Cicero spoke, as was his practice on many occasions, as the last in a series of defenders, and secured an acquittal. His defense of Sestius also served the purpose of self-justification and the declaration of his own political program.

In P. Vatinium (56–54 B.C.)
This speech from the trial of Sestius was improvised and only later elaborated. Cicero interrogated a witness for the prosecution, P. Vatinius, and assailed him with insults.

Pro M. Caelio (56 B.C.)
M. Caelius Rufus was accused *de vi.* After Caelius himself and Crassus had dealt with the specific accusation, Cicero turned to the witness Q. Fufius Calenus and the question of Caelius' complicity in the murder of the philosopher Dion, the leader of the embassy from Alexandria. Cicero attempted to clear Caelius of the charge and to discredit the witness of the accusation, Clodia.

De provinciis consularibus (56 B.C.)
As a result of decrees of the senate and the people, Cicero was obliged to intervene on the side of the triumvirs and support the extension of Caesar's command in Gaul. At the same time he had the opportunity to propose the recall of his enemies Gabinius and Piso by stigmatizing the faults in their administration of their provinces. This speech led to a rapprochement between Cicero and Caesar.

Pro L. Cornelio Balbo (56 B.C.)
Pompey had granted to one of Caesar's followers, Balbus of Gades, the right of Roman citizenship. After his receipt of this privilege, an effort was made, by accusing him of usurping his citizenship, to strike at him and simultaneously at his patrons Pompey and Caesar. Cicero delivered the concluding speech for the defense. This offered him the possibility of a rapprochement with Caesar, a change of course that was officially justified by their common interest in *concordia.*

In L. Calpurnium Pisonem (55 B.C.)
The year 55 opened the culminating period of Cicero's creativity. As a result of Cicero's intervention (*prov. cons.*), Piso was obliged to leave his province sooner than he had planned, and accordingly assailed Cicero in the senate. Since his accusations were to some degree unanswerable, Cicero employed the methods of personal invective, producing a model of this genre. He indulged in marked self-praise to draw a contrast between himself and Piso, particularly charging him with his allegiance to the Epicurean school.[1] The hostile tirade did no harm to the eminent statesman, who in 50 B.C. was chosen censor.

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[1] C. J. Castner, Prosopography of Roman Epicureans, Frankfurt 1988, 16–23.

Pro Cn. Plancio (54 B.C.)
Plancius had supported Cicero during his banishment, but was now accused by his rival for the aedileship, Juventius Laterensis, of using illicit means to influence the result of the election. His past achievements and his services to Cicero spoke in his favor. The speech provides an illustration of the topoi of a case dealing with *ambitus*.

Pro M. Aemilio Scauro (54 B.C.)
Cicero defended Scaurus on a charge of extortion committed during his time as propraetor in Sardinia. The speech is preserved only in fragments.

Pro C. Rabirio Postumo (54–53 B.C.)
Rabirius was accused of taking part in Gabinius'[1] extortions in Alexandria. Cicero declared the proceedings to be irregular and the witnesses untrustworthy, while extolling the friendship between Caesar and the accused. This resulted in a perhaps unmerited acquittal.

Pro T. Annio Milone (52 B.C.)
While travelling to Lanuvium, Milo fell in with his and Cicero's mortal enemy Clodius, who met his death in a hand-to-hand scuffle. Pompey, as sole consul, presided over Milo's trial. Henchmen of Clodius shouted down Cicero's speech for the defense. Milo went into exile at Massilia. Cicero replaced his unsuccessful speech with a masterpiece. He organized his defense in stages: the agents were Milo's slaves (*status coniecturalis*); it was not a murder, but self-defense (*status finitionis*); Milo would really, as the murderer of a tyrant, deserve divine honors (*status qualitatis*).

Pro Marcello, better: *De Marcello* (46 B.C.)
The speeches delivered in Caesar's presence comprise the penultimate or ninth phase of Cicero's oratorical development. M. Claudius Marcellus, one of Caesar's adversaries, was living in exile in Mytilene. His brother, C. Marcellus, begged Caesar in the senate for mercy, and this was granted. In a speech of gratitude rather than of appeal, Cicero broke his silence of some years and eulogized, not so much Caesar's clemency, as the wisdom with which he was putting Republic above himself.[2] It is for it, rather than for himself, that he must now live. This glimmer of hope was followed by the gloom of night: the beneficiary was murdered on his way back to Rome.

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[1] Cicero was now compelled actually to defend his enemy Gabinius.
[2] S. Rochlitz, Das Bild Caesars in Ciceros *Orationes Caesarianae*, Frankfurt 1993.

Pro Ligario (46 B.C.)
Ligarius, a Pompeian, who had also been pardoned by Caesar, was living in exile. His family, along with Cicero himself, begged Caesar to permit his return. However, his hope for clemency vanished in the face of an accusation raised against Ligarius by Q. Aelius Tubero. Cicero's aim was less to clear the accused than to ensure Caesar's allegiance to his policy of reconciliation and to the Republic.

Pro rege Deiotaro (45 B.C.)
During the civil war Deiotarus, king of the Galatians, who had a distinguished record of service to Rome, had sided with Pompey. His grandson Castor accused him in 45 of attempting to murder Caesar. Cicero exposed the improbability of the accusation both on external and internal grounds. The emphasis lies on the appeal to Caesar's clemency. The result of the case is unknown.

In M. Antonium orationum Philippicarum libri XIV (44–43 B.C.)
The *Philippics*, so-called after the speeches delivered by the Greek orator Demosthenes, form the tenth and last phase of Ciceronian eloquence.

1: On 2 September 44 B.C., Cicero justifies his prolonged withdrawal from the political arena and attacks Antony in his absence.

2: The second speech is a polemical pamphlet. Cicero claims to be giving a direct answer in the senate to the abuse levelled at him by Antony during his absence on September 19.

3: On December 20, Cicero proposes that the senate should congratulate D. Brutus and Octavian for their resistance to Antony.

4: Cicero explains to the people current decisions, and goes on to emphasize, as in his third speech, the need to declare Antony a public enemy.

5: On 1 January 43, Cicero again intervenes decisively against the offering of concessions. Antony's opponents should be honored and Antony himself treated as a public enemy.

6: On January 4, Cicero announces to the people the decree honoring Antony's opponents. Before Antony is declared an enemy, the senate has decided to send envoys in search of mediation.

7: The senate should declare war against Antony.

8: Only a public emergency (*tumultus*) rather than a war (*bellum*) has been proclaimed. This is too little. New proposals are submitted.

9: Servius Sulpicius, who died while travelling as envoy to Antony, should receive a public funeral and an honorary statue.

10: The senate should retroactively confirm the measures taken by M. Brutus on his own initiative in Macedonia and Greece.

11: Dolabella has executed one of Caesar's assassins, C. Trebonius, proconsul of Asia. Cicero unsuccessfully pleads that C. Cassius should be commissioned to punish Dolabella.

12: In view of the dangers of the journey, Cicero successfully recommends the reversal of a decision to send an embassy to Antony.

13: In answer to the advice given by M. Lepidus and Munatius Plancus in favor of peace, Cicero defends his policy of war. The reading of a letter sent by Antony to Hirtius and Octavian should prove that a peace with Antony is impossible.

14: On April 21, Cicero proposes at the thanksgiving for the victory at Forum Gallorum that Antony should be declared a public enemy, and the title of *imperator* conferred on the victors.

Survey of Works 3: Rhetorical Writings

De inventione (81–80 B.C.)

This youthful work, toward which the author later took a somewhat aloof stance, is concerned with the first part of rhetorical technique, the finding of material.[1] The 1st book deals with the doctrine of *status*, and with the individual parts of the speech. The 2nd book, while preserving the doctrine of *status*, gives more precise treatment to proof and refutation. The work is distinguished by its marked practicality. Prosecutors and defenders are clearly informed how to proceed. Even so, the philosophical element characteristic of Cicero is already evident. Only in alliance with wisdom can eloquence produce a good result (1. 1).

De oratore (55 B.C.)

The masterly dialogue *De oratore*, dedicated by Cicero to his brother Quintus, is set in 91 B.C. Its chief interlocutors are Antonius and Crassus. In the 1st book Crassus considers the requirements necessary for the career of orator: natural talent, practice and broad education (113–200), especially in Roman law (166–200). His exposition concludes with a picture of the ideal orator (201–203). By contrast with Crassus, Antonius demands from the speaker (209–262) merely rhetorical skills.

The introduction to the 2nd book insists on the union of eloquence and wisdom. As in the 1st book (30–34), here too (33–38) the dialogue opens with a eulogy of the perfect orator. Subsequently Antonius offers a detailed exposition of *inventio, dispositio*, and *memoria*, which is interrupted by C. Julius Caesar Strabo's disquisition on wit (217–290). There is also a lively excursus on the writing of history (51–65). In general, on this second day, Antonius is more receptive to the idea of general education.

The 3rd book begins with a moving eulogy of the dead Crassus. It is he who, in what follows, takes up the question of style (*elocutio*) and delivery (*actio*). An important excursus demands from the orator philosophical and

[1] *Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium, quae causam probabilem reddant* (1. 9).

moral qualities. After a separation of centuries, rhetoric and philosophy should once again permeate and supplement each other.

Partitiones oratoriae (after 54 B.C.)

The *Partitiones oratoriae*, written perhaps soon after 54, were intended as guidance for Cicero's son and nephew. They discuss the orator's activity, speech and its divisions, along with the doctrine of the theme (*quaestio*). The didactic dialogue, taking the form of a catechism, conducted on this occasion between father and son, is characteristic of ancient methods of instruction. Surprisingly, it is the student, rather than the teacher, who puts the questions. In all probability, however, once the text was learned by heart, the roles were reversed.

After the defeat at Pharsalus (48 B.C.) and his pardon by Caesar, Cicero was condemned to political silence. During this period, he composed his rhetorical writings the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, along with the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. These works were dedicated to Caesar's later assassin, M. Junius Brutus.

Brutus (46 B.C.)

The dialogue *Brutus*, written at the start of 46, contains a history of Roman eloquence from its beginnings down to Cicero's own time. After the preface and a survey of the development of Greek oratory (25–52), the work treats five periods: the oldest Roman orators (52–60); the Elder Cato and his contemporaries (61–96); the time of the Gracchi (96–126); the generation of Crassus and Antonius (127–228); and finally Cicero, Hortensius, and their contemporaries (228–329). The work concludes with a brief epilogue. Cicero sees, not without justification, the culmination of Roman eloquence as occurring with himself (119–120), and defends himself against the extreme Atticists. This is an extraordinary essay in literary history. The character sketches and conduct of the dialogue are brilliant.

Orator (46 B.C.)

This work, written in the summer of 46, argues in its proem (1–32) that the perfect orator must be distinguished by philosophical education and be a master of the three styles, the *genus tenue, genus medium* and *genus grande* (20–32). The first main section (44–148) particularly develops the doctrine of style (*elocutio*). The remaining parts of rhetoric are cursorily dealt with (*inventio* 44–49; *dispositio* 50; *pronuntiatio* 54–60). The orator's task consists of *probare, delectare*, and *flectere*. This triple division finds its counterpart in the three types of style previously mentioned. In the second main section (149–236), Cicero discusses, with the aid of numerous examples, the doctrine of prose rhythm. To handle a theme so highly technical in a literary and polished form is a remarkable achievement. In this treatise Cicero is principally concerned with the re-evaluation of pathos, where his own particular mas-

tery was evident. This was his way of refuting the attacks of the Atticists on his oratorical style.

De optimo genere oratorum (perhaps 46 B.C.)
This short treatise was also directed against the neo-Atticists. It was not Lysias but Demosthenes who in Cicero's eyes was the real model of style. The work served as an introduction to his translation of the *De corona* of Demosthenes and the corresponding speech of Aeschines.

Paradoxa Stoicorum ad M. Brutum (46 B.C.)
This work offers the proof that even propositions running contrary to the common view (*paradoxa*) may be rendered intelligible with the aid of rhetoric: for example, 'moral good is the only good'; 'virtue is sufficient for happiness'.

Ad C. Trebatium Topica (44 B.C.)
This treatise, allegedly written on the sea voyage from Velia to Rhegium (44 B.C.), discusses the 'places' (τόποι) where to find proofs.

Survey of Works 4: Philosophical Writings

De re publica
This dialogue on political philosophy was written after the *De oratore* in 54 to 51 B.C. The scene is set during the *feriae Latinae*, shortly before the death of the Younger Scipio (129 B.C.), who is the leading character.

Two books are assigned to the discussions of each day, and to each pair of books Cicero prefixes a proem delivered by himself. The formal division of the work into three corresponds to the division of its contents.

The 1st book discusses the meaning and origin of the state (38–41) and subsequently presents the three simple constitutions, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, along with their degenerate forms (42–71). The mixed constitution is preferred to all other types on the basis of its *aequabilitas* and *firmitudo*.

The 2nd book traces the rise of the mixed constitution during the course of Roman history. The intellectual analysis of the nature and aim of the state in the 1st book is now given concrete illustration by reference to the history of Rome.

Books 3 to 5 are unfortunately preserved in a particularly bad state. The 3rd book examines justice as the basis of the state. There is an important consideration of the views of Carneades and of problems raised by natural law. The 4th book, using individual branches of legislation as examples, shows how justice may assume specific forms.

Books 5 and 6 are concerned with the ideal statesman. The work concludes with the famous *Somnium Scipionis*, in which a cosmic vision proclaims the statesman's reward in the next world.

De legibus

Along with the *De re publica*, the *De legibus* had been occupying Cicero's attention since about 52 B.C. Three books are preserved. At the end of the 3rd, Cicero announces a 4th book. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 4. 8) quotes a 5th book.

Cicero sets this dialogue in the immediate present (summer 52 B.C.). This allows him to refer to current problems. The work takes as its subject the best laws, which, just like the best constitution in the *De re publica*, are illustrated by Roman example.

The 1st book treats natural law; the 2nd religious law; the 3rd administrative law. The continuation may have been concerned with courts (3. 47) and education (3. 29–30).

Hortensius

Known only from fragments, the *Hortensius* was an exhortation (*protrepticus*) to the study of philosophy, and opened a whole series of philosophical writings produced from 45 onward, whose aim was to make the whole of Greek philosophy accessible to a Roman audience.

Academica

Only the 2nd book (*Lucullus*) survives of the *Academica* (*priora*) composed in 45. This is concerned with the certainty of knowledge. Supposedly following the *Sosos* of Antiochus, Lucullus defends the possibility of knowledge. Cicero disputes it, probably in the steps of Clitomachus or Carneades. A later edition of the work in four books dedicated to Varro (*Academica posteriora*) is preserved only in parts, principally from the 1st book, in which Varro gives a survey of the philosophical schools down to Carneades.

Timaeus

The surviving remnants of a translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, composed after June 45 B.C., were perhaps intended as portions of a dialogue on natural philosophy. In 51 Cicero, the Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus, and the Peripatetic Cratippus arrive in Ephesus. The text[1] supplies much evidence of

[1] From the closeness of this work to Plato's *Timaeus* it does not automatically follow that the rest of Cicero's philosophical writings were *mera apographa*, only at the most that Cicero felt himself particularly unsure in the field of natural philosophy. In the case of themes nearer to his own interests (politics, rhetoric), his use of sources

the Roman art of translation and acts as proof of Cicero's intention to present the whole of philosophy.

De finibus bonorum et malorum

This work was possibly written between May 15 and June 30 in 45 B.C.[1] It takes the shape of three Aristotelian pseudo-dialogues. Different doctrines concerning the highest good are presented in order and refuted. The first discussion (books 1–2) takes place in Cicero's villa at Cumae (1. 14). In the 1st book, L. Manlius Torquatus defends the Epicurean view, and this is countered by Cicero in the 2nd. Books 3 and 4 comprise the second dialogue, set in the year 52 on the Tusculan estate of the young Lucullus (3. 7). M. Cato presents Stoic doctrine in the 3rd book, to be answered by Cicero in the 4th from the Academic standpoint. Cicero emphasizes the agreement of the Stoa with the old Academy and the Peripatos, probably following Antiochus. The third discussion (book 5) takes place during Cicero's student days in Athens (79 B.C.). M. Pupius Piso defends the Academic and Peripatetic doctrine of the highest good, again depending on Antiochus. Subsequently Cicero, who here leans toward Stoic severity, himself speaks briefly.

Tusculanae disputationes

The next work, the *Tusculan Disputations*, was completed in autumn of 45, and belongs with the *De finibus*. Both treatises, each of five books, are dedicated to Brutus. In both, Cicero is the chief speaker, and both discuss questions of ethics. As is common in the Aristotelian dialogue, Cicero begins each book of the *Tusculan Disputations* with a preface. The subsequent conversations are organized in Carneades' manner as *scholae* (1. 7). The teacher had his listeners advance a thesis which he then discussed in an uninterrupted lecture. The following themes are discussed in individual books: contempt for death (1); the endurance of pain (2); the alleviation of sickness (3); other emotions (4); the self-sufficiency of virtue (5).

De natura deorum

This dialogue was probably finished before 15 March 44, and takes as its theme the nature of the gods. Discussing the pro and con of each question without reaching any clear resolution, Cicero follows the method derived from Socrates and continued through the Middle Academy right down to his own day.

In the 1st book C. Velleius develops the Epicurean theory of the gods (18–56), which subsequently is refuted by the Academic C. Aurelius Cotta

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in works given literary polish is quite free (*De re publica, De oratore*). Quotations are expressly indicated.

[1] Cf. *Att.* 13. 19. 4.

(57 ff.). In the 2nd book Q. Lucius Balbus depicts the theology of the Stoa, which for its part is subjected to sharp criticism by Cotta in the 3rd book.

De divinatione

This was in essence completed by Cicero while Caesar was still alive, and published shortly after Caesar's death with certain additions and a second preface (2. 1–7). As in the *De natura deorum*, here too the disputants argue for and against. In the 1st book Quintus puts forward the Stoic doctrine seeking to give a philosophical basis to the art of soothsaying. In the 2nd book Cicero counters his brother's pleas. His own stance, contrasting with the somewhat incoherent and impassioned impression given by Quintus' speech, is clearly differentiated.

De fato

Completed between May and June 44, this treatise, like the *De divinatione*, is a supplement to the *De natura deorum*. Cicero raises the question whether human action is predetermined, and man therefore cannot be held answerable, or whether he decides his course of behavior freely and therefore is answerable for it. He comes down on the side of freedom of the will.

Cato Maior (*De senectute*)

While Caesar was still dictator, and probably shortly before the Ides of March,[1] Cicero composed his *De senectute*. The dialogue, in which the speakers are men of an earlier generation, is therefore in the style of Heraclides Ponticus. The action is set in 150 B.C., a time of successes in foreign policy and long before the horror of the civil wars. In conversation with Scipio and Laelius, the Elder Cato refutes four objections made to old age. Political activity is not forbidden to those who are mature, and indeed is peculiarly appropriate to them (15–26). Physical weakness is no defect, since old age uses intellectual talents to compensate (27–38). The disappearance of sensual appetite frees us for philosophy (39–66). There is no need to fear death, since either there is no afterlife or else happiness is in store for those who have done what is right (66–84).

Laelius (*De amicitia*)

The *De amicitia* was written after Caesar's death. Similarly dedicated to Atticus and taking the form of a dialogue in Heraclides' manner, it is a companion-piece to the *Cato Maior*, set in the year 129 and dealing with the nature, duties and limits of friendship.

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[1] Cic. *div.* 2. 3; *Att.* 14. 21. 2–3.

De officiis

After the two books *De gloria*, unfortunately not preserved, Cicero composed between October and December 44 B.C. a philosophical testament for his son, *De officiis*. Here the dialogue form is given up in favor of direct exhortation. The 1st book presents the *honestum*, the 2nd the *utile*, both in the train of Panaetius. In the 3rd book Cicero discusses independently—or in succession to Posidonius—the apparent conflict between *honestum* and *utile*.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The chief genres into which Cicero's work falls are speeches, rhetorical and philosophical writings, letters and poems.

Within the first group, political and judicial speeches may be distinguished, although the latter also contain political allusions. If the lost eulogies on Cato and Porcia are ignored, purely epideictic speeches are lacking, although the *De lege Manilia*, the *De Marcello*, and the defense of Archias contain epideictic features (ideal commander, ideal prince, praise of culture). Here too may be counted the satire on jurists and Stoics in the *Pro Murena*. On closer inspection, however, it may be seen that even the apparently epideictic pieces serve to deploy an argument.

The political speeches were delivered some before the people and others before the senate;[1] but the attitude and style are in both cases different. Before his colleagues in the senate, Cicero employs more relaxed language. Controversial political figures like the Gracchi are judged differently according to the audience, and an appeal to the immortal gods cannot of course in the senate have the same force as in an address to the people.

The judicial speeches select different stylistic levels to match their subjects.[2]

An orator possessing particular importance for Cicero both as person and as author is Demosthenes. The 2nd *Philippic* is modelled on the *De corona*, and the entire collection of *Philippics* competes, as their very title indicates, with the greatest of Greek orators, whose example

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[1] D. Mack, Senatsreden und Volksreden bei Cicero, Würzburg 1937.

[2] The defense of Rabirius against an accusation of high treason is mainly conducted in the *genus grande* (the aim is *movere*). The speech on Marcellus, with its eulogy of Caesar's clemency, moves on the graceful level of the middle style (the aim is *delectare*). Dry civil suits, concerned with subtle juridical differences (e.g. *Pro Caecina*) require a simple garb (the aim is *docere*).

was already definitive for the speeches made by Cicero as consul.[1]

The *letters* are extremely varied. They range from quite informal, private notes (especially to his friend Atticus) to rhetorically polished, official missives, sometimes approximating to the speech or treatise.

The *rhetorical* and *philosophical writings* take their place in a long tradition. In the background lurk the great masters, Plato and Aristotle; they are taken up in the light of the philosophical schools which followed them. Yet even direct references to them are possible. Here, only hints can be given.

The *De oratore*, like Plato's *Phaedo*, is overshadowed by the approaching death of its chief interlocutor. The conversation takes place beneath a sheltering plane tree (1. 28), a backdrop recalling in detail Plato's *Phaedrus*.[2] The *Timaeus*, so far as may be seen, depends closely on the dialogue of the same name. The adornment of the solemn conclusion of the *De re publica* with a passage translated from the *Phaedrus* is only one instance out of many. Boldly, Cicero writes both his *De re publica*[3] and *De legibus* as a counterpart to Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*. But formal dependence, telling though it may be, does not exclude contradiction in content. The place of the ideal state is taken by Rome, and an active life contains more wisdom than any theory. Even in the *De legibus* domestic conditions are in the speaker's mind, as is proved by his borrowings from the style of old Roman laws.

The notion of a philosophical rhetoric in the *De oratore* is inconceivable without Plato's *Phaedrus* and without Isocrates who is mentioned there as a young man with a head for philosophy. It is to Isocrates that Cicero owes his ideal of rhetorical education. He clearly separates himself from Plato's *Gorgias*, where philosophy and rhetoric are divided.

Cicero was greatly indebted to his *Academic* teachers Philon and Antiochus. From the first, he derived his enthusiasm for philosophy, the principle of suspension of judgment (*inv.* 2. 9–10), and, above all, the method of *disputatio in utramque partem*. To the latter, he owed a good part of his knowledge of the history of philosophy and the incentive to look for shared ideas among Stoic, Peripatetic, and Academic doctrines.

In the *De natura deorum*, Cicero employs in the 1st book, along with

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[1] W. Stroh, Ciceros demosthenische Redezyklen, MH 40, 1983, 35–50.

[2] See W. Burkert, Cicero als Platoniker und Skeptiker, Gymnasium 72, 1965, 178.

[3] In the *De re publica*, Cicero also takes account, among others, of Polybius, Panaetius, and Dicaearchus.

the Epicurean Philodemus (1–56) probably also Philon (from 57 onward), who communicated to him the objections of Carneades. In the 3rd book too, much was borrowed from Philon. An Academic source—probably Carneades—is the basis of the 2nd book of the *De divinatione.* Carneades also provided material for the *De fato*, probably transmitted to Cicero by Antiochus. In the *De finibus*, for book 5 and perhaps also for books 2 and 4, Cicero made use of a work by Antiochus, who in turn was presenting the doctrine of his predecessors, starting with Aristotle and Theophrastus.

It was *Aristotle* who, in his *Protrepticus*, provided the model for Cicero's *Hortensius*, and in general the orator was better acquainted with the great philosopher's now lost exoteric writings than with his surviving esoteric treatises. This means that Cicero is almost more in debt to Aristotle as a literary figure than as a philosopher. It was from Aristotle as a writer that he learned to begin with a personal preface, and to divide the dialogue for long stretches into lengthy speeches by individual participants, as, for example, in the *De oratore.* In the *De finibus*, Cicero followed the Aristotelian fashion of assigning the chief role to himself. In the *Hortensius*, known only in fragments, and in an early version of the *De re publica*, he personally took part in the discussion.[1]

In the *De inventione* Cicero declared that he had drawn the best from numerous works, naming among others Aristotle and Hermagoras. His relation to the *Auctor ad Herennium* is obscure, and it may be a case of parallel versions based on lectures which had been heard by both. The intellectual approach of the *De oratore* was decisively influenced by the school of Aristotle, not only in its theory of humor, but also for example in its fundamental doctrine of rational and emotional means of persuasion. Theophrastus and Aristotle served as sources for the *Orator.* Aristotelian doctrine was transmitted to many works by intermediate Hellenistic sources. Cicero is convinced that in his *Topica* he is presenting the *Topica* of Aristotle, though in fact the connections with Aristotle's *Rhetoric* are closer and the basic framework is Stoic.

Epicurean material was drawn from Philodemus and perhaps from Cicero's teacher Phaedrus. Unfortunately, the orator reflects the doctrines of this school in a careless and imprecise fashion.[2]

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[1] Dialogues, set in the historical past, such as the final version of the *De republica*, the *De amicitia*, and the *De senectute*, follow a tradition traceable in Heraclides Ponticus.

[2] Cicero is perhaps following neo-Epicurean sources (as in *De finibus* 1). In *nat. deor.* 1 his concern is with Philodemus (*De pietate*).

Stoic sources are more numerous. In the *De amicitia*, Cicero was probably following Panaetius' treatise Περὶ καθήκοντος, in which doctrines of Aristotle and Theophrastus were also utilized. In the first two books of the *De officiis*, he made use of the same work by Panaetius, while in the 3rd book, an independent addition, he may have drawn on Posidonius.[1] In the 2nd book of the *Tusculan Disputations* he employed a letter of Panaetius to Q. Tubero. For the *Tusculans* in general, other Stoic sources may also be considered, though the whole question is quite uncertain. A Stoic handbook is also taken to have been the model for the 2nd book of the *De natura deorum*. The Stoic doctrines in the 3rd book of the *De finibus* may be derived from works of this school, perhaps through the mediation of Antiochus.

The philosophy of law found in the *De legibus* and in portions of the *De re publica* displays Stoic influences. In the 1st book of the *De divinatione* Cicero principally uses Posidonius. The *Topica* do not merely mention the Stoa. They employ Stoic logic, and the whole division of the *topoi* rests on Stoic categories.

Since Hellenistic philosophy is largely known to us at second hand, it is not easy to identify Cicero's sources, and to assess the degree of his independence. He himself on one occasion describes his works as 'mere transcripts' (*mera apographa*), to which he allegedly supplies only the words, of which he possesses an abundance (*Att.* 12. 52. 2). That the urbane irony of the Roman at his own expense is not to be taken entirely literally is shown by those passages whose models are preserved. For example, in the *De re publica* Cicero is quite independent vis-à-vis Plato. In the *Academica* (1. 6) he clearly emphasizes his own contribution. There is no mere translation, but his own judgment, his own arrangement of the material, and brilliant diction.[2] Conversely, not all the writings are polished with the same care, and particularly in the late period a more mechanical use of sources cannot be excluded. Before all else the reader must draw subtle distinctions, depending in each case on the intention of the work and of the individual passage. Where Cicero visibly organizes his words with artistic skill and at the same time speaks with a certain expertise, as

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[1] Cf. A. R. Dyck, Notes on Composition, Text, and Sources of Cicero's *De officiis*, Hermes 112, 1984, 215–227; for Posidonius: 223–227; cf. *Att.* 16. 11. 4.

[2] *Quod si nos non interpretum fungimur munere, sed tuemur ea, quae dicta sunt ab iis, quos probamus, eisque nostrum iudicium et nostrum scribendi ordinem adiungimus, quid habent, cur Graeca anteponant iis, quae et splendide dicta neque sint conversa de Graecis?* (*acad.* 1. 6).

in the areas of politics and rhetoric and at times in that of ethics, he modifies his originals. Examples are found in the *De re publica*, the *De oratore*, the *De legibus* and probably also the *De senectute*, the *De amicitia* and parts of the *Tusculan Disputations*. He follows his predecessors more closely in reporting their teachings (from the *Academica* to the *De fato*), although errors and simplifications are not absent. In his criticism of their views Cicero at times sets the arguments of the different schools in counterpoint. Here too he can intervene to order and correct, but his presentation and refutation are not always clearly harmonized.

Apart from books and collections of material in Greek, which Cicero often commissioned (*Att.* 16. 11. 4; 16. 14. 4), oral sources must also be weighed. Much was no doubt discussed with learned friends before it was written down. The Stoic Diodotus was a resident of his house, and his secretary Tiro was a man of education.

Cicero's *poetry* belongs to the genre of didactic and of the panegyric epic. For the *Aratea*, a didactic poem on astronomy, the model was supplied by the Hellenistic didactic poet Aratus. The epic panegyrics stand between Ennius and Virgil. It is easy to make fun of the fact that Cicero's poetic achievement was far inferior to that of his prose writings. Nevertheless for some time he was Rome's greatest living poet, and his artistry prepared the way for Augustan classicism.

Literary Technique

In the assessment of the later elaboration, both in content and form, of the speeches, several layers are to be distinguished. The primary layer is that of the orator's general 'strategic' plan, determined by the individual circumstances of each case. The selection of facts and the sequence of their presentation principally depend on their relevance to the point Cicero wants to make. This may be illustrated by putting oneself in the position of a lawyer for the defense using the ancient doctrine of *status*. His first task is to decide whether he can deny the guilty act. If that is not possible, he will advance another legal definition, such as 'excusable homicide' rather than 'murder'. If that is impossible, he will stress its particular moral quality, as for example the murder of a tyrant.[1] In extreme necessity, he will argue for the incompetence of the court. In each case, the general strategy

[1] For example in the *Pro Milone*, though without surrendering other *status*.

adopted by the speaker will determine the choice, evaluation, and organization of the individual elements, and the structure of the entire speech. This decisive first phase of planning can only be mentioned here rather than presented in detail.[1]

At a less abstract level, which may be called literary in a narrower sense, the formal rules of the rhetorical tradition, as they apply to the individual parts of a speech, interact with the principle of the emotional arrangement of the whole, developed by Cicero as an uninterrupted process of persuasion.

The speeches may now be analyzed according to their parts. The introduction attempts to secure the sympathy of the listener, using as its point of departure the character of the accused, of the accusers, of the judge, of the circumstances of the case, and not seldom even of the defender, Cicero, who may for example throw onto the scales his own authority as a consular. In this way the *exordium* both offers an introduction to the matter in hand and, in the fashion of an overture in music, displays strong thematic links with the rest of the speech.

The arrangement of the material in the *narratio* and the *argumentatio* is determined by the particular circumstances. While the narrative in speeches really delivered must aim for simple credibility, in undelivered speeches, especially in the *Actio secunda* against Verres, Cicero displays a consummate art of literary narrative, using a rich store of artistic resources.

In the *argumentatio,* most often combined with the *narratio,* Cicero deploys a particularly adroit lawyer-like scheme: he often sets the strongest arguments at the beginning and end, with the somewhat weaker in the middle, just as a general positions the bravest soldiers in the vanguard and rear, so that the rest are forced to take part in the combat. He may also argue in great detail where he feels himself on secure ground, and hasten quickly past awkward points which could tell against his client.

The conclusion of the speech often rises to a tone of adjuration laden with pathos, aiming to stir in the juror anger or sympathy.

Such differences in the literary technique of the individual parts of the speech offer only a first approach. Cicero's particular art lies in lending to his speech as a whole an affective coloring and in this

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[1] W. Stroh, Taxis und Taktik. Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden, Stuttgart 1975.

way supporting his reasoned arguments by emotion and suggestion. A second psychological feature of Cicero's speeches is their humor which, for example, distinguishes them from those of Demosthenes. Finally, Cicero is especially apt at emphasizing the deeper meaning of each case for the Roman audience as a whole. To this end, he employs among others the artistic method of 'digression', which nevertheless on closer view proves to be relevant to the argument. It is not by chance that in the *Pro Archia* Cicero talks of education and society, in the *De lege Manilia* of the ideal commander, and in the *Caesarian orations* of the prudence and clemency of the statesman. The ability of the orator to universalize the individual case and set it in a general framework is a principal reason for the attention still given by later generations to Cicero's speeches.

The term 'literary technique' has only limited application to the body of Cicero's *letters*. A distinction must be drawn between those that were purely private and those that were destined for the public. The latter are closer to the speech. The former follow the rules of epistolography: brevity, set forms at beginning and end, simple conversational tone, humor and use of quotations. For the detail s. 'Language and Style' below.

The literary technique of the philosophical and rhetorical writings is in part determined by the tradition of the dialogue. As in Plato, there are descriptions of scenery, though they also bear Roman features. The revelation of the next world in the *Somnium Scipionis* pays indirect homage to the greatest author among the philosophers, and indeed the entire structure of the *De re publica* recalls, though loosely, that found in Plato. The *De oratore, De re publica*, and the *De legibus* are given the dress of Aristotelian dialogues, marked by long uninterrupted speeches and personal prefaces to the individual books. The displacement of dialogues to a somewhat distant past is perhaps influenced by Heraclides Ponticus.

It was not normal practice to publish a technical work, for example a treatise on rhetoric, in artistically polished shape. Cicero was innovative in arranging the *De oratore* as a literary masterpiece. In the *Orator* he went so far as to treat technical questions of prose rhythm in literary form. Only a handful of later philosophical authors matched Cicero's mastery as an author and his accessibility. His rhetorical writings remained in general the only ones that could command a readership.

The literary technique of the poems is partly conditioned by their

author's rhetorical training, as when, in the poem on his consulate, the Muse Urania appears as the speaker in solemn personification.

Language and Style[1]

First, the style of Cicero's *speeches* may be considered in its chronological development. The difference of style between the speeches of the first and those of the second phase (s. Survey of Works) should, on the basis of Cicero's own admission about his transformation at the hands of Molon, be greater than it really is. Yet, in both these first stages of the development of his oratory, different tendencies run counter. No less important than Molon's influence was Cicero's rivalry with the great orator Hortensius. In the *Pro Q. Roscio comoedo* Cicero struck down his rival with his own weapons, and this explains why this speech is more 'Asian' than anything else by Cicero, even though it was produced after he had undergone Molon's discipline. Therefore, it is only the third period, that of the *Verrines*, which shows clearly what Cicero meant by his victorious struggle with his youthful redundance. In the fourth period, the largely epideictic *De lege Manilia* shows a particularly studied periodic structure and subtle prose rhythms. The fifth phase embraces the rich palette of the consular speeches, considered by Cicero himself as a self-contained corpus. Here his mastery is revealed in the linguistic and topical differentiation between speeches addressed to the senate and those addressed to the people.

A high point is formed in the second half of the fifties by the eighth group, containing the speeches *In Pisonem* and *Pro Milone*. The individual speech here is carried throughout by the orator's emotionality, in the so-called *vehemens* manner. Stylistically it possesses an inner unity. Even apparent negligence and awkwardness serve a rhetorical purpose. Thus the *narratio* in the *Pro Milone* produces a more credible effect precisely by its relative clumsiness and circumstantiality.

The 9th group consists of the speeches delivered before Caesar. Bearing in mind his extremely narrow circle of listeners, Cicero avoids here resorting to any strong rhetorical effects. The (for him) unusually spare instrumentation, to some degree like that of chamber music, makes these appeals for clemency into prize specimens of Ciceronian eloquence. The place of the rich fullness of the eighth period is now

[1] M. von Albrecht 1973.

taken by wisdom and serenity. In the last division, the *Philippics*, quite different features of old age are revealed: austerity and rigor, inner freedom.

The characteristics of these individual phases are not exclusively related to a chronological development of Cicero's style in the course of his career. Literary creativity especially shows in the fact that an author goes back to former stages of his development or anticipates later stages. Consideration of the given audience and the peculiarity of the particular case are further factors determining the details of diction. Nevertheless, a development may be observed. It leads towards ever greater harmony between form and content, to the removal of purely conventional flourishes and of pedantic symmetry, towards ever more subtle irony and ever more refined employment even of apparently well-known elements.

Within each individual speech there are also characteristic differences of style. The proem prefers a pleasing, even flow of language, a pondered periodic structure and elegantly inobtrusive choice of words. Intrusive pathos is often here just as much avoided as humorous effects. The speaker lingers in the realm of the 'middle style', intended to delight the listener. Conversely, the narrative and argumentation tend towards the 'simple style'. Sentences are short, plain coordination prevails, vocabulary may approximate to that of everyday, wit and irony are in order. Here, simplicity is the servant of credibility. The emotional *peroratio* on the other hand displays features of the 'high style': affective language filled with images, lively and sometimes even abrupt syntax, personifications, religious terms and formulas.

Depending on the content and meaning of the speech, a particular level of style tends to predominate. Where a sober problem of law of slight scope is in question, the 'low style' prevails (*Pro Caecina*). In a matter giving occasion for graceful epideictic composition, the 'middle style' comes into play (*De lege Manilia*). If the topic is the *res publica* or even indeed high treason, the 'lofty style' is appropriate (*Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*). Cicero himself advances these examples (*orat.* 102). Basically, it is a matter of atmosphere and appropriateness, factors undeniably influencing both choice of words and structure of sentences.

Speeches to the senate and people are distinguished by their intended audience. The latter are more purely Latin, since the language of educated senators was more permeated by Graecisms.

Understandably, the invectives draw more heavily on everyday language than the remaining speeches.

The *letters* are characterized by the frequency of colloquial elements, to which belong, for example, diminutives and ellipses. The relatively large number of Greek words and quotations in the letters corresponds to the nature of colloquial style, just as a certain sort of English conversation may be larded with French terms. The colloquialism of the letter is associated with its peculiar nature as 'conversation with an absentee'. The frequency of the quotations is conditioned by the principle of the *ridiculum*, which is typical of many letters. Prose rhythm is more evident in official letters than in private ones, although here too it is not entirely missing. Even in his everyday expressions, Cicero cannot wholly disown the writer in himself.

The vocabulary of the *theoretical writings* is different from that of the speeches. On the one hand, in the parts cast as dialogue, elements of educated colloquial language are more common. On the other, the technical sections are richer in specialized terms. In both directions however, Cicero preserves a balance so as to be understood by his readers.

Even within each work there are stylistic differences. In the *De oratore* the two chief speakers, Antonius and Crassus, are distinguished by their intellectual and linguistic individuality. Within the *De re publica* a slightly old-fashioned patina tints the historical presentation of book 2 and the 'revelation' of book 6. Even more evident is the archaic turn of phrase in the artificial legalisms of the *De legibus*. Descriptions of landscapes may contain poetic words. This means that the range of colors in the philosophical and rhetorical writings is wider than in the speeches.

The vocabulary of the poems is closer to the Ennian tradition than that of the prose writings. The latter draw on older registers only rarely, although it is true that later readers took offense at some old-fashioned compounds in Cicero, as did Seneca[1] in objecting to *suaviloquens* and *breviloquentia*.

In general, Cicero's language and style obey the laws of *aptum*. He is master of a gamut of different registers which he can set in play according to topic and audience. Classical Latin is not a monolith but a medium, with many hues and many aspects. The great orator

[1] *Apud* Gell. 12. 2. 7.

set a lasting stamp on Latin prose.[1] Although the next generation was to tread other stylistic paths, no subsequent Latin author could avoid coming to terms with Cicero. His enrichment of philosophical vocabulary was utterly influential. Cicero bestowed on Latin, and so on modern idiom, many important terms including *atomus*[2] and what was originally a Latinizing of this word *individuum*. The prudent restraint he displayed in the use of abstract notions was still shared by Seneca. It was only with Tertullian that this sort of inflation began. It continues down into the languages of our time.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Theoretical statements about literature are particularly found in Cicero's rhetorical writings. So far as his own work is concerned, the proems of his philosophical works are especially relevant, for in them, to some extent, he is pleading his own cause. Thus, at the beginning of the *De re publica* he explains the principles justifying his literary activities, and reflects on the relationship between *otium* and *negotium*. Elsewhere he expresses his thoughts on the problems of philosophical literature in Latin, and its didactic aims.

The composition of historical works is examined by Cicero in his theoretical writings, and also in his letter to Lucceius. His treatises on rhetoric are not content with mere description. They are a guide to the production of specific kinds of composition, aimed at securing a quite precisely defined effect. The concern with practical application is most visible in the *De inventione*, a work which, for long stretches, reads like a guide to the discovery of effective arguments. The *De oratore* raises with greater emphasis, in Aristotle's train, the question of the underlying philosophical and psychological causes of rhetorical effect. In particular, we may mention its thorough treatment of humor, put by Cicero in the mouth of an expert in this area, Julius Caesar Strabo. But the matter of the inner unity, in Plato's sense, of the speech is also surveyed. The composition is seen as an organic whole. Cicero is well aware that a speech must possess unity of feeling, and that between introduction and main part there must be

[1] His poetic art, too, prepares the way for that of the Augustans.
[2] Lucretius avoids the word.

close thematic links, a requirement which unfortunately he himself sometimes ignores.

The *Orator* considers language and style with especial attention to prose rhythm. Contrary to the views of the Atticists, in Cicero's opinion the perfect orator cannot be satisfied with a single stylistic level, that of the *genus tenue*. Rather, in accordance with the varying topic and circumstances, he must draw on loftier or more appealing registers.

The closeness of the theories expressed in the *De oratore* and the *Orator* to Cicero's own practice may be shown in detail.[1] But even the early treatise *De inventione*, though rejected by its own author, retains its importance for his way of writing. Perhaps he later distanced himself from it only because it was rather too frank in its revelations of the tricks of rhetorical invention?

Artful arrangement in the speeches is in each case so closely adapted to the nature of the occasion that, although theory may provide very useful assistance, it cannot supply total explanations. To put the matter briefly, Cicero's practice is inconceivable without theory, but it is better than his theory.

In the prefaces to his writings, Cicero offers a basis for his literary activity. The *De re publica* shows the orator caught in the tension between politics and leisure.[2] The later philosophical writings are justified by the didactic purpose they aim to serve. At the same time, Cicero consciously strives to enrich the language and literature of his native land.

He gives particularly thorough consideration to the theory of a literary genre which he could no longer practice himself, history. He praises the simplicity of Caesar's *Commentaries*, and grasps their high literary quality, concealed behind their modest title.Yet there are grounds for supposing that his own ideal of historical writing lay rather in the tradition of the 'Herodotean' Theopompus, which means that it was perhaps later realized by Livy. In the guide which he sent to Lucceius for the composition of a history of his own consulship, the request he makes not to attach too great importance to truth sounds somewhat unhappy to modern ears. The ancient reader would have recognized here the principles of the 'tragic' method of historiography.

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[1] S. L. Laurand, 4th ed. 1936–1938; M. von Albrecht 1973.

[2] G. Pfligersdorffer, Politik und Muße. Zum Prooemium und Einleitungsgespräch von Ciceros *De re publica*, München 1969.

Approaches to a theory of epistolography are also found in Cicero, though how far his individual remarks are to be taken as part of a developed theory may well be disputed.

In his attitude to the Latin language, both in theory and practice, Cicero is guided by good usage. He is therefore a purist, but by no means so committed a champion of analogy as Caesar. It was Caesar who rightly described Cicero as the 'master of richness' (*princeps copiae*).

Cicero knew the deficiencies of the Latin language, but attempted to remedy them by the astonishing richness of his linguistic resources.[1] That even so he did not take the step towards unrestricted formation of abstracts is a positive consequence of his attention both to language and to ease of reading. With love, and not without humor, he praises Latin for being able to express even intellectual truths more clearly than Greek. Thus, according to him, the very word *insania* shows that wisdom and health belong together (*Tusc.* 3. 10). The Romans of old experienced the *con-vivium* as a community of life, while the Greeks obviously knew the *symposium* only as a community of drink (*epist.* 9. 24. 3).

Ideas II

From the moment of his first encounter with Philon of Larissa at Rome, Cicero felt himself to be a Platonic philosopher. The skepticism of the New Academy under Philon remained decisive for him, although later he made the acquaintance of the more dogmatic views of Antiochus of Ascalon, who claimed he could restore the Old Academy. Perhaps under the influence of this teacher, he replaced, in the political writings of his middle period, doubt in principle by doubt as method. Confronted with the Roman state and its laws, even the voice of the New Academy and its universal skepticism must fall silent (*leg.* 1. 39). Stoic influences, especially congenial to the Romans' nature, came from his domestic philosopher Diodotus; in fact, they did not contradict the views of Antiochus, to whom Cicero owed his firm conviction that the Old Academy, the Peripatos and the Stoa were in close sympathy. Philon's advice, to give a hearing even to the Epicureans, was followed by Cicero reluctantly and with corresponding lack of success. In this area, his teacher at Athens was

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[1] Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 8 *Quo in genere tantum profecisse videmur, ut a Graecis ne verborum quidem copia vinceremur.*

Phaedrus. In his late works, he again emphasized his closeness to the 'New' Academy, which meanwhile had come to seem old-fashioned. In general, there is less of a coherent line of philosophical development in Cicero than an attitude, which as occasion arises seeks for appropriate arguments and ideas where they are to be found. If this attitude is forced to declare a bias, it is most advantageously represented as that of the skeptic.

And yet Cicero's interest in philosophy is not simply a pose. He was aware that he owed everything to his education. For him philosophy was not merely a refuge in the years of his enforced idleness (55–51 B.C.) nor simply a consolation after the death of his daughter Tullia (45 B.C.), but in general the very basis of his achievement. When therefore he raised in the *De oratore* the demand that the orator should possess a thorough philosophical training, this was not mere affectation, but something that corresponded to his own experience.

In one passage Cicero ascribes to the Elder Cato great enthusiasm both for learning and for teaching (*rep.* 2. 1. 1). This typically Roman impulse was also powerfully felt by the orator. He may be taken at his word when he says that, in composing his philosophical writings, he was also pursuing didactic aims. In fact, he wanted to create for the younger generation at Rome an encyclopedia of philosophy written in Latin, and this demanding aim was nearly attained by him.

His philosophical writings were not simply a vehicle for Greek thought. They reveal that they were composed by a Roman. This is why his *De re publica* emphasizes the original unity of philosophy and political action, and the preeminence of experience over *ratio*. Accordingly, Cicero assigns to legislators a higher place than to Epicurean philosophers and their withdrawal from active life. *Virtus* is affirmed in practice and may not be divorced from it. As a Roman realist Cicero did not search for the ideal state in a Platonic realm of Ideas and Utopias, but found it realized in the Roman constitution. If in this respect his outlook is more Aristotelian than Platonic, this accords with the Roman attitude to life.

In the sphere of ethics also Cicero avoids extreme theoretical positions. His *De officiis* characteristically does not look back to the strict doctrines of the Old Stoa, but to the ethical teaching of Panaetius, whose merit was to adapt them to life's realities. Not content with clothing Greek thoughts in Latin dress, he draws the ethical and political experiences of Romans into the discussion. What is more: in a theoretical treatise such as the *De natura deorum*, he clearly defines

the abstract and dynamic idea of god developed by the Romans, different from the anthropomorphism of the Greeks. In general, the illustration of philosophical theses and ethical modes of behavior by examples taken from Roman history forms far more than mere external trappings. It gives expression to the Roman tendency to think in *exempla* and the conviction that only action constitutes reality.

Given these premises, it is not surprising that Cicero's negative criticism is particularly directed against the Epicureans, whose indifference in matters political seemed to him dangerous. Their exaltation of pleasure as the highest good was a product of the Greek enjoyment of life, just as was their doctrine of corporeal gods exempt from concern with specific goals. Of course a Roman, whose notion of god was abstract, whose civilization was founded on prohibitions and directed towards purposeful action, was bound to find all this repulsive. Though others, including for example his best friend Atticus, by no means found Roman nature and Epicureanism incompatible, during his whole life Cicero could never overcome his prejudices against this doctrine.

In other respects, Greek philosophy did allow Cicero to rise beyond the traditional ideas of his people, as for example in the deeper significance given to the notion of glory as 'true honor' (*verum decus*) in the 6th book of the *De re publica*.

On the whole, the degree of absorption of the elements of Greek culture differs according to genre. In his speeches, Cicero avoids the word *philosophia*, and occasionally the Younger Cato is mocked as an out-of-touch doctrinaire. In the speeches philosophical notions are played down. In his treatises they are conveyed partly by the use of Greek words and partly by Latin calques. Thus Cicero enriched the Latin language with numerous intellectual terms which have become permanently established.[1] His particular achievement was the introduction of philosophy into Roman life and Latin literature. He is one of the few philosophical authors in the literature of the world who has succeeded in writing readable books.

A uniform philosophical outlook is not to be expected from Cicero. He was after all a man of practical affairs, and even on theoretical grounds in an Academic skeptic a coherent system would be out of place. Rather Cicero set, often with the aid of dialogue, different opinions in counterpoint, without final commitment to either party.

[1] *Qualitas, perceptio, probabilitas, evidentia, causae efficientes.*

He achieved with this something in the manner of Philon, who had required his students to illumine a problem from two opposing sides. What seems more important than any monolithic philosophy is a philosophical inquiry conducted in conversation among equal partners representing different opinions. Thus Cicero followed a method traceable in the last analysis to Plato. Athens however was a democracy, while Rome continued to be an aristocracy. If therefore the conversational tone was more attentive and polite than in Plato, this certainly had a social reason. But there was also a deeper reason of content: often in Cicero the question had to be left unresolved, who was the teacher and who the student, who was right and who was wrong. Reticence about his own judgment belongs, in the case of a skeptic, to the essence of his philosophical method.[1] At times skepticism also serves as a method of bringing up topics hardly susceptible of proof, such as the immortality of the soul or the activity of the gods, without forcing a specific belief upon the reader. In keeping his own opinion to himself, Cicero left to his listeners the freedom of conscience necessary for philosophical inquiry. Seneca's missionary style, aiming to influence the reader's will, is quite different.

The skeptical and dialogical character of Cicero's philosophy fits well with his consistent political stand in favor of a republican constitution. He is anything but a dogmatic tyrant. His criticisms of Caesar are simply part of this logic.[2] The dictator only finds acknowledgment insofar as he gives room to hope that he will yield to the claims of the senate and the Republic (for example in the *De Marcello*). He is particularly recognized for a quality that puts him on a par with the senators and Cicero himself: as an orator (*Brut.* 252). So it was that Cicero, even within the world of his ideas, taken as a whole, remained astonishingly true to himself.

Transmission

Speeches

Cicero subsequently edited his consular speeches as a collection (though without *Mur.*). He himself interpreted the *Philippics* as a distinct group. His

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[1] Already formulated with astonishing clarity and decisiveness in *inv.* 2. 4–10, esp. 10: *ut ne cui rei temere atque arroganter assenserimus. Verum hoc quidem nos et in hoc tempore et in omni vita studiose, quoad facultas feret, consequemur.*

[2] *Brut.* 2; 4; 7; 16; 157; 251; 266; 328–332; s. now H. Strasburger 1990.

freedman Tiro collected the *Verrines* in a single edition. In antiquity, the *Caesarian speeches* and perhaps also the *Catilinarians* (*Invectivae*) formed self-contained groups. The tradition we have knows of a collection of speeches dating from the years 57–56. Tiro also produced a collected edition of the speeches. Only hints of the transmission may be given here.

Quinct.: Palimpsestus Taurinensis (P; ca. 5th century); Parisinus 14 749, olim S. Victoris 91 (V or Σ; 15th century; cf. on *S. Rosc.* and *Mur.*).

S. Rosc.: Parisinus 14 749, 15th century (as a witness for the vetus Cluniacensis discovered by Poggio); also palimpsests (Vaticanus and Bononiensis).

Q. Rosc.: inter alia Laurentianus 48, 26, 15th century (as a later witness for a manuscript discovered by Poggio).

Tull.: Fragmenta Taurinensia; Palimpsestus Mediolanensis 4th–5th century (ed. princeps: A. Mai, Mediolani 1817).

Verr.: all Verrines are found in Parisinus 7776 (p; 11th century); individual fragments in the Palimpsestus Vaticanus Reginensis 2077 (V; 3rd–4th century).

div. in Caec., *Verr. I* and *Verr. II.* 1: Parisinus 7823 (D; 15th century, as replacement for the partially preserved Parisinus 7775 (S; 12th–13th century); for II. 1 and 2 there are also papyrus fragments.

Verr. II. 2 and 3: Cluniacensis 498, nunc Holkhamicus 387 (C; 9th century) with the more complete transcript Lagomarsinianus 42 (O; 15th century).

Verr. II. 4 and 5: Parisinus 7774 A (R; 9th century).

Font.: Codex Tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25 (8th–9th century); Palimpsestus Vaticanus Palatinus 24 (4th–5th century).

Caecin.: Monacensis 18 787, olim Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century).

Manil.: Pap. Oxyrh. 8, 1911, 1097 (§§ 60–65); Palimpsestus Taurinensis (lost) §§ 40–43; Harleianus 2682 (H; 11th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century); Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century) along with the complete Hildesheimensis (t; 15th century).

Cluent.: Cluniacensis and Laurentianus LI, 10 (M; 11th century).

leg. agr.: Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century).

Rab. perd.: Vaticanus Lat. 11 458 (V; a. 1417).

Catil.: Cluniacensis 498, nunc Holkhamicus; Ambrosianus C. 29 inf. (A; 10th–11th century); Vossianus Lat. O. 2 (V; 10th–11th century); Laurentianus XLV, 2 (a; 12th–13th century).

Mur.: authoritative Parisinus 14 749, olim St. Victoris 91 (V or Σ; 15th century); inferior: Laurentianus plut. XLVIII, 10 (A; written by Ioannes Arretinus in 1415).

Sull.: Monacensis 18 787, olim Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century); Vaticanus Palatinus 1525 (V; a. 1467; contains only 1–43); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century; contains only 81–93).

Arch.: Bruxellensis 5352, olim Gemblacensis (G; 12th century); Berolinensis

252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century); Vaticanus Palatinus 1525 (V; a. 1467); EV belong together.

Flacc.: Codex tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25 (V; 8th–9th century).

p. red. in sen., p. red. ad Quir., dom., har. resp.: Best manuscript: Parisinus Lat. 7794 (P; mid-ninth century); also Bruxellensis 5345, olim Gemblacensis (G; 12th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century); Harleianus 4927 (H; late 12th century).

Sest. and *Vatin.*: Parisinus 7794 (P; 9th century).

Cael.: Pap. Oxyrh. 10, 1251 (parts of §§ 26–55, already showing a mixture of readings); otherwise as for *p. red. in sen.*

prov. and *Balb.*: Parisinus; Bruxellensis; Erfurtensis (see *p. red. in sen.*).

Pis.: Palimpsestus Taurinensis (P; ca. 5th century); Codex tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25 (V; 8th–9th century).

Planc.: Monacensis 18 787, olim Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (12th–13th century); § 27 is found in a Berlin papyrus.

Scaur.: Palimpsestus Ambrosianus (ed. A. Mai 1814) and Palimpsestus Taurinensis, mutually supplementary.

Rab. Post.: only recent manuscripts, going back to a codex brought to Italy from Cologne by Poggio.

Mil.: Harleianus 2682 (H; 11th century); Monacensis 18 787, olim Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century).

Marcell., Lig., Deiot.: 3 families:

Alpha: Ambrosianus (A; 10th–11th century); Harleianus 2682 (H; 11th century); Vossianus Lat. O., 2 (V; 10th–11th century).

Beta: Bruxellensis 5345 (B; 11th century); Dorvillianus 77 (D; 10th–11th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (E; 12th–13th century), Harleianus 2716 (L; 11th century).

Gamma: the remaining manuscripts; for *Marcell.* and *Lig.* esp. Mediceus L. XLV (m; 11th century); for *Deiot.* esp. Gudianus 335 (g; 10th–11th century).

Phil.: authoritative Vaticanus (tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae) H. 25 (V; 8th–9th century). The remaining manuscripts are grouped together as decurtati (D): Bernensis 104 (b; 13th–14th century); Monacensis 18 787, olim Tegurinus (T; 11th–12th century); Vossianus Lat. O., 2 (n; 10th–11th century); Vaticanus Lat. 3228 (s; 10th century); familia Colotiana (c): Parisinus Lat. 5802 (13th century); Parisinus Lat. 6602 (13th century); Berolinensis Phill. 1794, olim 201 (12th century).

Rhetorical Writings

inv.: rich tradition. Unfortunately, the better manuscripts are lacunose (1. 62–76; 2. 170–174): Herbipolitanus Mp. m. f. 3 (9th century); Sangallensis 820 (10th century); Parisinus 7774 A (9th century with important corrections); Vossianus 70 (9th century).

de orat., Brut., or.: common tradition subdivided into two families:

1. Codices mutili (trustworthy): Abrincensis 238 (A; 9th century); Erlangensis 848 (E; 10th century); Harleianus 2736 (H; 9th century).

2. Laudensis, discovered in 1421/22[1] by Bishop G. Landriani of Lodi (text heavily corrected); lost in 1428. Reconstruction is made from the codices integri, derived from the Laudensis. The most important are Palatinus 1469 (P; a. 1423); Ottobonianus 2057 (O; a. 1422); Florentinus I 1, I 4 (F; a. 1423).

part. or.: Parisinus 7231 (10th–11th century); Parisinus 7696 (11th–12th century).

parad.: Vossianus 84 and 86; Vindobonensis 189 (s. under Philosophical Writings).

opt. gen.: Sangallensis 818 (11th century).

top.: Leidensis Vossianus 84 and 86 (s. under Philosophical Writings); Einsidlensis 324 (10th century); Sangallenses 830 (10th century) and 854 (10th–11th century); Ottobonianus 1406 (10th century).

Philosophical Writings

There must have been a collection containing the following works: *nat. deor., div., Tim., fat., top., parad., ac. 2, leg.* From it are derived the important manuscripts: Leidensis Vossianus 84 (A; 9th–10th century) and 86 (B; 9th–11th century), Laurentianus S. Marci 257 (10th century), Vindobonensis 189 (10th century).

rep.: Vaticanus Lat. 5757 Palimpsestus, discovered by A. Mai, ed. princ. 1822 (P; 4th–5th century: large parts of books 1 and 2, individual pages of 3, a little of 4 and 5).—The *Somnium Scipionis* from book 6 has its own independent, very broad transmission, hardly susceptible of summary. It has survived together with the commentary of Macrobius, although the commentator used another text. His lemmata therefore require attention in the restoration of the text.—For *rep.*, there is also an important secondary tradition,[2] chiefly in grammarians and Church Fathers.

leg.:[3] Vossianus 84 (A; 9th–10th century); Vossianus 86 (B; 9th–11th century); Heinsianus 118 (H; 11th century).

ac. 1: Parisinus 6331 (12th century).

ac. 2: Vossianus 84 and 86; Vindobonensis 189 (s. above).

fin.: Palatinus 1513 (A; 11th century); Palatinus 1525 (B; 15th century); Erlangensis 847, olim 38 (E; 15th century).

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[1] J. Stroux, Handschriftliche Studien zu Cicero *De oratore*. Die Rekonstruktion der Handschrift von Lodi, Leipzig 1921, 8, note 2.

[2] E. Heck, Die Bezeugung von Ciceros Schrift *De re publica*, Hildesheim 1966.

[3] P. L. Schmidt, Die Überlieferung von Ciceros Schrift *De legibus* in Mittelalter und Renaissance, München 1974.

Tusc.: Gudianus 294 (9th–10th century); Parisinus 6332 (9th century); Bruxellensis 5351 (11th–12th century).

nat. deor.: Vossianus 84 and 86; Vindobonensis 189 (s. above).

div., fat., Tim.: Vossianus 84 and 86; Vindobonensis 189 (s. above).

Cato (*De sen.*): 2 groups: 1. Parisinus 6332 (P; 9th century); Leidensis Vossianus O. 79 (V; 9th–10th century); Laurentianus 50, 45 (M; 10th–11th century); Harleianus 2682 (H; 11th century).

2. Bruxellensis 9591 (B; 9th century); Leidensis Vossianus F. 12 (L; 9th–10th century); Parisinus n. a. Lat. 454 (A; 9th century); Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 1587 (D; 9th century).

fat.: Vossianus 84 and 86; Vindobonensis 189 (s. above).

Lael. (*De amic.*): Codex Didotianus deperditus (9th–10th century); Monacensis 15 514 (9th–10th century); Gudianus 335 (10th century); Laurentianus 50, 45 (10th–11th century).

off.: three manuscript families (X, Y, Z):

X: Harleianus 2716 (L; 9th–10th century); Bernensis 104 (e; 12th–13th century); Palatinus 1531 (p; 13th century).

Y: Abrincatensis, Bibl. mun. 225 (α; 12th century); Vaticanus Borgia 326 (φ; 12th century).

Z: most important codex: Bambergensis M. V. 1 (B; 9th–10th century).

Letters

epist.: for books 1–8, the Mediceus 49. 9 (M; 9th–10th century) is the only authority. Of this a copy exists, Mediceus 49. 7 (P; a. 1392). Much less reliance may be placed on a family of manuscripts independent of M, represented by Harleianus 2773 (G; 12th century), Parisinus 17 812 (R; 12th century).

For books 9–16, apart from M, the following manuscripts must be consulted. They go back to a common witness (X) diverging from M: Harleianus 2682 (H; 11th century); Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis (F; 12th–13th century); Palatinus 598 (D; 15th century); Parisinus 14 761 (V; 14th–15th century).

ad Q. fr.; Att.; ad Brut. (*book 1*): two families of manuscripts:

1. Sigma: Ambrosianus E 14 inf. (E; 14th century); Parisinus Nouveau fonds 16 248 (G; 14th–15th century); Landianus 8 (H; 14th–15th century); Laurentianus ex Conv. Suppr. 49 (N; 14th–15th century); Palatinus Vaticanus Lat. 1510 (V; 15th century); Ravennas Lat. 469 (Q; 15th century); Taurinensis Lat. 495 (O; 15th century); Parisinus Lat. 8538 (R; a. 1419); Parisinus Lat. 8536 (P; 15th century).

2. Delta: mainly represented by Mediceus 49. 18 (M; a. 1393).

ad Brut. (*book 2*): For 2. 1–5: Lectiones margini editionis Cratandrinae (C; a. 1528) adscriptae.

Influence

Cicero's influence on Augustan literature has not yet been satisfactorily investigated. It is true that prose then followed other and different paths, influenced by rhetors who fostered a pointed style anticipating the imperial period. But Livy, consciously rather than unconsciously, fulfilled Cicero's ideals of Roman historical writing, and in Augustan poetry Cicero may have left many traces still undetected. Seneca the Elder (*contr. praef.* 6) put him on a level with the Greek orators; Velleius Paterculus (2. 66. 5) thought his glory would never wane; on the other hand, a certain Larcius Licinius (Gell. 17. 1. 1) or Largius Licinus found it necessary to censure him in his *Ciceromastix*. Seneca the Younger held aloof from him, although linguistically he was not so distant as might at first be assumed. Quintilian, the first professor of rhetoric to draw a state salary, declared that the satisfaction found in Cicero was the student's measure of his own personal progress.[1] Even the prose of the Younger Pliny and Tacitus' *Dialogus* would be inconceivable without Cicero. Church Fathers like Minucius Felix and Lactantius adhered closely to Cicero's philosophical writings, both in language and content. The Christian apologists owed to the *De natura deorum* numerous arguments against pagan religion and in defense of monotheism.[2] In the days of Arnobius one group of pagans demanded the suppression of Cicero's works on theology on the grounds that they were a danger to the old religion and lent support to Christian doctrine (Arnob. *nat.* 3. 7).

Cicero's influence was neither exclusively nor even predominantly based on his style. Rather, considerations of content continually challenged readers to come to terms with him.[3] Ambrose Christianized the *De officiis*, and Augustine owed to the *Hortensius* his first conversion to philosophy (*conf.* 3. 4). A reference to Cicero's often unrecognized wisdom was found before Augustine in Arnobius (*nat.* 3. 7). Jerome was so permeated with Cicero that he dreamed of hearing at the Last Judgment the rebuke 'You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian' (*epist.* 22. 30).

In the 9th century the West Frank Hadoardus undertook to make an extensive collection of excerpts, showing that the corpus of the

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[1] Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 112 *ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.*

[2] I. Opelt, Ciceros Schrift *De natura deorum* bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern, A&A 12, 1966, 141–155, esp. 141.

[3] T. Zielinski, 4th ed. 1929, 315.

philosophical works was available to him. His evidence is older than that of the manuscripts preserved, although not more trustworthy, since he often intervened in the texts to remove their datedness or to produce a new connection of thought. Sedulius Scotus excerpted the *De inventione*, and passages from the *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Flacco*, and *In Pisonem* which in part are not otherwise known. It is to the fondness for making such excerpts on the part of early medieval authors that we owe therefore certain portions of Cicero's speeches which we would not otherwise possess. In the Carolingian period Cicero again became the model of polished style (Lupus of Ferrières). Knowledge of Cicero increased in the 11th century, and reached its peak in the 12th century with John of Salisbury and Otto von Freising. In the 13th century the same is true of Vincent of Beauvais and Roger Bacon. Aelred of Rievaux (12th century) gave a spiritual dimension to Cicero's reflections on friendship in his *De spirituali amicitia*.[1] As a rule, among the rhetorical writings, readers preferred compendia appropriate for school use. But along with them, philosophical works were also read, notably the *Tusculan Disputations*, though the speeches and letters also found an audience.

In the Renaissance there was greater interest in Cicero as a person, as may already be observed in Petrarch, even in his critical remarks. Unease was felt at the difference between Cicero's wise philosophical teachings and his actual life revealed by the letters. His philosophical skepticism also aroused interest in the Renaissance.[2] Chaucer based his *Parliament of Fowls* on the *Somnium Scipionis*. Neo-Latin artistic prose, soon followed by that in the vernacular, found a model in his style. Cicero's *urbanitas* became a model of political behavior in the Renaissance cities (Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni). His overwhelming importance as a school author—the Latin school being the spiritual armory of civic culture in the modern period—again rested more on his content than on his formal qualities. Luther[3] set him much higher than Aristotle[4] principally for his belief in divine

[1] Text and translation by R. Haacke, Trier 1978; in the 15th century Theodore of Gaza translated the *Cato* and *Laelius* into Greek.

[2] C. B. Schmitt, Cicero Scepticus: A Study of the Influence of the *Academica* in the Renaissance, The Hague 1972.

[3] Osw. Gottlob Schmidt, Luthers Bekanntschaft mit den alten Classikern, Leipzig 1883, 13; cf. also W. Kirsch, Der deutsche Protestantismus und Cicero (Luther, Melanchthon, Sturm), Ciceroniana n.s. 6, Roma 1988, 131–149.

[4] *Tischreden* 155 (numbering of the Weimar edition = W.A.): *Ego sic iudico plus*

providence[1] and in the immortality of the soul. He particularly admired his union of theory and practice and his accessible manner of presentation. He exclaimed: 'The man who wants to learn right philosophy must read Cicero.'[2] He even remarked: 'If I were not a Christian . . ., I would read books of philosophy such as Cicero's *De officiis*.'[3] The latter he called 'a precious book,' declaring that, if he were young, he would dedicate himself to the study of Cicero.[4] He even hoped that Cicero would be in paradise.[5]

Therefore, Cicero was by no means a mere model of style. Important ideas of the modern period were found confirmed in him. It was in Cicero that Copernicus maintained he had discovered the first hint of heliocentric theories (*acad.* 2. 123).[6]

In the England of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Deists relied largely on two proofs of the existence of God for which they in part expressly appealed to Cicero. One was the idea of God as something innate, found uniformly in all peoples (*nat. deor.* 1. 43–44; *Tusc.* 1. 30). The other was the order of the universe as a proof of God's existence (cosmological and teleological proof, *nat. deor.* 2. 15).[7] Cicero was also the inspirer of the development of an autonomous ethic of duties, independent of any ontological notion of goodness and even of the theory of knowledge. Hume accordingly asserts: 'Upon the whole, I desire to take my catalogue of virtues from Cicero's *Offices* . . . I had, indeed, the former book in my Eye in all my Reasonings'.[8]

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philosophiae in uno libro apud Ciceronem esse quam apud Aristotelem in omnibus operibus; 5012: *Cicero est multo doctior Aristotele et perspicue sua docet.* Ibid. 3608 d: *Cicero longe superat Aristotelem, nam in Tusculanis quaestionibus et Natura deorum praeclarissima scribit de anima et illius immortalitate. Ethica Aristotelis aliquid sunt, tamen Officia Ciceronis excellunt ipsa.*

[1] *Tischreden* 5440: *Nam hoc est optimum argumentum . . . quod ex generatione specierum probat esse Deum . . . ergo necesse est esse aliquid quod ita gubernet omnia. Nos egregie possimus cognoscere Deum esse ex illo certo et perpetuo motu coelestium siderum. Aber uns ist es nichts, quia vilescit cotidianum.*

[2] T. Zielinski, 4th ed., 1929, 205.

[3] W.A., vol. 40, 3, 1912–1913, 1930; cf. also H. Scheible, ed., Melanchthons Briefwechsel, 4, 1983, 349–350, no. 4205.

[4] *Tischreden* 5012: *Si ego adulescens essem, dicarem me Ciceroni, sed firmato tamen iudicio in sacris litteris.*

[5] *Tischreden* 5972; cf. 3925: *Deinde fecit mentionem Ciceronis, optimi, sapientissimi et diligentissimi viri, quanta ille passus sit et fecerit: Ich hoff, inquit, unser Hergott wirdt im und seins gleichen auch genedig sein.*

[6] H. Blumenberg, Die kopernikanische Wende, Frankfurt 1965, 47–50.

[7] T. Zielinski, 4th ed., 1929, 210–232.

[8] To Francis Hutcheson, September 17, 1739, in: *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. by J. Y. T. Greig, Oxford 1932, vol. 1, p. 34.

Voltaire's ideas as an Enlightenment thinker are derived not merely from English sources, but also from Cicero, for whom all his life he entertained a genuinely enthusiastic regard.

His disciple, Frederick the Great, considered the *De officiis* 'the best work in the realm of ethical philosophy ever written or ever likely to be written.' On campaign, he took with him the *De natura deorum*, the *De finibus* and especially the *Tusculan Disputations*, which struck harmonious echoes in his personality. In a royal decree, the king demanded that the 'good authors' should be translated into German, in particular 'all works and writings of Cicero, all of them being very good.'[1]

The French Revolution brought about the rediscovery of Cicero as an orator, since under a Republican constitution public oratory is an essential means of political debate. The legal reforms of 1790 replaced the inquisitorial system with the French jury, which goes back at certain points to the Roman practice attested in Cicero: decision by majority verdict; determination of the legal question and acceptance of the theory of the independent evaluation of evidence. Even in the formation of ideas of natural and international law, Cicero, along with Livy, acted as intermediary.

Finally, at the beginning of the 19th century, Angelo Mai's rediscovery of the *De re publica* restored to us a masterpiece, which may draw under its spell even readers more appreciative of questions of republican constitutionality than of rhetoric.

After bitter experiences of tyranny, the 20th century has rediscovered speech as a human and dignified means of debate. The philosophical foundations of rhetoric are being freshly evaluated under different aspects: logic, psychology, ethics. Within this process, which is still going on, Cicero's European significance, set as he is between Aristotle and Augustine, is being seen for what it is. The anti-rhetorical attitude of those who regarded the flesh and blood of speech as sinful, and the contempt for Cicero to which that gave rise, may now be seen in retrospect as barbarism.[2]

Editions: Editions of individual works beginning with *off.*, *parad.*: Fust and Schoeffer, Mogunt. 1465. * *Complete edition*: A. Minutianus, 4 vols., Mediolani 1498–1499. * I. C. Orelli, I. G. Baiter, C. Halm, 4 vols. (T), Turici 2nd ed. 1845–1861, and 4 suppl. vols. containing indices 1833–1838. *

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[1] T. Zielinski, 4th ed, 1929, 248.

[2] T. W. Adorno, Negative Dialektik, Suhrkamp 1966, repr. 1975.

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D. TECHNICAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS

ROMAN TECHNICAL WRITERS

General Remarks

Technical writing is an important area of Roman literature, exemplifying the Romans' liking for facts and their desire for the mastery offered by a comprehensive perspective.

The content of these works varies considerably (s. Roman Development below). Even from the point of view of form, quite different types of literature can be detected. A later discussion will take up again the differences between the technical and factual handbook, determined by the readership viewed by the author (s. Literary Technique below).

Educated Roman readers were less attracted to profound investigations of detail than to readable general presentations. It is this aim of pleasing the public which justifies the mention of such works in a literary history.

A relatively new type making its appearance in Roman literature is the encyclopedia, the wide-ranging treatment of several disciplines within a single large work. But the systematic and yet assimilable general survey of a technical field also receives fresh importance.

The representatives of the special disciplines are partly of lower social rank; for example, the authors of works on surveying are of varying distinction. Writers on law originally belonged, as the nature of their discipline dictated, to the aristocracy, a circumstance changing only slightly in the course of time (s. *Roman jurists* and the related chapters in the different periods below). Encyclopedias in general are written by members of the upper class.

Greek Background

Scientific research in the strict sense was and remained largely a Greek domain. In Rome purely theoretical sciences yielded pride of place to those that were applied. The form and content of technical writing in Latin bore the fundamental imprint of Hellenistic science,

even though with considerable changes of emphasis. The Latin technical writings were in many areas derivative, although there were exceptions. The most important of these is formed by jurisprudence, a Roman creation which will be discussed separately. Moreover, the Romans' own experience made itself felt in technological disciplines: agriculture (Cato, Varro, Columella among others); surveying (the *gromatici*); architecture (Vitruvius), mineralogy and metallurgy (Pliny); the building of aqueducts (Frontinus).

In many areas Latin texts are the most important sources for our knowledge of the post-Alexandrian period. Just as Cicero mediates Hellenistic philosophy, so Hellenistic medicine in essence is known thanks to a fairly well-informed Roman layman, Celsus. Vitruvius' *De architectura*, the only comprehensive work on this theme to survive from antiquity, is attractive precisely because of the complete technical competence of its author.

Rhetoric and grammar, in spite of their close link with Greek forms of thought, founded their own traditions (above all, beginning with Varro), thanks to the thorough-going application of their categories to Latin. What Rome's greatest orator, Cicero, says in his rhetorical writings is inspired by his detailed knowledge of a field that he had made totally his own.

Roman Development

The sequence in which the different sciences were adopted at Rome is characteristic. Pride of place is taken by disciplines directly applicable to daily life. The oldest and most independent of these at Rome is *jurisprudence*, to which separate sections are dedicated here.

Soon after came *agriculture*. The senate commissioned a translation of the relevant work of the Carthaginian Mago. From the Republican period we possess the books of Cato and Varro, and from the 1st century A.D. that of Columella.

The art of *surveying* was particularly important for the establishment of camps, of military colonies and in general for the allocation of land. This specialty was first independently handled by Varro, and later received its own technical studies.

Architecture, a basic skill for Roman civilization, was discussed in the Republican period by Fuficius and Varro, and in the time of Augustus received authoritative treatment at the hands of Vitruvius. From the early Imperial period Frontinus' work on aqueducts has

survived. Under the general rubric of architecture also came clocks and engines of war.

In many other disciplines for a considerable period of time quaint approximations had to suffice.

In *geography* Varro gave in his *Antiquitates* a fairly precise description of the Mediterranean world and in particular of Italy. Within their historical writings, Cato, Caesar, and Sallust found room for geographical digressions, although they set no store by personal exploration. Travel accounts without scientific claims were composed (perhaps in Cicero's time) by Statius Sebosus. The first geographical work in Latin was written by Pomponius Mela (1st century A.D.).

In Cato *medicine* was restricted to home remedies and charms. Greek medical science was given Latin dress in the Imperial period by the encyclopedia of Celsus (1st century A.D.) and by later writers.

Natural science was found in the Republican period in Nigidius Figulus, though mingled with superstition. Among didactic poets Lucretius and Cicero deserve special mention. Interest in this area had to wait for its development until the imperial period.

Mathematics and *astronomy* were treated by Varro, who depended on Greek sources. Before him there had been only amateurs at Rome such as Sulpicius Gallus (consul 166 B.C.).

Optics and *arithmetic*[1] were long absent from Latin literature.

Music was touched upon allusively by Vitruvius. It was only in late antiquity that this situation changed.

Literary Technique

The difference between technical works and works of fact is determined by the intended audience. Works of fact take pains to establish an appealing literary form.

The systematic textbook is directed to experts or to students of the discipline concerned (*Institutiones*). With the exception of Cato, technical authors aim at easily intelligible structure. Precise naming of sources is the norm.

The division of material is systematic. A model for other disciplines might have been provided by the didactic framework of

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[1] Geometry was treated briefly by Balbus (F. Blume, K. Lachmann, T. Mommsen, A. Rudorff, eds., Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser, Berlin 1848, 91–108).

rhetoric.[1] The material was divided into genres, and these into species, sub-species and so on. The arrangement presented at the beginning was strictly maintained. This is the procedure particularly visible in Varro, Vitruvius, and Celsus.

In areas not admitting systematic division, the material is divided according to topic (Apicius, Frontinus).

For individual disciplines, special arrangements were developed. Medicine proceeded *a capite ad calcem* ('from top to toe'), as in Celsus, Scribonius Largus and the corresponding sections of Pliny. In geography, the arrangement was that of the περίπλους, the 'circumnavigation'. The last principle was natural for a seafaring people like the Greeks. The Romans had adopted it in spite of the fact that their network of roads would have promoted a clearer understanding of the important hinterland.[2] In geographical works the Romans took over the practice of giving an introductory description of the earth in physical and mathematical terms, even though they limited themselves here to what was most essential.

Though Varro organized his introduction to the Latin language by reference to content, the Augustan Verrius Flaccus preferred an alphabetical grouping of words.

In their prefaces authors liked to emphasize the importance and difficulty of their theme, to establish their method of presentation and sketch its structure. Such prefaces often make more pretense at style than the actual work.

The literary redaction of the works varies in scope according to the intended readership. Varro arranged the *Res rusticae* as a dialogue. Columella has a fluent, even loquacious style, and in one portion actually uses verse (s. Language and Style; Reflections on Literature).

Apart from the *Institutiones* must be mentioned the *scholarly monograph*, the *commentary* on earlier works of literature and the *glossary*.

The *encyclopedia* is directed towards a wider circle (s. Ideas).

Language and Style

In technical writing language and style play a subservient role, subordinate to the didactic purpose. The chief requirement is clarity.

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[1] Fuhrmann, LG 184; Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch passim.

[2] Mela bypasses inland areas so important for the Romans as the interior of Germany, the provinces of the Alps and Danube, as well as Dacia. His scheme of

Even so, there are important differences. Celsus writes with exemplary brevity, vividness and lucidity, with mathematical precision and elegance. Columella is adroit and fluent, even redundant. Varro's style varies from work to work. In the *De re rustica* he writes carefully, though not so in the *De lingua Latina*, where he follows the traditional practice of the grammarians. Pliny, who is deliberately thrifty with his time and words, already in his Preface, though it is written with particular art, trips over the oppressive fullness of his own erudition. The Elder Cato, in his Prologue, writes with great attention to style, but allows himself to dlapse in what follows. In this regard he later found a number of imitators, who thus become a source for our knowledge of colloquial and vulgar Latin.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Reflections on writing find particular expression in the introductions to the different works. The literary considerations offered by the authors depend on the nature of their intended readership.

A writer aiming at an audience of non-experts must consciously strive for readability and excuse himself for stylistic defects occasioned by his material. The difficulty of the topic (in this case geography) allows, in Mela's view (1st century A.D.), no room for eloquence: *impeditum opus et facundiae minime capax* ('a complicated work, not capable of eloquence at all'). This is principally the fault of the need to mention numerous proper names.

An author directing his work only to fellow experts need not worry about rhetoric. A late writer such as Palladius (5th century) expresses most clearly the essential nature of such technical prose: 'The first requirement of wisdom is to form a proper notion of the person to receive instruction. In training a farmer, an author has no need to rival rhetoricians by his arts and eloquence, though this has been done by many. In their polished addresses to countryfolk, they have succeeded in failing to have their teaching understood even by the most polished.'[1]

'circumnavigation' allows him instead to linger on unknown ocean coasts which, in accordance with tradition, he peoples with all kinds of fantastic creatures.

[1] *Pars est prima prudentiae, ipsam, cui praecepturus es, aestimare personam. Neque enim formator agricolae debet artibus et eloquentia rhetores aemulari, quod a plerisque factum est: Qui dum diserte loquuntur rusticis, adsecuti sunt, ut eorum doctrina nec a disertissimis possit intellegi.*

This disdain for rhetoric must not be taken too literally;[1] most authors pretend to write for less educated people rather than for too fastidious ones. Varro presents himself in a somewhat simple light, although not without scholarly prolixity. His intention is to give advice to a certain Fundania who has purchased an estate. He names his sources and explains the structure of his work: yet as early as his preface his learned flummery seems to point beyond his indicated purpose.

Pliny tries to convince the emperor that he is writing for simple folk.[2] But his added qualification shows that he cannot maintain this fiction. He is also thinking of those who read in their leisure time. This means that he has to resort to excuses of the type known from Mela. He sums up the stylistic goal of the encyclopedic writer as follows: *res ardua vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, fastiditis gratiam, dubiis fidem, omnibus vero naturam, et naturae suae omnia*, 'it is a difficult task to give novelty to what is old, brilliance to the commonplace, light to the obscure, attraction to the stale, credibility to the doubtful, but nature to all things and every thing to its nature' (*praef.* 15).

Frontinus is disarmingly honest. Entrusted by the Emperor Nerva with the administration of the aqueducts, he wrote his book in order to acquire a knowledge of the topic (*aq.* 1–2).

Most authors praise the eminence of their chosen field. Cato, in the preface to his *De agricultura*, spends more time on the moral value of farming than on his own particular purposes. Columella's long-winded preface laments that, in a time aware of many kinds of techniques and schools, there are no teachers and students, for all its importance, of agriculture. Firmicus sees in *mathesis* (astrology) without qualification the knowledge that makes man free.

Vegetius (end of 4th century) is generous enough to admit that his specialty, veterinary medicine, is subordinate to human medicine. Balbus, who perhaps was active under Trajan, emphasizes at first

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[1] Careful stylists like Quintilian declare in their introductions that they have paid no attention to finished presentation. Solinus proclaims his contempt for rhetoric in a highly rhetorical form: *velut fermentum cognitionis magis ei* (sc. libro) *inesse quam bratteas eloquentiae* (*praef.* 2). Pliny and Gellius do not look down on the art of rhetoric, but do emphasize their own lack of talent. Christian authors unite both almost self-contradictory attitudes in the service of evangelical simplicity (Cypr. *ad Donat.* 2) which is praised in stately cadences.

[2] *Humili vulgo scripta sunt, agricolarum, opificum turbae, denique studiorum otiosis* (*nat. praef.* 6).

the modesty of the surveyor's art, but then, using an example drawn from experience, proves its true value: scarcely had the Romans set foot in enemy territory when they needed surveying, to build ramparts and bridges, to calculate the width of rivers and the height of hills. After his return from war, the author studied more profoundly the theoretical bases of his science in order to answer questions with chapter and verse.

Some authors set their discipline in a larger context. Cicero demands a wide-ranging general education from the orator, and Vitruvius from the architect. This may give the impression that important disciplines such as philosophy are reduced to ancillaries for others, such as rhetoric. But the experts in general are wise enough not to require detailed knowledge of extraneous fields, but only mastery of the basics. Late antiquity establishes a hierarchy of the sciences. For Boethius, in the preface to his *De institutione arithmetica*, the remaining sciences of the Quadrivium are subordinate to arithmetic, and arithmetic in its turn to philosophy.

At the very latest with Lucretius and Cicero, Latin authors raised the claim to express difficult things (*obscura*) with greater clarity than their predecessors.

The *Commentum de agrorum qualitate*, ascribed to a certain Agennius (perhaps 5th century), aims at clear expression (*plano sermone et lucido*), more intelligible than the narrowly scientific ancients (*ea quae a veteribus obscuro sermone conscripta sunt apertius et intellegibilius exponere*, 'to explain more openly and clearly what the old authors wrote down in an obscure style').

In style, Vegetius seeks a prudent mean between eloquent authors such as Columella and literary nonentities such as Chiron. His aim is to combine fullness with brevity (*plene ac breviter*).

Vegetius also emphasizes a further essential requirement of technical writing, the necessity of a lucid organization of the material. Out of concern for hasty readers, who will not peruse the entire volume but only look up a particular entry, Pliny adds a detailed listing of contents, mentioning that his predecessor Valerius Soranus (about 100 B.C.) had done the same (*nat. praef.* 33).

The primacy of utility over beauty is a standard assertion of many technical writers, *Qui difficultatibus victis utilitatem iuvandi praetulerunt gratiae placendi*, 'who have preferred the useful service of overcoming difficulties to the popularity of giving pleasure' (Plin. *nat. praef* 16). Fortunately, even so, beauty is not entirely overlooked.

Ideas II

The purpose of many technical writers is certainly to assist the Roman people by their work. The supreme witness for this is Varro (s. pp. 593–616). But the following consideration seems more important still.

In Greece the individual expert is content to treat only one particular specialty or only closely related areas. The phenomenon by which an individual author writes an *encyclopedia*, that is, a series of introductions to several areas, is unknown. The notion of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία[1] is Greek, but the development of the encyclopedia as a genre was left to Rome.

The Romans adopted Greek culture as something complete in itself, and this inspired their need for writings of this type. Earlier, in the discussion of the pioneers of Roman literature, we had alluded to the many-sidedness of those first authors. Latin encyclopedias grew from similar soil. Cato's lost didactic works as a whole had an encyclopedic character, treating of agriculture, medicine, rhetoric and perhaps even military science.

Very little is known of Varro's *Disciplinarum libri*. It is supposed that they were a kind of encyclopedia including medicine and architecture. But, even apart from the precise content[2] of this treatise, Varro's œuvre as a whole is encyclopedic. He was the greatest of Roman polymaths.

In the early imperial period Celsus wrote an encyclopedia of which only the section on medicine is preserved.

Late antiquity, thanks to the efforts of philosophers like Augustine and Boethius, and teachers such as Cassiodorus and Isidore, preserved ancient scholarship for the Middle Ages.

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[1] The preserved agricultural textbooks of Cato and Varro are not identical with the agricultural sections of their lost encyclopedias.

[2] In the Middle Ages, the canon of the Seven Liberal Arts consists of: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic (= *trivium*), arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy (= *quadrivium*). Its age is disputed; critical remarks in I. Hadot 1984; older bibliography in Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch 162, note 3; s. now S. Grebe, Martianus Capella. *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. Die sieben freien Künste in der Spätantike, Habilitationsschrift Heidelberg 1996, Frankfurt 1997.

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LATIN GRAMMARIANS

General Remarks

The social standing of the *grammaticus* is determined by the role of schools. From the middle of the 2nd century B.C. on, private instruction in grammar at Rome spread rapidly.

Young Romans took lessons at home or with the *litterator* (γραμματιστής) in reading and writing.[1] They then proceeded to the grammaticus (γραμματικός) not only to learn Greek and Latin grammar but also to explain poetic texts. This exegesis was often of a factual, 'antiquarian' nature,[2] and so the term *grammaticus* means a philologist or 'classical scholar' strongly centered on 'realia.' The highest stage involved studies with the rhetor, an introduction to prose composition and the framing and delivering of one's own speeches.

Greek Background

Dionysius Thrax (2nd century B.C.), a pupil of Aristarchus, was the author of a grammar influential down to the 18th century and, thanks to Remmius Palaemon (1st century A.D.), well known at Rome. Dionysius worked on Rhodes, an island with close ties to Rome. His clearly articulated work combined Alexandrian empiricism with the results of Stoic philosophy of language, though he also had reservations about Stoic ideas.[3] Syntax and style were not treated. In this respect, too, Dionysius has—unfortunately—found many successors.

Roman Development

The earliest Roman poets were intimately acquainted with grammar and philology, although the real impulse towards philological study as such at Rome is said (Suet. *gramm.* 2) to have been given by Crates

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[1] Among elementary teachers were also found the *librarius* (writing master), *calculator* (teacher of arithmetic) and *notarius* (shorthand teacher). The *paedagogus* was not a teacher but a slave entrusted with taking the child to school.

[2] History, geography, physics, and astronomy were included here. There was much dictation and learning by heart. Correct pronunciation and good delivery were also taught.

[3] Προσηγορία was not for him a separate part of speech, but belonged to the ὄνομα.

of Mallos,[1] during his stay in the capital in the period following Ennius' death. The type of wide-ranging intellectual horizon encountered for example in Accius, confirms the strength of Pergamene influence. In other respects too, it was this method which often enjoyed pride of place at Rome over the technical severity of Alexandrian scholarship, which concentrated on details.

Grammatici were urgently needed at Rome as teachers; moreover their activity had a beneficial influence on the preservation of native Latin literature. About 100 B.C., it was a *grammaticus* who edited the epics of Naevius and Ennius.

The most important grammarian of the older period was L. Aelius Stilo[2] Praeconinus. A knight by birth from Lanuvium (about 154–90 B.C.), he gave instruction to friends in Latin literature and rhetoric. About 100 B.C. he accompanied Q. Metellus Numidicus into exile on Rhodes. There he may have encountered Dionysius Thrax. Stilo commented on the oldest linguistic monuments of Rome (*Carmen Saliare, Laws of the Twelve Tables*) and gave attention to Plautus.[3] As might be expected, he was influenced by the Stoa. It was he who transferred the methods of Greek linguistics to Latin. In his view, the study of language was not to be separated from its relation to objects. In him, a universal view prevailed, resting on the study of cultural history. Both essential approaches were transmitted by Stilo to his influential student Varro, but Cicero too was affected by his teaching. Thanks to Varro, Aelius also influenced Verrius Flaccus and Pliny the Elder.

Among authors of the Republican period concerned with grammatical problems we may cite Accius, Lucilius, Porcius Licinus, and the notably learned Q. Valerius Soranus, who also wrote in verse. Volcacius Sedigitus produced an eccentric canon of comic poets. Further names deserving mention are: Octavius Lampadio, Sisenna, Sevius Nicanor, Aurelius Opilius, M. Antonius Gnipho (Caesar's and Cicero's teacher), Q. Cosconius, Santra, Octavius Hersennus.

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[1] Independent of the actual influence exercised by Crates, the derivation from him of Roman grammar is a telling indication of how Roman grammarians viewed their activity.

[2] His cognomen was the result of his activity as a speech writer. On Stilo, cf. Cic. *Brut.* 205–207; *edition*: GRF 51–76 Funaioli; *bibl.*: Goetz, RE 1, 1893, 532–533; Norden, LG 27–28; Leeman, Orationis Ratio 1, 72; 74.

[3] Stilo's canon of 25 genuine Plautine comedies (Gell. 3. 3. 12) was reduced by Varro to the number of plays transmitted to us.

From Cicero's time may be noted, apart from Varro, the Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus,[1] Catullus' friend Valerius Cato, as well as Ateius Philologus, the adviser of Sallust and Pollio. Caesar himself wrote *De analogia*, while Appius Claudius (consul 54) and L. Caesar treated augury. Horace's famous teacher Orbilius published the *Elenchi to Ennius' Annales* by M. Pompilius Andronicus, and himself wrote *On the trials of teachers*, complaining over negligent or ambitious parents. In the classroom he was not slow to use the rod.

Literary Technique

The grammatical texts preserved depend on each other and display little originality. They may be divided by type into: systematic textbooks; handbooks; lexica; treatments of individual problems; and commentaries.

Language and Style

The grammarians' way of writing is distinguished by sobriety and clarity. They are not afraid of introducing original quotations, even in Greek.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature and Language

The grammarians transmit linguistic and literary theories of the Greeks. For example, Diomedes transmits a theory of the literary genres.

The systematization of grammar is taken only to a certain limit. In this area, as in the field of law, it was only in the Late Middle Ages and in most recent times that more rigorous advances were made.

Yet some independence is shown in the application of Greek categories to the Latin language. This is an area where Varro in particular (s. below) rendered meritorious service. The Latin examples adduced by the grammarians are particularly precious for us.

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[1] Collections of the fragments are found in: A. S. Swoboda, Pragae 1889, repr. 1964; D. Liuzzi (TTrC), Lecce 1983; *bibl.*: L. Legrand, P. Nigidius Figulus. Philosophe néopythagoricien orphique, Paris 1931 (also contains the fragments in Latin and French).

Ideas II

The genuine achievement of the grammarians lies not so much in the abstract formulation of thoughts as in their dedication to their task. They rarely speak of Roman virtues, and yet their contribution to the survival of the Roman *res publica litterarum* was essential. Their merit is to have guaranteed the unfailing consistency and continuity of classical education. It was they who preserved for centuries a high standard of linguistic training. Furthermore, they linked scholarly reading of the poets with an introduction to the disciplines necessary to understand the facts mentioned in text, such as geography, history, physics, astronomy, and philosophy. They deserve credit for the description which their writings gave of the Latin language, as for their preservation and explication of poetic texts, even of those which in their day did not yet enjoy the aura of antiquity and which, without their editorial intervention, would perhaps not have been transmitted to us. To their dedication we owe moreover our knowledge of fragments of lost Old Latin texts. In the later period, rhetorical treatment penetrated even commentaries, but the concern with facts demanded by the grammarians continued to enjoy strong influence.

Editions: GL, ed. by H. Keil, s. General list of Abbreviations. * GRF, ed. by H. Funaioli (s. ibid.). * S. bibl. above pp. 576–577.

I. Hadot, s. above p. 572. * Leeman, Orationis ratio. * H.-I. Marrou, Education. * Norden, Kunstprosa. * P. L. Schmidt, in: HLL under the individual grammarians (hitherto, only vol. 5 is available).

RHETORICAL WRITERS AT ROME

General Remarks

In civilized societies rhetoric is an indispensable science. Ancient cultures, especially that of Rome, cannot be understood without knowledge of technical rhetorical literature. Rome's greatest writer of prose, Cicero, was an orator, and he has written important works on rhetoric. Though the theory of speech was adopted from Greece, it was set in the service of Roman practice. In this area too, a distinction is to be made between (technical) textbooks and books of factual information (meant for the general reader).

The type of practical manual is represented by two parallel early works: the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Cicero's youthful *De inventione*.

By contrast, Cicero's masterpiece *De oratore* is a book of factual information in literary form.

However, literary form and practical concern (use as textbook) are not mutually exclusive. Even the *De inventione* indulges in philosophical digressions and essays, intended to give deeper arguments for individual points. Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* is certainly a textbook, but structured throughout to be as readable as possible.

Greek Background

As a technical discipline, rhetoric was rooted in the Greek Enlightenment. In his dialogue *Gorgias*, Plato sought to come to terms with a leading representative of Sophistic rhetoric. But, great philosopher as he was, he could not be content with mere criticism. In his *Phaedrus*, he raised the demand for a rhetoric based on philosophy, and recognized in Isocrates a talent for philosophy.

Plato's challenge was answered by Aristotle in his Ῥητορικὴ τέχνη. He drew a distinction between rational and emotional means of persuasion (πίστεις). The former are partly inductive (the example is a short form of induction). Partly, they are deductive (the enthymeme is an abbreviated syllogism). Emotional means of persuasion may be divided into *ethos* and *pathos*. The former rests in the gentle feelings emanating in the guise of sympathy from the speaker. The latter consists of the strong emotions, of anger or concern according to circumstance, which must be aroused in the listener. This means that a by-product of Aristotle's rhetoric is a typology or topography of emotions. For Cicero, and through him for Rome, it is not only Aristotle and his pupil Theophrastus, along with the less philosophically ambitious representatives of the rhetoric of the schools such as Hermagoras who are important, but also Isocrates himself.

Roman Development

Originally the young Roman learned the art of speaking by practice, listening to famous orators in the Forum. The activity of Greek rhetors at Rome at first met with opposition, but soon won tacit acceptance on a private basis. The resistance of the aristocracy to public schools

of Latin rhetors was more substantial. The important and well-educated orator Crassus was still engaged in an effort to close them. Unless Cicero is interpolating a notion of his own, Crassus' motives here were perhaps not so much governed by political or linguistic considerations as by the thought that, without secure footing in a broad education, these schools limited themselves to the quick communication of recipes for success.

Literary Technique

The mark of a 'systematic textbook' is the presentation of material in logical order. Here, from the Republican period may be mentioned the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's early work, *De inventione.* The mutual relationship of these two works is disputed. It is possible that both of them depend on a common source. Perhaps they represent parallel lecture notes, a type of written text with more significance for the whole of ancient technical literature than we might have expected, since instructors often passed their teachings down by using dictation.

But even in this sort of writing, a literary element is not wholly missing. Especially in its attractive proems, the *De inventione* develops philosophical reflections, and even the simpler *Ad Herennium* chooses and presents its Roman examples with care.

Another type is the factual book aimed at a wider public. Personal proems, a thoughtful setting of the scene and a dialogue in which different points of view are presented in a sequence of continuous speeches are characteristic. This is the type of 'Aristotelian' dialogue illustrated by Cicero's masterpiece *De oratore,* a quite extraordinary literary achievement in the area of rhetoric. For this work and Cicero's other rhetorical writings, s. above on Cicero.

Language and Style

'Systematic textbooks' are more concerned with clarity than ornament. Good examples—although they by no means lack finish—are provided by the *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's early *De inventione.*

The range of stylistic colors in Cicero's later rhetorical writings is more varied, especially in the *De oratore.*

In the literary background of the dialogues, hints of poetic voca-

bulary are found in the descriptions of landscape. In urbane dialogue there are echoes of the colloquial language of high society (s. Cicero above).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In masterly fashion reflections on language and style are brought into contact with the orator's real world. A basic principle is that of propriety (*aptum*). The demand for knowledge of facts and affairs, allied with an appreciation of what is fitting, transforms in Rome's greatest rhetorical writers the colorless academicism of the school-room. Unconcerned with superficial recipes, it draws upon the very nature of the subject matter to give responsive shape to the different literary types.

Ideas II

Rhetoric was a seminal terrain in generating the educated Roman's appreciation of his own identity in his dealings with his native language and his fellow men. Cicero planted the art of eloquence in the character of the Republican statesman and his wisdom. The demand for thorough knowledge of men, affairs and laws, even for a philosophical approach, may sound somewhat idealized, but it was meant seriously. The 1st century A.D. was rightly convinced that rhetoric, now largely limited to fine speaking, had to a great extent lost its secure place in the national life, and it is true that in the imperial period the cultivation of form came to prevail over content. Late antiquity would transform rhetoric into an art of interpretation (hermeneutics). With much greater stringency than Cicero, it would re-establish the demand for a relationship to truth, originally made by Plato, in seeking a connection with revelation. The price that had to be paid for this was dogmatic inflexibility.

Editions: S. Auctor ad Herennium, Cicero, Quintilian, Augustinus. * RhetLatMin. (s. General list of abbreviations).

Leeman, Orationis ratio. * Kennedy, Rhetoric. * P. O. Kristeller, Studien zur Geschichte der Rhetorik und zum Begriff des Menschen in der Renaissance, Göttingen 1981. * P. L. Schmidt, Die Anfänge der institutionellen Rhetorik in Rom. Zur Vorgeschichte der augusteischen Rhetorenschulen,

in: Monumentum Chiloniense. Studien zur augusteischen Zeit, Kieler FS E. BURCK, ed. by E. LEFÈVRE, Amsterdam 1975, 183–216. * Further bibl. s. above pp. 580–581.

THE *RHETORICA AD HERENNIUM*

Date

Perhaps the oldest rhetorical treatise in Latin comes from an unknown author[1] and was written some time between 86 and 82 B.C. The author was not a professional rhetor, but a Roman of distinction.

Survey of Work

After an introduction (1. 1) and a survey of basic notions (1. 2–4), there follow *inventio* (1. 4–3. 15), *dispositio* (3. 16–18), *actio* (3. 19–27), *memoria* (3. 28–40), and *elocutio* (4. 1–69).

The most detailed discussion is reserved for *inventio* and *elocutio*. The former is divided into judicial speech (1. 4–2. 50), political speech (3. 1–9), and ceremonial speech (3. 10–15). Each type of speech is presented according to its parts (*exordium, divisio, narratio, argumentatio, peroratio*). In the *argumentatio* of the judicial speech, the doctrine of *status* is developed, and with it is linked the doctrine of proof.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The author distances himself from Greek predecessors, though his far-reaching dependence on them is clear. The Hellenistic authority for rhetoric is Hermagoras. The *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's youthful

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[1] That Cicero was not the author was first recognized by Raphael Regius, Utrum ars rhetorica ad Herennium Ciceroni falso inscribatur, Venetiis 1491. He already suggested Cornificius as the author, but this was refuted by F. MARX (PhW 1890, 1008). The assignment to Cornutus (1st century A.D.) made by L. HERRMANN, L. Annaeus Cornutus et sa rhétorique à Herennius Senecio, Latomus 39, 1980, 144–160, is not to be taken seriously. The dating by A. E. DOUGLAS 1960 (to 50 B.C.) is less absurd, though not as convincing as his observations on prose rhythm, and he too seems to overestimate the author's stylistic skill. G. ACHARD 1985 again defends the traditional dating. W. STROH (in a forthcoming publication) defends a post-Ciceronian date.

work the *De inventione* probably go back to a common source, perhaps already written in Latin. Was this a lecture by the same teacher? The Latin examples are principally drawn from C. Gracchus and L. Crassus, who are ranked with Demosthenes and Aeschines.

Literary Technique

All four books have prefaces and epilogues. The *Ad Herennium* is the first example using prefaces of the type destined to become authoritative in Cicero's *Orator*.

A merit of the work lies in its numerous examples. As might be expected, they are partly drawn from myth and literature. Latin poetry is also cited, and apart from imaginary cases there are also those drawn from Roman experience. In general the *Ad Herennium* offers a positive picture of the state of Latin rhetoric before Cicero.

Language and Style

The author's diction is precise and at times even ponderous. The Ciceronian polish is still missing.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In free dependence on the topoi of the proem, the author explains that he is assuming the task of writing, not for gain or in search of fame, but 'out of affection for his friend Herennius'[1] (1. 1. 1). Evidently a Roman of rank must still excuse himself for taking up the pen.

His aim is to present his material more clearly and coherently than was the case with his Greek predecessors (1. 1. 1). This aim is served also by the proems to books 2–4, which expressly illustrate the structure, which in any case is refreshingly obvious.

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[1] A plea from friends as a reason for writing is found as early as Archimedes (Janson, Prefaces 32). But the author gives to this theme a personal turn: family duties day by day and philosophical interests in his leisure time.

Ideas II

The author's preoccupation with philosophy (1. 1. 1) may have exercised a beneficial influence on the lucidity of his presentation. His treatise reveals that he has thoroughly mastered his material, and scholars actually credit him with changes in the system.[1] However, he is unsympathetic in principle to the subtleties of Greek rhetorical theory (1. 1. 1), and does not even aim, as the young Cicero would in the *De inventione*, to give a philosophical basis to his discipline. The writer is a man of practical affairs. His attention is focused more on the judicial speech, while that of Cicero is directed towards political oratory.

Transmission

F. Marx sketched the following picture. The transmission became divided into a lacunose (*mutilus*) and a complete (*integer*) hyparchetype. In the *mutili* (9th–10th century) the beginning is missing as far as 1. 6. 9. The manuscripts preserved go back to the *mutilus*, but more recent (12th century) manuscripts are found which have been supplemented by a tradition stemming from the *integer*.[2] Today attention is also given to a group of manuscripts neglected by Marx (10th–11th century). The conclusion is that the additional amount of text in the more recent manuscripts goes back partly to a subsidiary transmission, and partly to medieval emendations.[3]

Influence

From Jerome on, the *Ad Herennium* evidently found readers. At that time it was ascribed to Cicero. From the Carolingian period to the Renaissance, along with Cicero's *De inventione*, it was studied as an authoritative textbook. The clarity of its teaching was valued still later. Traces of it are thought to have been found even in J. S. Bach,[4] who was acquainted with rhetoric, not simply through the texts of his cantatas, but also by his practical experience as a teacher of Latin.

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[1] M. Fuhrmann 1984, 49, concerning the theory of style (4. 17–18). On the other hand, the author's teacher had already rearranged the status doctrine (1. 18).

[2] S. the prefaces of the different editions.

[3] A. Hafner 1989.

[4] Z. P. Ambrose, 'Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen' und die antike Redekunst, Bach-Jahrbuch, Berlin 1980, 35–41.

Editions: Venetiis 1470 (together with Cic. *inv.*). * F. Marx (ed. maior: T, very good indices), Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1894, repr. 1966. * F. Marx (ed. minor), Lipsiae 1923, corr. with add. by W. Trillitzsch 1964, repr. 1993. * K. Kuchtner (Tr), München 1911. * H. Caplan (TTrN), London 1954, repr. 1968. * G. Calboli (TC), Bologna 1969. * G. Achard (TTrN), Paris 1989. * T. Nüsslein (TTrN), München 1994. ** *Indices*: F. Marx, ed. maior 1894. * K. M. Abbott, W. A. Oldfather, H. V. Canter, Index in Ciceronis Rhetorica necnon incerti auctoris libros ad Herennium, Urbana 1964.

G. Achard, L'auteur de la *Rhétorique à Herennius*?, REL 63, 1985, 56–68. * J. Adamietz, Ciceros *De inventione* und die Rhetorik ad Herennium, diss. Marburg 1960. * G. Calboli, Introduction, in: edition 1969. * Clarke, Rhetoric. * D. Den Hengst, *Memoria thesaurus eloquentiae*. De auctor ad Herennium, Cicero en Quintilianus over mnemotechniek, Lampas 19, 1986, 239–248. * A. E. Douglas, Clausulae in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as Evidence of its Date, CQ n.s. 10, 1960, 65–78. * Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch. * M. Fuhrmann, Die antike Rhetorik. Eine Einführung, München 184, 42–51. * A. Hafner, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Rhetorik ad Herennium*, Frankfurt 1989. * G. Herbolzheimer, Ciceros *Rhetorici libri* und die Lehrschrift des Auctor ad Herennium, Philologus 81, 1926, 391–426. * T. Janson, Latin Prose Prefaces, Stockholm 1964, 27–32; 45–49. * Leeman, Orationis Ratio 25–42. * P. L. Schmidt, Die Anfänge der institutionellen Rhetorik in Rom, in: Monumentum Chiloniense. Kieler FS E. Burck, ed. by E. Lefèvre, Amsterdam 1975, 183–216. * K. Zelzer, Zur Überlieferung der Rhetorik *Ad Herennium*, WS n.s. 16, 1982, 183–211.

VARRO

Life and Dates

M. Terentius Varro, Rome's greatest scholar, was born in 116 B.C.;[1] classicists call him Reatinus from his estates at Sabine Reate. His lifetime covers a great expanse of Roman history. He was ten years older than Cicero, and yet survived to see the beginning of Augustus' principate. Even in literature his life formed a bridge between periods. The man who in his youth dedicated a book to Accius witnessed the appearance of Virgil's *Georgics* and Propertius' *Monobiblos*.

A strict Roman education set its stamp on his life. At the same time, distinguished teachers stimulated his intellectual development in a great variety of disciplines. The first great Latin grammarian

[1] Augustine (*civ.* 4. 1) maintains that he was born in Rome.

and antiquarian, L. Aelius Stilo (d. about 70 B.C.), introduced him to the learned Stoic tradition. Through the teaching of Antiochus of Ascalon, whose students were later to include Cicero, he encountered in Athens (about 84–82) a Platonism looking back to the Old Academy and in some points approximating to the Stoa; moreover, Varro was influenced by Cynic and Pythagorean philosophy. Even on campaign, but particularly during a voluntary period of leisure on his estates some time between 59 and 50, and in his tranquil old age, Varro dedicated himself to study.

Yet for him as a Roman politics took precedence. About 86 B.C. he became quaestor, about 70 tribune, perhaps in 68 praetor, and in 59, along with Pompey, a member of the Commission of Twenty charged with executing Caesar's agrarian law. From 78/77 B.C. his career was fostered by his friendship with and duties as legate for Pompey, his junior by ten years. As a senior officer, he served Pompey in 77–71 B.C. in Spain. In 67 he enjoyed brilliant success in the war against the pirates. In 49 he was again in Spain, although this time playing something less than a heroic role (Caes. *civ.* 2. 17–20). Caesar pardoned him after his victory. Rightly recognizing his intellectual importance, he gave him the task of obtaining and organizing all accessible Greek and Latin literature for a planned, large-scale, public library (47/46 B.C.: Suet. *Iul.* 44. 2). Varro found his private passion raised to national scope. Now being a Roman and da scholar were no longer opposites. Compared to this great vision, the actual failure of Caesar's plan was almost an incidental. The impulse had been given.

The petty successor of the great man behaved differently. Ind 43 Antony proscribed the wealthy scholar. His villa at Casinum was destroyed, along with his private library, but a friend, Q. Fufius Calenus, succeeded in saving Varro's life. A few years later (38 B.C.), he was honored by having his *imago* placed in Rome's first public library, that of C. Asinius Pollio, the only living writer to receive this distinction (Plin. *nat.* 7. 115). Thanks to his friend Atticus, he presumably enjoyed the favor of the later Augustus. He died full of years in 27 B.C.

To Varro's earliest writings belong his two books of *De antiquitate litterarum.* They were dedicated during his lifetime to Accius, who died about 86 B.C.

In his *Menippean satires* modern scholars draw a distinction between an older and a later segment. The former occupied from the end of

the eighties (Κοσμοτρύνη) until soon after 67 (Ὄνος λύρας). Our authority, Nonius, draws his citations from three collections. One contained satires mostly with double titles; the other two had simple headings. Gellius knows only satires from the first group, and only this had the title *Saturae Menippeae*. In it, emphasis was laid on proverbs, sayings, philosophical—mostly cynic—elements, and, in the second half of the title, advice and instruction. This first group is now thought to be the later of the two.[1]

The reasons favoring an early dating of the *Menippeans*[2] all refer to the other segment, which is dominated by criticism of the contemporary world. This division of the *Menippeans* by date is in itself convincing, but open to the single objection that satires without contemporary allusion, *by definition* can hardly offer indications of time. This absence is therefore no proof of date, and the danger of circular argument is patent.

In 77, Varro addressed to Pompey his *Ephemeris navalis ad Pompeium*. The Εἰσαγωγικός, containing advice to Pompey for his coming consulship, was written in 71.

The pamphlet Τρικάρανος (59 B.C.) took as its theme the triumvirate. It was followed by almost a decade of withdrawal, during which Varro devoted his attention to his estates and to his studies. Among the works known to us, the *Legationum libri* may tentatively be dated to this period. The *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* were written (from perhaps 55 B.C. on) before the *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, completed in autumn 47. In all probability the *De Pompeio* was an *in memoriam* following Pompey's death in 48 B.C.

After the Civil War Varro composed several important treatises, evidently spurred by Caesar's commission. The *De lingua Latina* was written between 47 and 45 B.C. and published during Cicero's lifetime, to whom it is largely dedicated. After 45 B.C. appeared his philosophical writings, attesting his allegiance to the Old Academy (*De philosophia* and *De forma philosophiae*).

The *De vita populi Romani* was dedicated to Atticus, and therefore must have been written before his death in 32 B.C. Pompey's departure from Italy in 49 and Caesar's Spanish War were mentioned. The connection of theme with the *De gente populi Romani*, in which

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[1] P. L. Schmidt 1979.
[2] Cichorius, Studien 207–226, esp. 207–214.

the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa (43 B.C.) was referred to, suggests that both works were written about the same time.

The *logistorici* were certainly published after 54/53, but in all probability as late as 40. In 39 appeared the *Hebdomades*, in which Varro declared that to date he had written 490 books.

In 37, at the age of 80, he composed his *Rerum rusticarum libri*, and supposedly in 34–33 the *Disciplinae* (if the reference at Plin. *nat.* 29. 65 is correct). Later still appeared an autobiography.[1]

Survey of Works

Preserved are the *De re rustica* and considerable portions of the *De lingua Latina*. Important writings are lost. We know of the following works:[2]

1. Encyclopedic Writings

Disciplinae: an encyclopedia of the *artes liberales*. In all likelihood Varro treated successively: grammar (book 1), dialectic (2), rhetoric (3), geometry (4), arithmetic (5), astronomy (6), music (7), medicine (8) and architecture (9). Varro was perhaps the first to establish the number and sequence of the liberal arts, though failing to convince posterity that there were nine of them. His concern was more than the accumulation of dead knowledge; rather his aim was to lead the student from the visible to the invisible. This meant that he went beyond the purely practical direction of Roman instruction and acted as mediator of Greek education. Nothing however may be said with certainty of the influence of the *Disciplinae* on late antiquity. Later, from Varro's nine liberal arts seven[3] emerged, certainly under neo-Platonic influence. Augustine and Martianus Capella, for instance, omitted medicine and architecture.

2. Grammatical Writings

De lingua Latina in 25 books, of which books 5–10 are preserved in lacunose state. The work is entirely or, for the most part, dedicated to Cicero. After a general introduction (book 1), Varro discussed the arguments against etymology as a science (book 2) and in favor of it (book 3), and finally the

[1] *De vita sua libri III ad Libonem.*

[2] We possess a broad and yet incomplete index of the works: F. Ritschl, Die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro und die des Origenes, nach dem ungedruckten Katalog des Hieronymus, RhM 6, 1848, 481–560 (= Opusc. 3, 419–505). Scholars calculate there were about 74 works in some 620 books.

[3] I. Hadot, Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique, Paris 1984, esp. 57–58; 156–190 with justified criticism of previous efforts at reconstruction.

forma etymologiae (book 4). The preserved books 5–7 analyze the vocabulary of Latin etymologically by topics, for which the principles of division are often Stoic. Books 8–10, also preserved, display the same structure as 2–4: against analogy, against anomaly and finally *De similitudinum forma*. The further lost books perhaps treated, following the same principle, accidence (11–13) and syntax (14–25). Other works of Varro on the Latin language are also known.[1]

3. Writings on Literary History

Of the writings on literary history,[2] perhaps the most important was *De comoediis Plautinis* (Gell. 3. 3. 2–9). It was Varro who defined the twenty-one genuine comedies originally included in our manuscript tradition. He also names plays not recognized by everyone as Plautine, but accepted by him as genuine.

The twin works *De poematis* and *De poetis* complemented each other like Plato's *Politeia* and *Politikos*. The *De poematis* was a dialogue in three books concerning the genres of Roman poetry, arranged according to meter and subject matter. In his *De poetis* Varro may have transferred the model of scholarly Alexandrian biography to Roman literature. This work was the principal source for Suetonius' *De poetis*.

The *Hebdomades vel De imaginibus* consisted of fifteen books, with 700 pictures of Greeks and Romans famous in cultural and political life. This was the first illustrated Roman book known to us. Each picture was accompanied by an epigram and a brief biography.

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[1] *Epitome de lingua Latina*, 9 books, probably consisting of an introductory book followed by 8 books, of which each condensed three of the larger work. *De antiquitate litterarum*, at least two books addressed to Accius. *De origine linguae Latinae*, three books addressed to Pompey (cf. *ling.* 5). Περὶ χαρακτήρων, at least three books concerning the *genera dicendi*. *Quaestiones Plautinae*, five books with explanations of rare words in Plautus. *De similitudine verborum*, three books on regularity (analogy) in the structure of forms and words (cf. *ling.* 9). *De utilitate sermonis*, at least four books on anomaly (cf. *ling.* 8). *De sermone Latino*, at least five books addressed to Marcellus concerning pure Latinity (modeled on the Alexandrian criteria for Ἑλληνισμός: *natura, ratio, consuetudo, auctoritas*) as well as dealing with orthography and meter.

[2] Further works by Varro on literary history: *De bibliothecis*, three books (cf. Pliny *nat.* 13. 68–70; Gell. 7. 17). *De lectionibus*, three books. *De proprietate scriptorum* (cf. perhaps Gell. 6. 14. 6). *De compositione saturarum*. To the history of the Roman theater may be referred: *De scaenicis originibus*. *De actionibus scaenicis*, three books. *De personis*, three books. *Quaestionum Plautinarum* libri V, treating difficult words in Plautus and therefore really belonging to the writings on grammar. *De descriptionibus*, three books (on ecphrasis). *Epistolicae quaestiones* and *Epistulae*. There was an *Epitome* in four books of the *Hebdomades*.

4. Scholarly Writings on Historical Themes and Geographical Treatises[1]

The influential *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* was made up of 25 + 16 books. This standard work was not a sequential history of civilization but a handbook ordered by key words. A single book introducing *res humanae* was followed by four groups of six books: *de hominibus* (books 2–7), *de locis* (8–13), *de temporibus* (14–19), *de rebus* (20–25). The *res divinae* also, dedicated to Caesar as Pontifex Maximus, were preceded by an introduction (26), followed by five sets of three books. Using a similar structure, Varro discussed men, places, periods, actions. Thus priests came in 27–29, places of worship in 30–32, festivals in 33–35, rites in 36–38, gods in 39–41. In his *Antiquitates*, Varro's view was confined to matters Roman.

De gente populi Romani[2] was made up of four books dealing with the origin of the Roman people. They began far back in the mythical past (cf. Aug. *civ.* 18), and offered the rudiments of history leading to the *De vita populi Romani.*

The *De vita populi Romani* in four books was addressed to Atticus. The 1st book took the story down to the expulsion of the kings. The 2nd supposedly went as far as the beginning of the First Punic War. The 3rd reached 133 B.C., and the 4th at least the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Varro's concern was with the development of Roman civilization, criticism of his own times and edification.

5. Rhetorical Works[3] and

6. Writings on Law[4]
are less significant.

7. Philosophical Writings

Liber de philosophia: (Aug. *civ.* 19. 1–3). In theory, 288 different philosophical schools are possible, depending upon the relation established between virtue and the following four ends: pleasure, tranquillity, both together, or natural goods (such as health or mental gifts). In the case of each of these ends,

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[1] Historical concerns were also developed in *Aetia, Tribuum liber, Rerum urbanarum libri III, Annalium libri III, De Pompeio,* Εἰσαγωγικός *ad Pompeium.* Of autobiographical interest were *Legationum libri* and *De sua vita.* Apart from the last named, geographical information was also contained in *De ora maritima, De litoralibus.* Meteorology was discussed in the *Liber de aestuariis* and the *Ephemeris navalis ad Pompeium.* A gromatic treatise *De mensuris* is also cited.

[2] *De familiis Troianis* formed a supplement to the *De gente.*

[3] Books mentioned are *Orationum libri XII, Suasionum libri III* (recommendations for legislative proposals), and a rhetorical treatise in at least three books.

[4] *De iure civili,* 15 books; *Libri de gradibus,* on degrees of kinship.

there are three possibilities: it may be sought for the sake of virtue; or virtue may be sought for the sake of the given aim; or both may be sought for their own sakes. This gives rise to twelve possible doctrines. But this number may be doubled, since you may seek the values in question only for yourself or also for the sake of others. From these 24 doctrines 48 arise, depending on whether you give allegiance to the doctrine in question because you regard it as true or, after the fashion of the Academic Skeptics, only as probable. But these 48 may also be doubled, since these doctrines may in each case be defended in the way of the Cynics or in the way of the other philosophers. The total may be tripled, since each school permits an active or a contemplative way of life or a mixture of both. This produces 288 possible credos.

However, this number may in its turn be reduced, for only the first twelve doctrines relate directly to the highest good. From the four ends mentioned at the outset, pleasure, tranquillity and the combination of the two must be eliminated, since they are contained in the natural goods. Three lines of thought therefore remain. Natural goods are sought for the sake of virtue or virtue for the sake of natural goods, or both for their own sake. Varro decided in favor of the doctrine of the Old Academy, that is, of his teacher Antiochus. Since man consists of body and soul, natural goods and virtue must both be sought for their own sake. Yet virtue remains the highest good, and it defines the right use of the other goods. Virtue is enough for the *vita beata*. If other goods are added, a *vita beatior* is attained. If no good of either body or soul is lacking, then we reach *vita beatissima*. The *vita beata* wishes what is good for friends and therefore is influential on fellow men in home, community or the world. The way of life should be made up of both action and contemplation. The nature of virtue should not be doubted. For this reason, Academic Skepticism is to be rejected.[1]

In nine books *De principiis numerorum* Varro discussed the Pythagorean theory of numbers, a topic he found especially fascinating.

The *Logistorici* in 76 books confront the reader with riddles. The headings were made up of double titles, in the style of *Catus de liberis educandis*. The characters named in the titles were Varro's contemporaries, and in each case had a personal relationship to the topic in question (e.g. *Sisenna de historia*). These were presentations in the manner of popular philosophy, either in lecture form or following the model of the dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus.

8. The three books *De re rustica* have come down to us. The first treats agriculture, the second cattle, the third (according to Varro a novelty) the raising of small livestock such as birds, bees and fish.

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[1] No details are known of another treatise, *De forma philosophiae*.

9. Poems
Varro's principal literary work, his *Saturae Menippeae* in 150 books, served the purpose of edification with the means of entertainment.[1]

Sources, Models, and Genres

Varro was a compiler on the grand scale, a scholar with a passion for books. It was perhaps his ambition to exploit for his purposes all the literature available in his day. He reflected Hellenistic scholarship, but employed its methods partly on new topics. His works display a marked concern with systematization. He also studied documents, for example, in writing his *De poetis* and his works on the history of the theater.

An encyclopedic interest, characteristic of many Romans, finds in Varro its most perfect expression. Its Greek ancestry may be traced as far back as the Sophists.[2] For the *Disciplinae* perhaps Posidonius also was an intermediary.

Varro took over from all schools of philosophy whatever seemed worthwhile. The *Menippeae* represented a popular genre widespread also in the East, which may have first been given literary form by the Cynic Menippus of Gadara (first half of 3rd century B.C.). In them he exploited, among other sources, Cynic teachings. In his writings on literary history, he followed Peripatetic scholarship. Certain types of category favored by him have Stoic roots. The religious tinge of his philosophy is neo-Pythagorean and Posidonian.

In the *De lingua Latina*, Varro drew much from his teacher, the Stoic grammarian L. Aelius Stilo. Our author applied to Latin a Stoic theory of language, mixed with elements of Alexandrian scholarship and Peripatetic literary history. Another important predecessor was Accius.

Varro had attended the lectures of the Platonist Antiochus of Ascalon, in all likelihood between 84 and 82 B.C., but it was only in his late works, especially in the *De philosophia*, that Platonism made itself expressly visible. Academic philosophy, although of Philo's bent,

[1] Lost works include six books of *pseudotragoediae*, ten books of *poemata*, four books of *saturae* (perhaps to be distinguished from the *Menippeae*) and perhaps a work *De rerum natura*.

[2] Ps.-Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 285 D; Cic. *de orat.* 3. 127.

may have influenced the structure of the *De lingua Latina*. Varro transferred the Academic method of *disputare in utramque partem* to grammar. He first argues against the validity of etymology and then in its favor; first for anomaly and then for analogy. In each case there follows in a 3rd book, just as in Cicero, whose training was also Academic, his own opinion lying somewhere in between.

In the *De re rustica* Varro relies on Greek authors, and principally on a Greek translation of the treatise of the Carthaginian Mago, possibly in an edition by Cassius, abbreviated by a certain Diophanes. Latin sources were Cato and Tremelius Scrofa, whom he joined in making fun of the works in this field by the Sasernae. Apart from written sources, account must be taken of oral tradition and, even if to a smaller extent, of personal experience.

For the *De gente populi Romani*, the chief source was Castor of Rhodes who, in his six books of Χρονικά, tabulated accounts of eastern, Greek and Roman history down to 61–60 B.C. Varro shared his early starting point with Castor, and distinguished himself in this respect from his Roman predecessors Nepos and Atticus.

Dicaearchus' Βίος Ἑλλάδος, to judge by its title, may have provided a model for the *De vita populi Romani*.

Literary Technique

In the *De re rustica* Varro's aim is didactic. His work is based on a carefully thought out system of divisions,[1] from which the development departs only in minor details. More than Cato, he relies on books for his information. At the same time, he has literary purposes in view. He succeeds, thanks to the form of dialogue, in giving lively presentation to his topic, sometimes bordering on the comic manner, though without impairing his overall design.

Every book of the *De re rustica* has its proem, a technique also known from Cicero's dialogues and from Lucretius. Just as Virgil was soon to do, Varro appeals to the gods who are patrons of the farmer's world (*rust.* 1. 1). At this point, the literary procedure of the technical treatise coincides with that of the didactic poem. Varro actually goes one step further in adapting the names of the participants in the dialogue to the theme which they discuss.

[1] So, too, in the *De lingua Latina*, where in the Stoic fashion the division follows *locus, corpus, actio* and *tempus*.

The doctrine he imparts is presented in Platonic fashion as the report of a conversation, something without parallel in the literature of agriculture. But, departing from the Platonic manner, the author himself takes part in the conversation. In succession to the technique of the philosophical dialogue practiced by Aristotle and Dicaearchus, emphasis is given to continuous discourses. However, the literary trappings are more varied than in Cicero and there are more characters. The participants interrupt the speaker more often with their questions or challenges, thus signalling the transition to a fresh point. By contrast, polemics between the interlocutors are absent. In the *De re rustica*, Varro does not apply the *disputatio in utramque partem.*[1] His criticisms are reserved for earlier writers on agriculture.[2]

A basic feature of the *Menippea* is the mixture of prose and poetry,[3] an advantage compared with Lucilius, whose verses at times have a prosaic effect. Another characteristic mark is the fantastic form assumed by the various titles. Double titles, sometimes in both languages, sometimes only in Greek, are frequent. Above all, we find a vivid presentation of the subject, supported by an abundant use of quotations, proverbs and Greek words (cf. Language and Style below).

The literary framework of the pieces is highly imaginative. In the *Marcipor*, based on Menippus' *Icaromenippos*, a flight through the air ends in an abrupt fall (*frg.* 272 B.). In the *Eumenides*, human activities are viewed from a high vantage point (cf. Lucr. 2. 1–13). Other forms are the περίδειπνον (in the Ταφὴ Μενίππου) and the Symposium (in the *Agatho*, the *Papiapapae*, the *Quinquatrus*).

A difference from drama lies in the fact that, for all its liveliness, the action is not the center, but simply a pretext for satire or admonition.

Unlike the case in Lucilius, Varro's polemics are not personal, but general in scope.

The 'later' *Menippeae* prepare the way for the prose dialogues of the *Logistorici.* They use a double title, of which one half unambiguously denotes a thesis taken from popular philosophy (e.g. *Tithonus* περὶ γήρως), which may be compared with *Catus de liberis educandis.*

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[1] A different line is followed in the *De lingua Latina*, which however is not organized as a dialogue.

[2] S. esp. 1. 2.

[3] Cf. Lucian, *Bis accus.* 33; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 95; Probus on Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31.

Satire seems to be approximating to prose, treatises,[1] and the reader is reminded of Cicero's *Cato maior/de senectute.*

Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Gellius' report of a *Menippean* satire give us some idea of the structure of individual pieces. Philosophical and rhetorical structures may be observed in the only example from the *Menippeans,* which offers us a longer context: *homo, locus, tempus, res* (335 B.). This scheme, influenced by the Stoa, was also employed by Varro in the *De lingua Latina* and *Antiquitates.*

The introduction to the *Hebdomades* is rather well known from Gellius 3. 10. Again, its structure is determined by philosophical considerations, leading from the macrocosm through the microcosm—the human being—to artefacts and the rhythm of his personal life and literary output. Similarly, in the *De lingua Latina* (9. 23–30), first the Universe and then the human being help to illustrate the power of analogy.

Language and Style

The style of the *De lingua Latina* is simple. It might almost be called negligent, which in a work on the Latin language dedicated to Cicero is somewhat surprising.[2] The reason for this is that Varro adheres to the generic tradition of the textbook, and therefore we should avoid here any comparison with the great orator. Nevertheless, in the *De lingua Latina* the large role assigned to definitions enhances the antithetical character of his style The aim of clarity is also secured by rhetorical questions and images. It is particularly in the proems, the digressions and the comparisons that Varro's style makes a more polished impression than in the main body of his work.

The *De re rustica* and the *Menippeans* show stylistic finish. In the prefaces, for example, rhythmical clausulae are found. Examples in *rust.* 1. 1 are *esse properandum; -ciscar e vita.* But the abrupt conclusion at the end of the period is reminiscent of Cato: 1. 1 *si est homo bulla, eo magis senex.* A basic feature of the work is its Roman *brevitas.* As in Cato, in the didactic sections of the *De re rustica,* short sentences are juxtaposed without connection, in the style of jottings. At times, in the manner of spoken language, we find anacoloutha. Yet art is not absent. Periods may be sought in vain, but Varro is still speaking in

[1] P. L. Schmidt 1979.

[2] Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 195.

the old Latin fashion, and in allegiance to the *Hegesiae genus* (cf. Cic. *Att.* 12. 6. 1):[1] he uses corresponding cola and antitheses formed in strict parallel which encourage a style rich in maxims. In this stylistic tendency, Old Latin and Asianism converge.

In the *Menippeans*, Varro aims for pregnant expressions. Here, too, he avoids the period, combining stylistic trends of Old Latin with Asianism. There is much use of Greek and Latin proverbs. Plays on words accord with the manner of the Cynic preacher. The description of a corrupt Roman official deserves attention: *sociis es hostis, hostibus socius; bellum ita geris, ut bella (= pulchra) omnia domum auferas*, 'you are an enemy to your allies, an ally to your enemies, you wage the war to carry off homewards all beautiful things' (*frg.* 64 B.).

Here, Latin interspersed with Greek tags reflects the colloquial language of the period.

The language and style of the *Menippeans* are different from classical linguistic usage. Archaic and vulgar elements may be traced, although they do not justify the establishment of a stylistic law. The abstinence from any classicizing *delectus verborum* is characteristic. In the *Menippeans*, the rich use of images is part of the diatribe manner: 'a bowl set before a hungry man is a match for the fishponds of Naples' (*frg.* 160 B.). The *Menippeans* benefit from the traditions of *satura* and comedy. In his other works, too, Varro likes to make use of metaphors and proverbial turns of phrase.

Abstracts are personified: *Infamia* (*frg.* 123 B.), *cana Veritas, Atticae philosophiae alumna* (*frg.* 141 B.). We shall find the same technique in Varro's characterization of his own satires (cf. Ideas I).

Compared with Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, Varro's *Menippeans* are distinguished by their great metrical variety. In his use of hendecasyllables and galliambics, for example, Varro is a predecessor of Catullus.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature and Language

Varro's basic concern in all his works is Rome and he wants to be of benefit to the Romans. In the *De lingua Latina* he explores the meaning of old words not only to understand, but to apply them. In writing on analogy he is concerned not merely with theory, but with

[1] Hegesias from Magnesia in Lydia (mid-3rd century B.C.), chief representative of the older Asian style.

guidance for linguistic usage. For him the linguistic theories of the Stoic and Alexandrian schools are simply a means to an end. In his etymological studies he independently combines Stoic, Pythagorean and Alexandrian approaches, but also takes into account what is native, for instance, the 'Sabine' contribution. Being a *grammaticus* rather than a philosopher, he studies etymology in the context of the cultural history of his people. Thus it becomes an indispensable tool of his research into the Roman past. For this reason he pays homage to etymology not only in the *De lingua Latina*, but also in the *De re rustica*. Of all the ancient authors known to us, Varro both develops the clearest method of etymology and assigns it a specific function within his research. In defining the origin of Latin, Varro in the first instance joined others in accepting its 'Aeolic' origin. Later he came to emphasize the uniqueness of Latin and its gradual enrichment through borrowings from neighboring languages. Varro is also the creator of a Latin syntax.[1]

Varro certainly did not invent the dispute between the 'Analogists', who appealed to grammatical rules admitting no exceptions, and the 'Anomalists' who appealed to actual usage. But in this quarrel he tried to reconcile the conflicting ideas: he distinguished *declinatio naturalis* (analogy) from *declinatio voluntaria* (anomaly), and included them both on a list intended to assure the *Latinitas* of a particular expression.[2] In this synopsis, a neo-'Pythagorean' concern with symmetry and harmony is traceable. By his approach, Varro is providing the basis for research into the Latin language, attempting to do justice to its object from both a synchronous and diachronic point of view.

In his Menippean satire *Parmeno or Concerning Imitation*, Varro defines *poema*, *poesis* and *poetice* (*frg.* 398 B.). He lavishes a nuanced praise on the poets of Latin comedy: on Caecilius for plot, on Terence for character portrayal, on Plautus for dialogue (*frg.* 399 B.). In remarking that his model Menippus was cultivated enough to satify even the most educated by his delivery (*frg.* 517 B.), he gives an insight into his own ambitions.

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[1] M. Baratin, La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome, Paris 1989.

[2] *Depravata consuetudo* may be improved by *recta consuetudo*, the result of the beneficial effect of analogy. Linguistic innovations inspired by analogy are therefore admissible. They signify at the same time the recovery of old and uncorrupted treasures of language: W. Ax, Aristophanes von Byzanz als Analogist. Zu *frg.* 3. 7. 4 Slater (= Varro, *ling.* 9. 12), Glotta 68, 1990, 4–18.

In the *Menippeans* the allegiance to Menippus is programmatic, as already the title shows. Varro romanizes the content. He certainly 'follows after' Menippus, but without 'translating' him, as Cicero (*acad.* 1. 8) makes him tellingly remark: *Menippum imitati, non interpretati.* Gellius (2. 18. 7) would later even use the word *aemulari.*

The Cicero passage justifies the humorous garb, the mixture of jest and seriousness (σπουδογέλοιον) in a way reminiscent of Lucretius' image of the cup smeared with honey.[1] In this case the remarks put by Cicero in Varro's mouth reflect Varro's own views.

Varro calls his books his children (*frg.* 542–543 B.). Envy (φιλοφθονία) bore them to him, and the Menippean sect was their wetnurse. As guardians, the author appoints 'you Romans, who want to foster Rome's might and Latium's honor' (cf. Ennius *ann.* 466). This text is an example both of Varro's wry humor and of his view of his work as a gift to his people.

Ideas II

Varro possessed to an extraordinary degree that typical Roman zeal for learning and teaching ascribed by Cicero to the Elder Cato. His didactic and encyclopedic approach is significant and fruitful. In the *Disciplinae*, he established a canon of the liberal arts and gave it authoritative formulation. His *Antiquitates* embraced the totality of Roman cultural life. The encyclopedic principle may also be detected in the *De lingua Latina.* The treatment of Latin words and their origin is divided by factual topics and conceived as a kind of key to knowledge of the world around us. In sequence, heaven, earth, and what heaven and earth contain are 'put into words'. It does not matter whether (from a modern scholarly angle) the etymologies are 'right' or 'wrong'. The work is unique in the Latin language as a visual aid based on an appeal to facts. We are informed at first hand how an educated Roman experienced the words of his mother tongue, and through them, his world.

As a scholar Varro shows a practical and national bent. As developed by him, both features are un-Greek. His subject matter is Roman,

[1] *Quae ... quadam hilaritate conspersimus, multa admixta ex intima philosophia, multa dicta dialectice, quae quo facilius minus docti intellegerent, iucunditate quadam ad legendum invitati* (Cic. *acad.* 1. 8)

and it took a creative mind to manage the transfer of method. Varro is unlike the majority of technical writers who often report knowledge at second hand. He applied Greek methods of research to Roman matter, and in doing so was relatively 'original'.

While the Greeks concentrate mainly on Homer, Varro takes as his model the community of early Romans. He aims to have an effect. The good in the old is to be reclaimed for the present. Though elsewhere, too, he upbraids his contemporaries, he discovered in the *Menippean* satire an instrument he could use at Rome for social criticism. In the good old days of their unshaven (*frg.* 186 B.) fathers who smelled of onions and garlic, but who were *optime animati* (*frg.* 63 B.), young girls were not allowed to hear any *vocabula veneria* (*frg.* 11 B.). After a thirty-year absence abroad on military service, Varro comes back home as an 'Ulysses and a half' (*Sesculixes*), and finds himself a total stranger. In the *Sexagesis*, an ancient Rip van Winkle has the same experience.

A group of *Menippean* satires taken to be 'later'[1] goes beyond the typical themes of satire such as greed or ambition, reaching, for example, towards the topoi of the *consolatio* (*Tithonus on old age*) and the description of philosophical opinions (Περίπλους; Περὶ φιλοσοφίας. Λογομαχία; Περὶ αἱρέσεων). Cicero considered such works predecessors of his own philosophical writings (*acad.* 1. 9).

Varro the Roman felt himself attracted in many ways to the citizen of the world, Menippus. He was the *cynicus Romanus*. In particular, he was fascinated by Menippus' criticism of the present and of the false opinions of men, his preaching of the simple life (Περὶ ἐδεσμάτων) and the scorn for dogmatic philosophical schools. This leads him to describe the dispute between Stoics and Epicureans over the highest good as a fight over words (Λογομαχία, *frg.* 243 B.). The basis of his criticism however is not the same as that of Menippus. The latter rejected higher education in general, the Roman only what was useless for life. For him, the nature of man is more important than external nature: one *satura* is called Γνῶθι σεαυτόν ('know thyself!'). Virtue does not fall into the lap of man without practice and mental exertion. Even a horse is first entrusted to a *magister* for its training, and a flute player must practice long at home before he can appear in public (*frgg.* 559 and 561 B.). While Menippus puts

[1] P. L. Schmidt 1979.

emphasis on the negative, Varro aims to educate and improve his peers in order to assist Rome towards a rebirth.

Romanization is especially clear in the treatment of religion. Menippus and Lucian despise belief in the gods. Varro is pious in the Roman sense. The *bonus civis* must honor law and gods (*frg.* 265 B., cf. 537 B.). He critically views religious import like a festival of Attis (*frg.* 149 ff. B.) and the well-paid miraculous healings of Serapis (*frgg.* 152 and 128 B.). At the same time Varro accepts the rationalist doctrine, perhaps derived from the Stoa, that, among the three types of 'theology', only the philosophical one has a scholarly claim to truth. Myth and official religion remain valid in their spheres, but are at best only partially true. He explains the Roman gods in the fashion of Euhemerus as divinized men (*De gente populi Romani*). To indecorous myths he refuses assent.

As in theology, so also in the philosophy of history, Varro filled a Greek pattern of thought with Roman substance. He put the Romans in the context of the general history of civilization, following their race back into the very dawn of history, a typical Roman act of creating one's own past.

The division of history into primeval (before the Ogygian Flood), mythical and historical time is Hellenistic in inspiration. Historical time begins with the first Olympiad.[1]

To the good old days Varro looks back with a romantic sigh. As in his later scholarly works, in the *Menippean* satires too he pursues a didactic aim. In the *Sexagesis* (*frg.* 491 B.), after a sleep of fifty years, a man comes back to Rome to find there everything changed. In the *De vita populi Romani*, Rome itself is said to be aging (*frg.* 2. 66 Riposati). Perhaps the *De vita populi Romani* influenced the comparison of history with the ages of human life found in the history of Florus. There is a certain intellectual kinship with Sallust, although in Varro's view the year that sealed the decline of morals at Rome appears to have been not 146 but 133 B.C. This reflection on decline contrasts with a proud presentation of civilizasation's progress in the proems of the *De re rustica* with their allusion to Dicaearchus.

In his criticisms of contemporaries, Varro does not mince his words. Nowadays people sleep on ivory couches (*frg.* 434 B.), but most men

[1] *De gente populi Romani, frg.* 3 P. *apud* Censorin. 21. 1; provenance from *De gente* not certain.

are swine and the forum has become a pigsty (*frg.* 435 B.). The coarse image is intended perhaps to work by opposites in arousing the sense of *humanitas*. In the moral sphere, he expresses, differently from Lucilius, a positive opinion on marriage (*frg.* 167 B.; 482 B.). Of course he is scandalized by the daring hunting dresses in which Roman ladies have recently taken to appearing (*frg.* 301 B.).

Varro perhaps knew from Panaetius the principle of propriety (*aptum*), but rhetoric and the conventions of Roman society play their part in it. This is shown quite charmingly in the *Menippean* satire reported by Gellius (*frgg.* 333–341 B.): *No one knows what the late evening will bring.* The topics include suitable themes for conversation, appropriate reading and the proper number of guests: from three (the number of the Graces) to nine (the number of the Muses). The paraphrases suggest a Greek background. The Stoic paradox that all men without understanding—everybody, that is, apart from the wise man—are mad is discussed by Varro in his *Eumenides* (*frgg.* 117–165 B.). Varro was inclined towards Pythagoreanism, and was buried in accordance with Pythagorean rites. But it also led him to make jokes. Thus he remarked on the transmigration of souls: 'What? Are you uncertain whether you are long-tailed monkeys or adders?' (*frg.* 127 B.). In his *De philosophia*, Varro accepts the ethics and values of the Old Academy of Antiochus. This school combined a dogmatic strictness almost reminiscent of the Stoa with a realistic tolerance of worldly goods. Both these features appealed to our Roman author. The skepticism of Philon or Cicero was alien to him. It must nevertheless be self-evident in the case of a polymath that the wealth of material was not always matched by critical mastery. But Varro may not perhaps be denied a certain systematic attention and a didactic effort to select what was essential for Roman readers.

Transmission

The entire transmission of the preserved sections of the *De lingua Latina* rests on the Laurentianus LI 10, 11th century (F). The remaining manuscripts are derived from it and are needed at the place where in F meanwhile a quaternion has fallen out (5. 118–6. 61). For this portion of text the Munich copy of the *editio princeps* also has the value of a manuscript, since it contains old collations of F. Yet, from the outset, F is inaccurate. Lacunae and displacements already go back in many cases to the lost model of this manuscript.

A section on coins (5. 168 extr.–5. 174) is transcribed by Priscian and additionally preserved there. The most important manuscript is Parisinus 7496, 9th century, s. GL 3. 410–411.

The *De re rustica* has been transmitted along with Cato (s. above). The transmission rests on the lost Marcianus. In the Paris copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, Venetiis 1472, readings of the Marcianus have been entered by Politian. Victorius (Lyon 1541) also consulted the Marcianus, and his edition is therefore valuable. The oldest manuscript is the Parisinus 6842 A, 12th–13th century, which, in the view of Heurgon (s. under editions), possesses independent value. The Laurentianus 51, 4, 14th–15th century, also deserves mention.

Of the 150 books *Saturarum Menippearum*, about 90 titles and 600 fragments are preserved, mainly by the lexicographer Nonius.

Nonius is also our principal source for the *De vita populi Romani*. For the *Antiquitates* we have important witnesses: apart from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Virgil, Verrius, Pliny, Suetonius, Gellius, Festus, Macrobius, Nonius, Censorinus, grammarians and commentators, there are the Church Fathers, especially Augustine (for example, books 4, 6, and 7 of the *De civitate Dei*).

From the *Disciplinae* it seems that parts of the book *De geometria*, preserved in the writings of the surveyors, found their way to the Middle Ages.[1]

Influence

Varro gave decisive form to the picture of Roman literary history. One may adduce his biographies in the *De poetis*, regarded as authoritative by Suetonius, and the canon of the 21 comedies of Plautus. He acted as a source for later grammarians.

Varro was also for Rome the creator of a method of etymology. He had presented his material on the Latin language and Roman affairs by headings, but the Augustan writer Verrius Flaccus later gave it alphabetical order. In turn, in the 2nd century it was abbreviated by Festus and again in the Carolingian period by Paulus Diaconus.

Cicero created a memorial to Varro in the *Academica posteriora* (1. 8–9). Through his research into the *mores maiorum*, Varro became a pioneer of the Augustan restoration. It was from him that Virgil and Ovid drew their knowledge of early Roman history. Greeks like Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch relied on him.

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[1] C. Thulin, Die Handschriften des *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, Abh. Ak. Wiss. Berlin 1911, phil.-hist. Kl., Anhang, Abh. 2, 16, 41.

As a scholar and antiquarian, Varro found no learned successor to match him. He was regarded as the beginning and end of Roman studies in this field, *doctissimus Romanorum*. At the most he was faulted for lacking stylistic excellence.[1]

Just as pagans like Suetonius and Gellius built on his work,[2] so did Christians, such as Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine.[3] For them Varro served both as authority for Roman religion and as a target for criticism.

The *Disciplinae* were perhaps Varro's most influential work. Their significance for technical writing was incalculable. Vitruvius' handbook *De architectura* also shows Varronian influence.

The *De re rustica* had less influence than the antiquarian works. The fact of its preservation lures the reader onto a false trail. Virgil in the *Georgics* relies partly on Varro. Columella and other writers on agriculture, in spite of many agreements with Varro, go back to Cassius or Diophanes. In the Middle Ages, Petrus de Crescentiis (about 1305) was the most zealous user of the *De re rustica.*

Seneca and Petronius employ the Menippean form. The composer of the *Menippeae* is called by Tertullian the *Romanus cynicus* (*apol.* 14. 9), the *Romani stili Diogenes* (*nat.* 1. 10. 43). Martianus Capella and Boethius transmitted to the Middle Ages this literary form, influential for the lessons it taught. In the literature of the modern period, the Menippean satire, especially in English-speaking countries, plays an important part, although Lucian has better claims than Varro to be counted among the ancestors of the modern genre. The theme of the *Sexagesis*—a sleep of several decades—is still found in Washington Irving's (d. 1859) *Rip van Winkle.*

By his many-sided activity Varro made an essential contribution to the Romans' identity, including their picture of history. In spite of the loss of his most important works, his significance may still be recognized. Petrarch (d. 1374) describes Varro, at the side of Cicero and Virgil, as the *terzo gran lume romano* (*Triumphus Fame* 3. 38), certainly an exaggeration, but a healthy corrective to the wall of silence surrounding an author who is more used than cited.

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[1] Dion. Hal. *ant.* 2. 21; Sen. *Helv.* 8. 3; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 95; 12. 11. 24; Apul. *apol.* 42; Gell. 4. 16. 1; Aug. *civ.* 6. 2; Terent. Maur., GL 6, 409.

[2] E.g. Verrius Flaccus, Pliny the Elder, Macrobius, Censorinus, Servius.

[3] Isidore of Seville transmitted Varronian material to the Middle Ages.

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ROMAN JURISTS

General Remarks

Juristic literature is one of the Romans' most original, influential, and long-lasting creations. To begin, let us mention some of its general characteristics.

It is only to a small extent that statutes (*leges*) and senatorial decrees were sources of law. The decisive contribution to the creation of law was made by legal scholars,[1] in company with the magistrates[2] and emperors whom they advised. A special weight attaches to imperial acts of creation of law and jurisdiction. Law was something that grew. It developed in different layers, yet, within a social framework tacitly taken for granted, a consciousness of continuity was preserved.

Juristic literature in the strict sense, whose types are to be individually discussed later, is the work of experts. Initially, their efforts were concentrated on the decision of individual cases and the commentaries they produced on relevant texts, guided by practical need. In the course of development, textbooks and collections[3] increasingly prepared the way for a systematization of the laws, even though this had only limited scope. Yet it was this which was to be essential for the reception of Roman law by posterity.

The focus of interest was frequently provided by the concerns of the individual person—an intellectual discovery of the Romans—and the protection of private property. Questions of public law were still given thorough treatment in the 2nd century B.C., but after the Civil War and the establishment of the monarchy they took second place, only to emerge in the later period in particular areas. The fact that it was largely limited to private law, which threatened less political danger, allowed the survival of jurisprudence under the Empire.

Finally, Roman law, as demanded by the complex business relationships of the Romans, early passed beyond the circle of Roman

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[1] In all sections on juristic literature, the author would like to thank Detlef Liebs and Christina Martinet for valuable advice. Law created by jurists is already in the Republican period regarded by Cicero (*top.* 28) as part of *ius civile*. On the problems Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 496–497 with note 25.

[2] The law established by the praetors was progressive insofar as its adaptation to practical need gradually superannuated the old concerns with form and ritual. *Inter alia*, material ethical considerations contributed to the refinement of old Roman notions such as *bona fides* and *fraus*, perhaps not without the creative influence of Hellenistic παιδεία.

[3] In the shape which it received subsequently through the great collections of late antiquity, Roman law became the basis of law in modern Europe; F. Wieacker, Privatrechtsgeschichte der Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Entwicklung, Göttingen, 2nd ed. 1967; G. Wesenberg, Neuere deutsche Privatrechtsgeschichte im Rahmen der europäischen Rechtsentwicklung, Wien, 4th ed. (rev.) 1985.

citizens[1] (*ius gentium*). This forced it to outgrow purely national limitations in its attitude, and at least in its approach to take account of humanity in general, even to the extent of including natural law.[2] This development could not fail to have an effect in turn on strictly Roman law, and this facilitated both a definition of the Romans' own point of view and later its transference to other cultures.

The high point of Roman jurisprudence in the 2nd century A.D. coincided with the rule of enlightened Roman emperors concerned with a humane legal order. The activity of the classical and late classical jurists made the practice of those rulers the norm. The fact that many declarations of Roman law were in content marked by the progressive spirit of that period explains the constant rediscovery of the liberating power of Roman law by later generations.

Greek Background

The juristic literature of the Romans draws to a far less extent than other Roman intellectual developments on Greek sources. The very approach is different. In Greece, it was the law of the *polis* that was cherished. In Rome, the legal system centered around the person.[3]

Admittedly, the notion of the codification of law is Greek in origin. The period of dawning literacy and the establishment of the secular states witnessed at Athens the legislation of Dracon (about 624 B.C.) and Solon (594/593 B.C.), and on Crete the city code of Gortyn (mid-5th century B.C.). Likewise about 450 B.C. at Rome were published the *Twelve Tables*. After a period when law was still being formulated, the plebeians succeeded in securing the appointment of a Commission of Ten, entrusted with writing down and publishing the law. It thus became binding upon the community, which now had the means of testing whether it had been observed. At the drawing up of the *Twelve Tables*, ambassadors are alleged to have been sent to Athens.[4] At the very least the influence of Magna Graecia may be supposed.

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[1] From 242 B.C. to A.D. 212 Rome had *praetores inter (cives et) peregrinos*.

[2] In such reflections, certain approaches characteristic of the Roman legal mind were at the same time made explicit under Greek influence (s. Ideas II).

[3] On the implicit relation to the polis found in Roman law, s. Ideas II.

[4] Liv 3. 31. 8; 3. 32. 6; Dionys. 10. 52; G. Ciulei, Die XII Tafeln und die römische Gesandtschaft nach Griechenland, ZRG 64, 1944, 350–354; J. Delz, Der griechische Einfluß auf die Zwölftafelgesetzgebung, MH 23, 1966, 69–83; Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 300–304.

It is more important for the development and universal significance of Roman law that, when it first came to grips in a scholarly way with its material, particularly in the late Republican period, this was part of a process that certainly showed the influence of Greek thought, but was also surprisingly independent. The material was organized along lines comparable with the system of rhetoric,[1] which meant that it could be scrutinized and learned. An appeal to general standards like *bona fides* and *aequius melius* made it possible for Roman law to find general acceptance. This may be traced back to the influence of Hellenistic scientific method and intellectual concepts marked by Stoicism making possible the use of clear generic terms. But these are only general categories. For the specific achievement of the Romans in jurisprudence there is no direct Greek model.

Roman Development

Originating from the activity of the *pontifices*, and preserved by them, law gradually freed itself from its sacral[2] beginnings. A first general legislation was completed with the *Twelve Tables* (s. below, Juristic Literature of the Republican Period). From the Republican period, about 700 further laws are known. An essential contribution aiding their adaptation to changing circumstances was made by the edicts of magistrates in the exercise of their legal authority. Principally however, the further development of Roman law was owed to the *responsa*

[1] J. Stroux (Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik, Potsdam 1949) argues with some degree of probability that the legal principles expressed in the *Digests* do not derive from the late period, but were developed in classical times under the influence of Roman rhetorical theory and educational practice. Already in the 2nd century B.C., jurists made tentative steps towards a 'systematic' approach to individual phenomena (there were discussions as to how many *genera furti* and *genera tutelarum* existed). Later there was a lost treatise of Cicero *De iure civili in artem redigendo* (Cic. *de orat.* 1. 87; Gell. 1. 22. 7; G. La Pira, La genesi del sistema nella giurisprudenza romana. L'arte sistematrice, BIDR 42, 1934, 336–355; H. J. Mette, *Ius civile in artem redactum*, Göttingen 1954). But even if the *scientia* of the *iuris periti* was available relatively early (Pomp. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 35), the classical period of law, that of the normative formulations, lies along with the *Digesta* of Juventius Celsus and Salvius Julianus as well as the *Institutiones* of Gaius in the 2nd century A.D. Rhetorical categories (Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 662–675) exercised an influence *inter alia* on the *quaestio facti*, and the rhetorical *topica* affected the development of ideas and rules (ibid. 51). Grammatical and linguistic theory principally modified the interpretation of texts (ibid. 653–660).

[2] R. Düll, Rechtsprobleme im Bereich des römischen Sakralrechts, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 283–294.

given by great jurists, who at first belonged to the senatorial class.

A new period of jurisprudence began about the turn of the 1st century B.C., when a higher level of intellectual understanding was reached. Conversely, with the transition to the principate, no initial breach occurred in development. The great Servius Sulpicius Rufus was still a senator.

But already in the 1st century B.C. the number of knights among the *iuris consulti* had been increasing. Often, they were members of prominent families from Italian provincial towns. In Augustus' time and later, the emperors succeeded in forging ever closer links with the jurists. At first, it was jurists of the senatorial class who received from the princeps the *ius respondendi*. The competence of the senate as court of law and of senatorial decrees was broadened. But, as a consequence of the scope given by Claudius to the freedmen of his household, the imperial *consilium* gained in importance (98–180 A.D.), and was increasingly staffed by imperial officials from the *equites*, among whom jurists played an important part. Accordingly, from the 2nd century A.D. on, more and more legal scholars followed, rather than that of senators,[1] the career of knights,[2] who stood closer to the emperor than to the senate. The crisis of the Empire in the 3rd century entailed also a decline in juridic literature. The spread of Roman citizenship, culminating in 212 with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, ensured the development of Roman law into the law of the Empire. It continued to show the strong influence of the enlightened humanism of the emperors of the 2nd century.

Late antiquity witnessed the culmination of the Dominate under Diocletian and Constantine, and introduced a new phase. Imperial legislation monopolized law; beginning with Constantine, jurists could write only under classical pseudonyms or in the name of the emperor. Jurists were commissioned by the emperors to draw up the great collections of texts which later served as the basis for European law. The classicism of Justinian's codification denoted both a conclusion and a new beginning.

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[1] A senatorial career was still followed by Juventius Celsus (consul iterum A.D. 129) and Salvius Julianus (consul A.D. 148), the latter perhaps the greatest of jurists.

[2] Examples are Volusius Maecianus (*praefectus Aegypti* ca. A.D. 161), Cervidius Scaevola (*praefectus vigilum* A.D. 175), Papinianus (d. A.D. 212), Julius Paulus and Ulpian (time of the Severi), Modestinus (*praefectus vigilum* about 228: D. Liebs, ZRG 100, 501).

Literary Technique[1]

Often only an indirect picture may be formed of the shape of juristic writings. None of the principal works has survived in its entirety, and we possess only the *Institutiones* of Gaius, a textbook for beginners. All other information—if exceptions s. p. 1507, n. 4 are discounted—must be derived from quotations in the *Digests* or *Pandects* assembled from older sources under Justinian. The following types may be distinguished:

Casuistic writings, particularly characteristic of the Romans, include the collections of *responsa*, attested with certainty from Neratius on. Originally, a *responsum* contained only the statement of the facts and the (unexplained) decision. Later, in Papinianus, a justification is given, even though only in brief form.

Letters (introduced by Labeo or, at the latest, Proculus) and works with titles, emphasizing the variety of their content,[2] are especially loose forms. They range from simple *responsa* to letters setting forth theory.

Quaestiones[3] or *Disputationes*[4] deal more closely with concrete cases and individual questions of law than would be possible within the framework of a *responsum*.

Collections of decisions (*sententiae, decreta*) rather unexpectedly play only a subordinate role, unless they are concerned with imperial rulings.[5]

Digesta draw together the achievements of a particular author or school within a single work. Writings of this kind had existed since the late Republican period.[6]

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[1] The category 'Literary Technique' is here appropriately filled by the description of the most important types of treatment. An excellent discussion by D. LIEBS in: FUHRMANN, LG 195–208. On the different genres of juristic texts, cf. WIEACKER, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 53–54 with note 73.

[2] *Coniectanea* (Alfenus Varus), *Membranae* (Neratius), *Variae lectiones* (Pomponius), *Pithana* (Labeo), *Bene dicta* (Cascellius).

[3] Modelled on ζητήματα, appearing from the 2nd century on, composed by Celsus, Africanus, Cervidius Scaevola, Papinianus, Tertullianus, and Paulus.

[4] By Tryphoninus and Ulpian (time of the Severi).

[5] Aristo, *Decreta Frontiana* [MOMMSEN: Frontiniana] (under Trajan); Paulus, *Libri VI imperialium sententiarum in cognitionibus prolatarum*.

[6] Aufidius Namusa, from the school of Servius Sulpicius (consul 51 B.C.), published 140 books of Digests, and Alfenus Varus (consul suff. 39 B.C.) 40 books. What is preserved from the latter creates a particularly lively and original impression. In the 2nd century A.D., Pomponius put out *Digesta ab Aristone*, Celsus published

A further type is made up of *commentaries*, showing the influence of literary models. The Hellenistic world knew of commentaries on poets, orators, philosophical and medical writers. Their form was modelled either on the detailed, continuous *hypomnema*, or on the *scholia* introduced at individual points, originally brief but later mushrooming out of control.

To the first group belong *commentaries on laws and edicts*. Interpretations were added to the law of the *Twelve Tables*, thereby ensuring its further development. Aelius Sextus made a beginning, and on the *Twelve Tables* Labeo wrote at least two books. The *Commentaries on the Edict* of Servius Sulpicius Rufus consisted of two volumes, the two written by Labeo of at least sixty volumes each. It was this great jurist who set his mark on the form of the commentary.

A similar growth is seen in the interpretations of the praetorian edict,[1] and even in those of the edicts of provincial governors.[2] Such commentaries began by quoting the passage to be explained: 'The praetor says . . .' Then an explanation was added: 'This means . . .' A question arising from the context could then be formulated and answered with the phrase 'I think that . . .' Some commentators indulged in long digressions (Paulus), while others adhered more closely to the basic text (Ulpian).

Conversely, *Commentaries on the Writings of the Jurists*[3] mirrored in the first instance the brevity of scholia. Often they were *notae* of critical import. Such works were treated in theoretical instruction, since, for the Romans, law depended not least on the authority of recognized jurists. Practical need in the schools gave rise to the commented epitome.[4]

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39 books and the famous Julianus 90 (about A.D. 150). Along with the discussion of individual cases in such works could be mingled theoretical and explanatory material.

[1] In the 2nd century such juristic works became even more lengthy. S. Pedius wrote at least 25 books (about 50) and Pomponius at least 83 (about 150). In the late classical period, Paulus wrote 78 books and Ulpian 81 (these were taken up into the Digests).

[2] Gaius (30 books), Callistratus (under Septimius Severus: 6 books), Furius Anthianus (later 3rd century: at least five books).

[3] 1st century B.C.: Servius Sulpicius, *Reprehensa Scaevolae capita* or *Notata Mucii*; 1st century A.D.: Proculus (on Labeo's *Posteriora*); the late classical writers Marcellus, Cervidius Scaevola, Ulpian, and Paulus respond to classical works such as Julian's *Digesta* and Papinianus' *Responsa*.

[4] *Labeonis posteriorum a Iavoleno epitomatorum libri X, Labeonis pithanôn a Paulo epitomatorum libri VIII.* Javolenus, Neratius, and Pomponius published *Ex Plautio libri V* or *VII*, Julianus *Ex Minicio libri VI*.

From the time of Pomponius and the late classical period of jurisprudence, even commentaries on the writings of the jurists became more detailed.[1] The basic text, unlike the case with the non-legal commentary, was no longer the center of attention. It simply provided an occasion for explaining a matter of private law in the light of the needs of the day, or for developing a personal line of argument.

Textbooks presuppose a less specialized approach, and, instead, a sense of independent, systematic ordering of the material and a minimum of literary shaping. They first arose after the intellectual horizon of the Romans began to be widened by contact with Greek culture.[2] A first highpoint was marked by the *Iuris civilis libri XVIII* of Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex (consul 95 B.C.). This noble and educated jurist, an embodiment of the best side of the Roman spirit, benefited from Stoic theory of knowledge for his legal definitions;[3] his steps towards a system of law were a lasting contribution.

Classical authority was gained by the *Ius civile* of Masurius Sabinus, written in the reign of Tiberius and comprising only three books. The title *Ius civile* was last used by C. Cassius Longinus (consul 30 A.D.) and later gave way to that of *Regulae* (from Neratius on, who was active under Trajan). Each of the authors known to us orders his matter differently and there is great independence. The only work preserved, that by Gaius, written in Berytos about 160, is an introduction for beginners (*Institutionum libri IV*), but in its overall structure it must have followed the *Regularum libri XV* of Neratius. The systematization of details has been carried astonishingly far; so far as may be judged, this seems to be owed to Gaius.[4] The textbooks of rhetoric may in this area have served as model.[5]

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[1] The *Ius civile* of Masurius Sabinus was the object of commentaries by late classical writers in an increasing number of books. Ulpian planned 68 books; 51 came down to us unfinished (*Libri ad Sabinum*).

[2] M. Porcius Cato Licinianus (died around 152 B.C.), the son of the censor, composed *Commentarii iuris civilis*. M. Junius Brutus (mid-2nd century B.C.) wrote *Libri III de iure civili* in the form of a dialogue.

[3] He also wrote a Liber singularis Orwn. His principal work was the object of several commentaries down to the 2nd century A.D.

[4] A corrected and expanded version in seven books (*Res cottidianae sive aurea*) was less well received.

[5] *Institutiones* were also composed by Callistratus (around A.D. 200) and Florentinus (later 3rd century), both perhaps also in Berytos. Previously at Rome Pomponius (mid-2nd century A.D.) had published in more modest compass *Enchiridii libri II.*

Monographs discuss special cases related to some limited field but surprisingly often refrain from carefully considering all relevant aspects of a particular question. At first whole areas were treated, such as sacred law, especially that of the pontifices and augurs, and more rarely individual points of private law.[1] In the Imperial period sacred and public law was at the beginning less prominent. From the 2nd century on, the scope of these treatises was widened, at first still within the framework of private law, but then with the addition of public criminal law and the law of administration, tax and the military. We find collections and analyses of previous practice, particularly of Imperial rulings. In spite of occasional refinement in juristic insight, the literary significance of such works is slight.

Language and Style

The language of the jurists[2] is clear, long preserving a refreshing freedom from fashionable trends. It is not an esoteric jargon that is on display ('legal Latin'), but the simple Latin normal in other types of technical literature. Such Latin is often impersonal and does not avoid trite phrases. Colloquial elements,[3] the result of a certain carelessness or, as in the case of *responsa*, to be regarded as the traces of a venerable oral style, keep within reasonable bounds.

Juristic literature is distinguished from other technical prose by its particular terminology and the frequency of fixed turns such as *idem iuris est...*, *idem placet de...* Certain archaisms may be understood as fitting ornament, or perhaps better as a quasi-natural expression of the dignity of the subject.

The language of the laws was for long marked by that of the *Twelve Tables*, which were committed to memory. For this reason, it shows a partial use of archaisms, which were not an artistic manner-

Later, Paulus and Ulpian each produced two books and Marcianus sixteen books of *Institutiones*. The *Pandectae* of Ulpian and Modestinus were also textbooks.

[1] Manius Manilius and Ofilius (handbooks on the drawing up of contracts and wills), Servius Sulpicius (dowry).

[2] H. L. W. Nelson, Überlieferung, Aufbau und Stil von Gai *Institutiones*, Leiden 1981, 395–423, esp. 423.

[3] Anacoloutha, redundancies and similar features. On the difference between the original orality and the post-classical revision: D. Liebs, Römische Rechtsgutachten und Responsorum libri, in: G. Vogt-Spira, ed., Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur, Tübingen 1990, 83–94.

ism but a spontaneous tribute to the power of tradition. In his *De legibus*, Cicero himself used archaizing color to lend authority to the legal texts he had composed; this literary technique reflected the moral authority of legal language.

Certain archaisms spring from the official language of proceedings before the senate and courts, dependent as it was on tradition. A degree of stiffness and prolixity marks turns such as *diem, quo die*, with the unnecessary repetition of the antecedent in the relative clause enhancing the impression of precision. Exhaustive doublings, often with a solemn *atque*, are meant to prevent misinterpretations, but occasionally create an impression of redundance.

Individual features yield only to closer examination. Sometimes especially shrewd jurists seem also to be distinguished by their thoughtful treatment of language, though no rule may be derived from this practice. Celsus writes in a condensed and lucid form, with much use of aphorisms; Julian is simple and elegant. Gaius is pleasing and clear; Papinianus packed with thought, willful and baffling.[1] Yet in the Holmesian analysis of stylistic footprints, moderation must be observed. For example, the search for Graecisms in Gaius has not led to any convincing conclusions, so that his language in this respect allows no deductions about his origin.[2] Nor is closeness to Cicero a criterion. It guarantees neither the Italian nor (if it is taken as slavish lack of independence) the non-Italian origin of the author.Only in the late period would Rhetoric[3] exert an undue influence on the jurists' style—to the detriment of exactness.

Ideas I

The opinion which the Roman jurists had of themselves oscillated between two extremes, great modesty and presumption.

[1] Gaius, governed by pedagogic considerations, avoids variation in the form of synonyms (L. Huchthausen, ed., Römisches Recht, Berlin 1989, 3rd ed., p. xxvi); on the idioms used by Papinianus: Wieacker, Textstufen 337–339; on the style of Ulpian, ibid. 267–270; Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 168–169; T. Honoré, Ulpian, Oxford 1982, 47–85; 204–248; D. Liebs, Gnomon 56, 1984, 444–445; 449.

[2] H. L. W. Nelson ibid. 416–417; reserves in D. Liebs, Gnomon 55, 1983, 124.

[3] Wieacker, Textstufen 429–431 (dialogic question, *occupatio*, anaphora, deinosis, reflecting the style of Constantine's chancellery). Quite different from this negative influence is the more positive effect of the systematic division found in rhetorical textbooks.

In the light of the large part played by the jurists and their decisions in the evolution of Roman law, it is surprising that, in the first instance, they seem to consider themselves rather as interpreters than as creators of law. Cicero already in the Republican period explicitly counts the *auctoritas iurisconsultorum* as part of *ius civile* (*top.* 28; cf. Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 5), and in the classical period uncontested decisions of the jurists (*veterum consensus*) had long enjoyed binding force. Legend has it that even the great Salvius Julianus, with exemplary modesty, saw his life's work down to his last breath as only that of a learner (Dig. 40. 5. 20).

On the other hand the Roman jurists of the later period, although they were merely specialists, felt themselves as true priests and philosophers (Dig. 1. 1. 1).[1] Such arrogance had an advantage: it kept them from ever taking the last step towards limitation within their specialized field, and the resort to legal positivism. Even Papinianus, who is far from raising priestly claims, believed that behavior contradicting *pietas* and *boni mores* was simply impossible for 'us' (obviously all those subject to law, including, of course, the jurists: Dig. 28. 7. 15). He proved this by his death.[2] The deeper basis for such a view of their activity on the part of jurists lay in a double claim made by the Roman legal system. Since for pagans the *res publica* had a sacral character, the jurists, far removed though their secularized science was from its pontifical beginnings, could describe themselves metaphorically as 'priests' of Iustitia, thought of as a goddess. Iustitia is both the supreme and most comprehensive virtue. Insofar as the jurists in the Roman empire, which as a universal state enjoyed cosmic importance, were concerned with realizing justice, they were therefore—in Plato's sense—'philosophers'.

This self-confidence on the part of the epigones may be traced quite far back to its original impulse. Cicero demanded from the

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[1] The three duties of the old Roman jurists—*agere, cavere, respondere*—are in fact closely linked with the *leges* (Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 497); cf. also D. Nörr, *Iurisperitus sacerdos*, in: Xenion, FS P. J. Zepos, Athens, Freiburg 1973, 1, 555–572. The fact that Ulpian, who raises the priestly claim, was personally no angel is another matter; M. J. Schermaier, Ulpian als 'wahrer Philosoph', in: *Ars boni et aequi.* FS W. Waldstein, Stuttgart 1993, 303–322; W. Waldstein, Zum Problem der *vera philosophia* bei Ulpian, in: Collatio iuris Romani. Etudes dédiées à H. Ankum, Amsterdam 1995, 607–617.

[2] An impressive defense of the equality of all those subject to law and against misuse of power, influence, and tricks is found in: Paulus *dig.* 39. 6. 3; 47. 2. 92; Ulp. *dig.* 47. 10. 13. 7; 48. 5. 14. 5.

statesman a mastery of Roman law (*de orat.* 1. 166–202), and in his *De re publica* set legislators higher than philosophers on the grounds that what philosophers conveyed laboriously to a few was imposed by legislators on whole peoples. The supreme ruler received correspondingly higher rank. As early as here, there is an explicit reference to *ius publicum* (*rep.* 1. 2). Going beyond this, in his *De oratore* Cicero allows the great jurist Scaevola to present arguments which in the late Republican period (and later) were prevalent among jurists. The founders and saviors of states were not mere orators, but men of wisdom no matter if they possessed a ready tongue or not. For example, Scaevola declares that in his own family knowledge of the law was now a long tradition. He proudly adds: *sine ulla eloquentiae laude* (Cic. *de orat.* 1. 35–44; esp. 39). Indeed the authority of a legal scholar of the Republic carried great weight when heredity and expertise were combined.

In this way the jurists' conviction of their own importance, soon reinforced by their close ties to the emperor and the irrelevance of the political speech, was anticipated already in the late Republican period.

Ideas II

Juridical thought at Rome was concerned at its outset with the judgment of the particular case. The development of definitions and the systematization of Roman law could not have taken the form they did without an encounter with Greek thought. But they show far greater independence than is to be observed in other areas of Roman intellectual life.

The process of putting law into a system begins relatively late. At the time when the majority of the literary works studied in this book were written, Roman law was not the fixed system into which it has been turned since the late Middle Ages, but a piece of life. Every Roman's daily round was filled with experiences of law and, in their turn, these were connected with the *mores maiorum*. Consequently, knowledge of legal ideas is indispensable even for the understanding of formal literature.

Roman law rests in the first instance on a number of indigenous notions lying between law and morals.[1] They were rooted in living

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[1] On some of these cf. the introductory section above on 'Mentality.' In general, Schulz, Prinzipien.

practice and may only be understood from that aspect. *Boni mores*, the *mores maiorum*, were an important touchstone in the *ius civile*. What contradicts these lies under a ban.[1] Conversely, Romans were well aware that not everything was moral that was permissible.[2]

Originally the basic notions *ius* and *fas* did not describe an opposition between two different norms, human and divine law. Both related to the admissibility of a specific piece of behavior ('seisin'). *Fas* denotes the general availability of the basic presuppositions. *Ius* is, in a given case, the full scope of action within the area of what is permissible.[3] Even the boundaries between *iustum* and *aequum* are shifting; there is no antithesis, since the latter refers to legal behavior in a given context, originally in the sense of *iustitia commutativa*.

Later, according to Celsus (*apud* Ulp. *dig.* 1. 1. 1 pr.), *ius* is *ars boni et aequi*, the good and proper ordering of human relations. Subsequently, much was interpreted in the light of Greek thought. Thus Ulpian (*dig.* 1. 1. 1 *pr.*) derives *ius* from *iustitia*, although the latter word came to play a role rather late and only as an equivalent of δικαιοσύνη. *Aequitas* is equated with ἐπιείκεια. Paulus (*dig.* 1. 1. 11; cf. Ulpian, *dig.* 1. 1. 1. 3) defines principles of action found everywhere (even in animals) as natural law[4] (*cum id, quod semper aequum ac bonum est, ius dicitur, ut est ius naturale*, 'while right [or: law] is called what is always just and good, like the natural right [law]'). Gaius appeals to the natural reason common to all peoples (*dig.* 1. 1. 9), while Justinian appeals (*inst.* 1. 2. 11) to divine *providentia*.

Unlike Greek law, which is always related to the *polis*, Roman law rests on private law.[5] This derivation from the person corresponds to the fact that, in a special way, the Romans discovered human will.

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[1] For example, settlement of succession, Dig. 45. 1. 61.

[2] Paulus *dig.* 50. 17. 144 *pr. non omne, quod licet, honestum est.* S. also Mod. *dig.* 50. 17. 197.

[3] *Ius* and *fas* converge (Isid. *orig.* 5. 2. 2; Serv. *georg.* 1. 269; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 2. 12. 20); O. Behrends, *Ius* und *ius civile.* Untersuchungen zur Herkunft des *ius*-Begriffs im römischen Zivilrecht, Sympotica. FS F. Wieacker, 1970, 11–58; also G. Dumézil, La religion romaine archaïque, Paris 1966, 138–139.

[4] L. Wenger, Naturrecht und römisches Recht, Wissenschaft und Weltbild 1, 1948, 148–150; H. Krimm, Das Naturrecht und seine Bedeutung für die römische Rechtsordnung, AU 8, 1, 1965, 61–75; on natural law even before Celsus cf. Cicero (*rep.* and *leg.*); W. Waldstein, Naturrecht bei den klassischen römischen Juristen, in: Das Naturrechtsdenken heute und morgen. Gedächtnisschrift für R. Marcic, Berlin 1983, 239–253.

[5] On what follows, R. Marcic, Geschichte der Rechtsphilosophie. Schwerpunkte—Kontrapunkte, Freiburg 1971, 211–221.

This is the source of power (*auctoritas, imperium, maiestas*) and of freedom (*libertas*),[1] and particularly the material source of law (*lex*). The significance of will is evident in subjective private law (wills, property, contracts, *patria potestas*). All this does not of course mean that Roman law had exclusively selfish aims and so was a kind of stage on the road to capitalism.

The Roman jurists in fact, in spite of the high value they set on the uniqueness of the individual as a subject, did not become voluntarists, nominalists or positivists in law and morals. They acknowledged neither a merely *formal* definition of law, nor the notion that law could have any content whatsoever, provided it was produced correctly. Although Roman jurists are happily disinclined to lofty language, they accept in the last analysis no positive law not dependent on a 'pre-positive' law. Natural law and the *ius gentium* make their appearance at the beginning of the *Institutio* of Gaius as at that of the Digests. Positive law must be controlled by the standard of *boni mores*.[2] Q. Mucius Scaevola justifies the *bonae fidei*[3] *iudicia*, developed from the Roman system of values, in the light of the human *societas vitae* (Cic. *off.* 3. 70). This belief in a system of law worthy of safeguard and serving to unite the community is more than a mere expression of the dependence of jurists on the emperor. In principle, even the ruler is subject to the law,[4] and this in spite of the force of law enjoyed by his edicts. The Empire in concept was a state governed by law. Its inhabitants could easily compare it with the Stoic *consociatio humana*.[5] So it was that in Roman law reason took

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[1] *Libertas* was originally the freedom of one person from the dominance of another, *libertas publica* the active enjoyment of participation by the citizen in the sovereignty of the *populus*. It also implies the protection of the citizen against illegal treatment on the part of officials (Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 379 with bibliography).

[2] The πάτριος νόμος resembles customary law. On the limited applicability of this concept, Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 499–502.

[3] *Bona fides* was at first the basis for legal dealings with non-Romans (the *ius gentium* from the outset was a *ius aequum*). Within the framework of property transactions, principles of the *ius gentium* influenced the *ius civile*; Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 442–443; 449; 453–454.

[4] *Digna vox maiestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate iuris nostra pendet auctoritas. Et revera maius imperio est submittere legibus principatum* (edict of Theodosius and Valentinian of June 11, 429, cod. Iust. 1. 14. 4). This is an important corrective to *princeps legibus solutus* and *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem* (Ulp. *dig.* 1. 3. 31; *Inst.* 1. 2. 6; Ulp. *dig.* 1. 4. 1).

[5] Rutilius Rufus and Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex had links to the Stoic Posidonius. Cicero was influenced by all three (cf. e.g. *off.* 3. 69, though the language here is admittedly Platonic).

precedence over will, and, in case of doubt, the principle of utility, at least in theory, had to give way to that of legality.[1]

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[1] In seeking in the *De Marcello* to compel Caesar to accept the framework of the laws defining the *res publica,* Cicero was clearly defending a quite basic legal maxim, even from the point of view of later Roman law.

JURIDICAL LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD[1]

Beginnings

In early times, knowledge of the law rested in the hands of definite groups of priests.[2] It was they who prescribed the terms and conditions on which successful legal dealings with the gods depended, and it was the *pontifices* who took charge of the calendar (*dies fasti*). The practice of Roman law is dominated by oral tradition and symbolic action. This appears from the relevant vocabulary.[3] Words whose derivations suggest written form (e.g. *praescriptio*) are late. By contrast, Attic law depends upon written indictment, documentary evidence, and recorded statements by witnesses. At Rome, the priests[4] protected law as sacrosanct knowledge by refusing in the first instance to commit it to writing. Because of its pontifical beginnings, even after its early secularization, Roman law was still characterized by a pronounced formalism and ritualism. Oral presentation remained important. A reluctance to separate word and thing meant that even an unintentional mistake over the 'form that worked' rendered the legal act invalid.

According to the account by Pomponius, the laws of the regal period (*leges regiae*) were collected in the book of the *pontifex maximus* Papirius (at the time of Tarquin the Proud), in the *Ius civile Papirianum*, which however in all probability contained rules not for civil but for sacral procedures (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 12. 836). The ascription to Papirius is doubtful.

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[1] On the early period: Gaius (*primo libro ad legem XII tabularum*—Dig. 1. 2. 1) and in detail Pomponius (*libro singulari enchiridii*—Dig. 1. 2. 2. 1–3, structured in accordance with the principle of the διαδοχαί). In addition Cic. *Brut.; de orat.; epist.*; U. von Lübtow, Recht und Rechtswissenschaft im Rom der Frühzeit, in: Beiträge zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte, FS G. Radke, Münster 1984, 164–185; J. Köhn, Selbstrache und Gerichtsverfahren. Überlegungen zum römischen Frührecht, Altertum 33, 1987, 185–189.

[2] The *pontifices* (private law), the *augures* (public law), and the *fetiales* (international law).

[3] From *dicere: iudex, iudicium, condicio, condictio, interdictum, edictum* (where it is not the praetor but the *scriba* who has the task of writing). Expressions of a transaction are: *pactum, conventio, contractus.*

[4] On the *Pontifices* Latte, Religionsgeschichte 195–200; 400–401; G. J. Szemler, RE suppl. 15, 1978, 331–396 s.v. Pontifex; E. Pólay, Das Jurisprudenzmonopol des Pontifikalkollegiums in Rom und seine Abschaffung, ACD 19, 1983, 49–56; Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 217–218; 310–340; 523–524.

First Laws: The *Twelve Tables*

After the banishment of the kings (508 B.C.), the struggles between the orders led to an increase in power for the plebeians. The bases of law had to be rethought.[1] The Greek model was not followed. It was not a single mediator who intervened between people and government, but instead appeal was made to a College of Ten (*decemviri legibus scribundis*). Their work, the first and last comprehensive Roman constitutional legislation before Justinian, was not a codification in the strict sense. It was accepted under oath by the assembled people, and in 449 B.C. made public in the forum on *Twelve Tables*.[2] After the destruction by the Gauls (387 B.C.; Livy 6. 1. 10), the text was restored, though it did not come down to us directly. Its content, structure, and even wording may however be reinstated in great part because of the rich secondary evidence and the work of commentators. The law regulated the following areas: civil actions (Tables 1–3); family, guardianship, and inheritance (Tables 4 and 5); property and neighbors' rights (Tables 6 and 7); criminal law (Tables 8 and 9); *ius sacrorum* (Table 10); rights of the orders of patricians and plebeians (Tables 11 and 12). In the formulation, old Roman legal language, recalling the *leges regiae*, was mingled with Graecizing elements. The same may be said of the content. The coincidences with Greek city codes are too striking to rest on chance. Now the step had been taken towards a new understanding of *ius*. It was no longer a ritual assurance of existence through the re-establishment of the *pax deum*, but a deter-

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[1] On this Livy 3. 31. 7–8; 32. 6–7; 34. 1–6; Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 4; Diod. 12. 23–26; Dion. Hal. 10. 1–60.

[2] Oak or stone may have been the medium (Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 294 with note 47); *editions*: Romae 1522 (in Alexandri de Alexandro dies Geniales); R. Schöll, Lipsiae 1866 (basic); G. Bruns, T. Mommsen, O. Gradenwitz, Fontes iuris Romani antiqui 1, Tubingae 7th ed. 1909; S. Riccobono (TN, bibl.), Fontes iuris Romani anteiustinianei 1, Florentiae 2nd ed. 1941; R. Düll (TTrN), München 4th ed. (rev.)1971. *Bibl.*: H. E. Dirksen, Übersicht der bisherigen Versuche zur Kritik und Herstellung des Textes der Zwölftafelfragmente, Leipzig 1824; M. Kaser, Das altrömische *ius*. Studien zur Rechtsvorstellung und Rechtsgeschichte der Römer, Göttingen 1949; G. Cornil, Ancien droit romain. Le problème des origines, Bruxelles 1930; A. Berger, Tabulae duodecim, RE 4 A2, 1932, 1900–1949; H. Lévy-Bruhl, Nouvelles études sur le très ancien droit romain, Paris 1947; F. Wieacker, Die XII Tafeln in ihrem Jahrhundert, in: Les origines de la république romaine = Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 13, Vandœuvres-Genève 1967, 291–356; G. Crifò, La legge delle XII tavole. Osservazioni e problemi, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 115–133; for a criticism of Schöll's restoration: Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 1, 290, note 22 (bibl.).

mination of human responsibility in the *res publica*. The *Twelve Tables* were for all later Romans *fons omnis publici privatique iuris*, 'the fountain-head of all public and private law' (Livy 3. 34. 6–7; Cic. *de orat.* 1. 195). Their content, which down to Cicero's day was learned by heart by schoolboys (Cic. *leg.* 2. 59), remained the basis of further legal evolution. The jurists considered the *interpretatio legum* their task.

Early Juridical Writings

Appius Claudius Caecus,[1] the most important Roman of his day (about 300 B.C.), struck a further blow against the legal obscurantism of the priestly colleges. At his instigation, his scribe Cn.Flavius, son of a freedman, yet destined to reach the curule aedileship, published in 304 a list of days when courts could sit (*dies comitiales* or *dies fasti*). This means that he published the calendar which had been controlled by the priests. He went on to present in a kind of reference book the forms to be used by plaintiffs (*legis actiones*), the so-called *Ius Flavianum*.[2] Now those seeking legal redress were no longer compelled to resort to the *pontifices* for advice. Appius Claudius himself, with his book *De usurpationibus* (Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 36), is said to have composed the first treatise on a point of law.

Yet this meant no interruption in the course of development. The priests continued to act as legal counselors, and the secular jurists at first originated in the group of the *pontifices*.

The Beginning of *Responsa*

The higher colleges of priests were first opened to plebeians by the *Lex Ogulnia* (300 B.C.), and it was this that made knowledge of the laws accessible to a somewhat wider audience. Under plebeian *pontifices*, legal advice was no longer given anonymously in the name of the

[1] Appius Claudius Caecus (censor 312, consul 307 and 296 B.C.) was the builder of the frst Roman road (*via Appia*) and the first major Roman aqueduct (*aqua Appia*), the first named composer of Latin verses, a collection of maxims in Saturnians (e.g. *suae quisque fortunae faber est*), showing Pythagorean influence (Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 4). It was he who delivered the famous speech opposing peace with Pyrrhus (280 B.C.): *frg.* 12 Malc. 1st ed. = *frg.* 10 Malc. 4th ed. Cf. Enn. *ann.* 202 V. = 199–200 Skutsch; and Val. Max. 7. 2. 1.

[2] Livy 9. 46. 5; Cic. *Mur.* 25; *de orat.* 1. 186; *Att.* 6. 1. 8; Plin. *nat.* 33. 17; Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 6.

entire college, since its membership was no longer uniform. Individual jurists made their appearance, such as Tiberius Coruncanius, the first plebeian *pontifex maximus* (about 254–253 B.C.), a *homo novus* from the country nobility. He gave public information about the law and also legal instruction, though he could not rely upon any systematically developed body of legal lore.[1]

Apparently certain *responsa* of Coruncanius were somehow known in written form; but only in the Christian era were real collections of *responsa* published. This was not done by the authors themselves but posthumously by their adherents and students. The titles of such collections varied: examples are *Alfeni* (a student of Servius) *digestorum libri* (containing systematically arranged *responsa*, exclusively or almost exclusively by Servius) or: *Labeonis posteriores libri cum notis Proculi*. The equestrian jurists of the 1st and 2nd centuries, however, published their own *responsorum libri*. They followed the example of Neratius (around A.D. 120), the only senatorial jurist to publish such a work. Already in the days of Pomponius, nothing was available of Coruncanius.

First Commentaries

In the time that followed, the legal system parted company with the *pontifices*. At first it was a matter not so much of creating law, as of explaining laws long in existence. This task was assumed by experts. Explanations of words in the *Twelve Tables* were written by L. Acilius, a contemporary of Cato the Elder.[2] S. Aelius Paetus (consul 198 B.C.),[3] who was known by the epithet Catus ('the sly one'), composed a standard work. His *Tripertita* (about 200 B.C.), also called the *Ius Aelianum*, was known as the 'cradle of law' (Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 38). First of all, it contained the text of the *Twelve Tables*; second, the exposition of the law (*interpretatio*), third, the formulas used to begin a suit (*legis actiones*). This first juristic commentary had predecessors only in other technical areas of Hellenistic scholarship, such as commentaries on Homer, Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates. Subsequently it was continually refined as a form of juristic literature.

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[1] Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 38; Cic. *leg.* 2. 52.

[2] Cic. *De amic.* 6; *leg.* 2. 59; Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 38.

[3] His abilities were praised by Ennius (*ann.* 331 V. = 329 SKUTSCH) and Cicero (*de sen.* 27; *de orat.* 1. 212; 1. 193).

Ius Civile

The establishment of legal rules was the next step. Jurisprudence proceeding by precept began to evolve. Numerous jurists from this time are already known by name.[1]

Particularly notable among them were P. Mucius Scaevola (consul 133 B.C., *pontifex maximus* 130–115), regarded as one of the *fundatores iuris civilis* 'founders of civil law' (Pomponius, *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 39; furthermore Cic. *leg.* 2. 47; *de orat.* 1. 240), and especially his son Q. Mucius Scaevola (*pontifex maximus* 115 B.C., consul 95).[2] His uncle, the augur (consul 117), was a favorite legal counselor and author of *responsa*,[3] and it was he who provided the link with the Scipionic Circle and so with Stoic philosophy. The transference of philosophical categories (and later also those of rhetoric) into jurisprudence is an independent achievement of the Roman jurists.

After modest efforts on the part of his predecessors, the highly educated Q. Mucius Scaevola Pontifex organized *ius civile* by *genera* and *species* in 18 books (Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 41). This work remained basic until the late classical period. Its intellectual outlook was essentially oriented by practical needs. It was not therefore in any way a strictly theoretical application of system.[4] A theory of law and of its concepts was something never created by the Romans.[5] Apart from the Scaevolas, other authors treating in more or less fixed order the entire subject matter of law were M. Junius Brutus, Manius Manilius, Q. Aelius Tubero, and P. Rutilius Rufus.

In the interpretation of law and its application to the individual case, two tendencies continually recur. In a given legal case one side is likely to appeal to the letter and the other to the spirit of the law. The underlying problem is revealed by the aphorism *summum ius summa*

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[1] Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 39, who is not always reliable for the early period; F. Wieacker, Die römischen Juristen in der politischen Gesellschaft des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, in: Sein und Werden im Recht, Festgabe U. von Lübtow, Berlin 1970, 183–214; D. Nörr, Pomponius oder Zum Geschichtsverständnis der römischen Juristen, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 497–604.

[2] Cic. *de orat.* 1. 180; *Brut.* 145.

[3] Cic. *Brut.* 306; cf. *De amic.* 1; *leg.* 1. 13.

[4] As governor of Asia, Scaevola distinguished himself by developing positive law.

[5] On the 'dialectic' treatment of legal topics M. Kaser, Zur Methode römischer Rechtsfindung, NAWG 1962, 47–78, expresses skeptical views.

iniuria,[1] as in the case of Manius Curius.[2] There the jurist Scaevola appealed to the verbatim text of a will, while the orator Crassus successfully emphasized the intention of the testator. The treatment of such problems encouraged the application of categories and methods drawn from Greek philosophy and rhetoric.

Servius Sulpicius Rufus[3] (consul 51), a personal friend of Cicero, after receiving a philosophical and rhetorical training, was active at first in the lawcourts (Cic. *Brut.* 151–152). This does not necessarily imply any profound acquaintance with law, but after he had gained that as an old man from Q. Mucius Scaevola, he devoted himself to legal studies and acquired numerous disciples. His activity is said to have outdone that of Scaevola, for he did not limit himself to particular legal cases. To his wide-ranging work belonged the *Reprehensa Scaevolae capita*, that is refutations of certain chapters in Scaevola's *Libri XVI iuris civilis* (Gell. 4. 1. 20). This was the first critical commentary on a jurist's work. Sulpicius Rufus also composed a commentary on the *Twelve Tables* (*dig.* 50. 16. 237; Fest. p. 322 M. = 430 L.), and for the first time on the praetorian edict[4] (Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 44). Here he would find numerous successors.

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[1] J. Stroux, *Summum ius summa iniuria.* Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der *interpretatio iuris*, offprint from (unpublished) FS P. Speiser-Sarasin, Leipzig 1926; repr. in J. Stroux, Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik, Potsdam 1949, 7–66; H. Kornhardt, *Summum ius*, Hermes 81, 1953, 77–85; a somewhat different treatment by K. Büchner, *Summum ius summa iniuria*, in: K.B., Humanitas Romana, Heidelberg 1957, 80–105; 335–340 (attacks extreme tendencies in the pursuit of the subjective law of seisin, on the grounds that a polarity between *aequitas* and the general law would have been alien to the Romans).

[2] H. J. Wieling, Testamentsauslegung im römischen Recht, München 1972, esp. 8–15; 64–66. Cicero, in the *Pro Caecina* defends the intention of the legislator against its imperfect formulation; bibl. on the *causa Curiana* in Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte 581; 588–589; on Cicero's *Pro Caecina*: B. W. Frier, The Rise of the Roman Jurists. Studies in Cicero's *Pro Caecina*, Princeton 1985 and the review by F. Horak, ZRG 105, 1988, 833–850.

[3] J. H. Michel, Le droit romain dans le *Pro Murena* et l'œuvre de Servius Sulpicius Rufus, in: Ciceroniana, FS K. Kumaniecki, Leiden 1975, 181–195.

[4] F. von Woess, Die prätorischen Stipulationen und der römische Rechtsschutz, ZRG 53, 1933, 372–408, esp. 379–380, 391–392; F. Wieacker, Der Praetor, Antike 20, 1944, 40–77; s. also: Vom römischen Recht, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1961, 83–127; A. Watson, The Development of the Praetor's Edict, JRS 60, 1970, 105–119.

The Praetorian Edict

The yearly edict, *edictum perpetuum*,[1] evolved into a sort of legal code, embracing regulations by the Roman superior magistrates. From 242 B.C. on, the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus* had the *ius edicendi*, the former in suits between citizens and the latter in suits involving non-citizens.[2] Since the passing of the *Lex Cornelia* (67 B.C.: Ascon. *Corn.* p. 58 Orelli), observance of the edict by the praetor was obligatory, while the two curule aediles were charged with supervision of the markets. The edict became an important means fostering the development of the law by linking tradition (the regulations of old laws) and progress (their adaptation to new circumstances). Creation of law by magistrates from now on gained ever increasing scope.[3]

Decrees of the Senate

A third source of law, in addition to the old laws and edicts, in the Republican period is formed by the decrees of the senate. Their significance often exceeded the individual case, even though their authority was not firmly anchored in any constitution.

Caesar's Plan for a Legal Code

Better known legal experts at the end of the Republic were also A. Ofilius, with whose aid Caesar planned to draw together the *ius civile* into a single code; P. Alfenus Varus of Cremona (consul suffectus 39 B.C.); C. Trebatius Testa from Velia in Lucania,[4] to whom Cicero dedicated his *Topica* in 44; and Q. Aelius Tubero, who in 46 accused Cicero's client Ligarius of high treason.[5]

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[1] Cic. *leg.* 1. 17; *Verr.* 2. 1. 109; A. Guarino, La formazione dell'editto perpetuo, ANRW 2, 13, 1980, 60–102.

[2] D. Liebs, Römische Provinzialjurisprudenz, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 288–362.

[3] W. Kunkel, Magistratische Gewalt und Senatsherrschaft, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 3–22.

[4] Cic. *fam.* 7. 20; 7. 8. 2; 17. 3; Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 45; Iav. *dig.* 24. 1. 64; Dig. 33. 2. 31.

[5] Cf. Quint. *inst.* 5. 13. 20; 31; 10. 1. 23; 11. 1. 78; 80; Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 46. His works are adduced in the Pandects (Bremer, Iurisprud. antehadr. 1, 358–367). Hardly any of the jurists mentioned here succeeded in rising from the ranks of the equites into the senate, even though under Augustus they enjoyed great respect.

Conclusion

Juridical literature of the Republican period is now unfortunately only a field of ruins. Along with the masterpieces of specialists such as Scaevola or Servius Sulpicius Rufus, it would be enlightening to read also the lost writing of a non-jurist, Cicero's effort to systematize Roman law. This would form an authentic commentary on many works of the great orator and his contemporaries. Even so, his surviving books *De legibus* shed light on the history of the understanding of law, for part of their aim is to develop the bases of Roman legality in natural law, and at least they show on what conscious or unconscious presuppositions the legal thinking of a famous politician and writer of that period rested.

In considering the specifically juridical writings of the period, one finds that their value lies not only in areas where law affected the community, which later yielded ground, in view of the political situation, to the less 'dangerous' domain of private law. Rather it may still be recognized that *particularly in the 1st century B.C.* great jurists strove for intellectual insight into their profession. We owe this recognition not least to the informed accounts and hints given by Cicero, who demanded a jurisprudence worthy of its name, and who was particularly receptive to achievements by juristic authors in system and logic.[1] Their work has, in spite of the misfortunes of transmission, not vanished without trace. Much of it lives on in the thought of the classical jurists of the 2nd century A.D. and through them into the modern world. A real breach between the Republican and Augustan periods in this area is less apparent than in others.

Bibl.: s. above: Roman Jurists, p. 630, esp. WIEACKER, Rechtsgeschichte 1.

[1] E.g. Cic. *Brut.* 152 (*ars*: system and logic).

THIRD CHAPTER

LITERATURE OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

I. SURVEY OF LITERATURE OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After a century of civil war the Augustan age ushered in a period of peace. Only by appreciating the depth of those earlier sufferings can we understand the mood of the times.

The Roman conquest of the known world led to an unparalleled concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals. After the fall of Rome's most dangerous enemy, Carthage, internal rivalries could no longer be held in check by scruples of conscience. Oligarchy dug its own grave. Rather than lend support to the ruined smallholders, as the Gracchi had wanted, its members transformed the citizen militia into an army of mercenaries. From now on soldiers felt less loyalty to the *res publica* than they did to their commander. Whenever power changed hands, the senatorial ranks were thinned by proscriptions. Creatures of whatever despot ruled the day came to prominence, only to be removed from power in their turn. The aristocratic system of government established in the ancient city state broke apart. Magistrates and popular assembly could no longer collaborate under the guidance of the senate, for the senate had lost its cohesion and, instead of being an assembly of kings, now threatened to become a divided chorus of vassals.

Those who had escaped proscription had to fear that their estates would be handed over to veterans. Amid the general uncertainty of existence, men began to look for values within themselves. Lucretius retreated into the realm of philosophical contemplation. Catullus sought fulfillment in love. The loosening of tribal ties led to profound intellectual experiences, to the emancipation of the individual, to the discovery of new worlds of ethics and aesthetics, and to a personal re-interpretation of concepts of value which had originally been linked with society as a whole.

It was Caesar who most decidedly translated into reality these new tendencies. He was a man of action, like Scipio, Sulla or Marius, and more dangerous than all of them. *Dignitas*, which had originally been the earned rank of the individual within an organized hierarchy,

was now granted absolute autonomy. In defense of his *dignitas* Caesar marched even against Rome. He was ready to rule the city of his fathers either with the senate or without it. 'We have utterly lost our Republic' (*rem publicam funditus amisimus*: Cic. *Q. fr.* 1. 2. 15). Cicero sensed the break in history, and tried to renew the spirit of the Republic by philosophical reflection, even undertaking to bind the dictator to its service. When it became clear that it was not Caesar who served the state, but the state that served Caesar, the honorable defenders of the old system thought they could prevent the spiritual revolution by destroying the person. But the Republic which they had 'saved' could not survive. Rome showed itself worthy neither of Caesar nor of his assassins. To assume the inheritance of the greatness which had been sacrificed on the altar of the commonwealth, there was no community left, just common people. The death of the Republic was sealed by the death of Cicero. Between the stolid voluptuary Antony and the cool calculator Octavian, no room was left for the intellectual. It was not a republican dagger, but a bureaucratic stroke of the pen, which laid him low. There were two murders, which in spite of their closeness in time, signal two different stages of history: one archaic, the other terrifyingly modern.

The youth, old beyond his years, who was heir to Caesar's property and name, but not to his delight in playing with fire, knew his Romans well. He knew that their hearts were ready for slavery, but not their ears. They would tolerate monarchy, but not the royal title and the purple garb. Accordingly, the revolution disguised itself as a restoration, the revolutionary as a reformer. Religion, the family, history, the offices of the Republic were guarded like national monuments. Representatives of the old houses, even sons of former adversaries, were promoted to the dignity of consul. The prudent ruler did not claim the title of dictator, which Caesar had made detestable, only that of first man in the state (*princeps*),—not by virtue of any office (*potestas*) but only on the basis of personal *auctoritas*. However, some of his letters and monuments speak a different language, that of monarchy and dynasty; and above all else he did not resign his claim to two crucial rights: the proconsular *imperium*, giving him the powers of supreme commander, and the tribunician power, conferring the right of veto—in the name of the people. But it was this still indeterminate position of the *princeps* in the constitution, allied of course to the final attainment of domestic peace, that at first gave a strong impulse to creative initiative and intellectual life.

Augustus had learned from his adoptive father that, along with soldiers, money was the second *arcanum imperii.* The richest man in Rome was well aware that it was necessary to secure the allegiance of the wealthy in order to produce stable social relationships. Where would the golden age of Augustus have been, without the gold of the knights?[1] Nobodies could become troop commanders. If a knight was not newly rich, but belonged to the ancient nobility, that was now remarkable and had to be stressed expressly. An example is Ovid, who however abandoned the senatorial career that had been open to him. With the promotion of former knights, a class entered the senate which previously had taken little interest in politics. It felt under an obligation to the man to whom it owed its new position. Such a senate could hardly display qualities of leadership, and leadership was not even expected. Although the senate gained certain new privileges, its traditional domain of foreign policy was lost. Important decisions were made by the *princeps* closeted with few advisers behind doors shut fast.

Yet Augustus gave the gift of peace to an exhausted world, and with that attained the chief end of all politics. In the first years of his sole rule, the general political climate was overwhelmingly marked by gratitude and happiness.

THE EMERGENCE OF LITERATURE

In one typically Roman respect—that practically no Roman author was a Roman—the Augustan period changed nothing. Virgil and Livy came (like Catullus) from *Gallia Cisalpina,* Horace (like Livius Andronicus and Ennius) from South Italy, Propertius (like Plautus) from Umbria. Tibullus was a Latin. Virgil and Horace were from relatively humble backgrounds, while the elegists belonged to the rural nobility. Rome continued to be the magnet which drew to itself from its ambience everything of value and distinction.

The *princeps* and many representatives of the nobility knew well their duties to their rank and to their native city in this regard.

[1] Qualified knights could now (in addition to the duties as jurors and officers previously open to them) rise, e.g. as *procuratores Augusti* to eminence in economic and financial administration. The significance of the individual orders now received fresh definition in accordance with their relation to the princeps (Alföldy, Sozialgeschichte 91; cf. also 106–109).

Augustus 'found Rome of brick and left it of marble' (Suet. *Aug.* 28. 5). His program of building was supervised by eminent experts, one of whom, Vitruvius, has left the only great work on architecture to survive from antiquity. The *princeps* made its composition possible by generous support. Among the ruler's foundations were also important libraries.

To speak of circles of poets is not to imply that these were closed associations. Maecenas, whose name will forever be linked with patronage of the arts, preferred to invite poets to join him who had already proved themselves. It was his 2nd work that Virgil dedicated to him (the *Georgics*), and Propertius his 2nd book. Maecenas encouraged the poets of his circle to write epics about Augustus. To ward off such suggestions, the Augustans employed the *topoi* of polite refusal (*recusatio*). As Callimacheans, they considered themselves unqualified to master a large-scale form. If homage to the mighty is interspersed in other literary genres, the *recusatio* may serve as a pretext to bring up the theme at all (Hor. *odes* 1. 6, on Agrippa). Maecenas was tolerant in allowing the poets he had befriended to remain true to their natures. Only Varius fulfilled his desire for an epic about Augustus, and he fell victim to oblivion. Virgil transcended Maecenas' wishes. His appreciation of the difficulty of the task led him to find a solution surpassing expectation. In spite of his successful police actions, Maecenas was not a minister of propaganda, and not indeed an *arbiter elegantiarum*. His own playful poetic products could not provide any rules for Augustan poetry but at the best could serve as dreadful warnings. While Augustus only let slip his stern Roman mask on his deathbed or, if the story is false, never, Maecenas, the Etruscan aristocrat, never bothered to conceal that he was a player from the first. His everlasting merit is to have afforded great poets the modest freedom which they needed.

By contrast, the group of poets around M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus shared a particular class-consciousness. It was here that Tibullus, Sulpicia, and Ovid were welcome. Against this background we can estimate the lack of social prejudice displayed by Maecenas. However, unlike Maecenas, Messalla patronized the talents of the young and unknown. His circle stood at a greater distance from the emperor. Ovid, married to the daughter of a distinguished senator, and consciously resigning a senatorial career, had no reason to think of himself as one of Caesar's 'clients'. Another group of authors

deserving mention is formed by the friends whom Ovid memorializes in one of his poetic letters (*Pont.* 4. 16).

Poems were recited at private gatherings of knowledgeable friends. Such stimulating exchange of thoughts at the highest level was an inestimable advantage enjoyed by authors living in Rome, lending the unmistakable stamp of the metropolis even to the works of those who had come to the city from outside. There were also public recitals before larger audiences, and even pantomime presentations drawn from poetic texts, though the authors distanced themselves in part from these. Publishers took responsibility for circulating books by Roman authors both at Rome and throughout the Empire.

LATIN AND GREEK LITERATURE

In 28 B.C., Augustus opened in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine both a Greek and Latin library. This was a token of the equality attained by Latin, but also of the complete mutual permeation of Roman and Greek culture, at first, until and including the time of Trajan, with Latin in the forefront.

The Romans' encounter with Greek literature now entered a new stage. Under the Republic the very transference of a literary genre to Rome had been a creative act. In many areas, the Augustans now brought this evolution to an end. Epic, for example, which had long been practiced, now finally found organic unity of form. Eclogue, lyric and epistle in verse were the last to appear, and at once reached the summit. Genres which had evolved in Rome itself, such as satire and love elegy, were brought to perfection as well.

The great Augustans were weary of imitating Hellenistic literature. They looked back from the height of their own period and challenged great masters, ever more distant in time. Virgil at first followed Theocritus, then Aratus and Hesiod, and finally Homer. Horace turned to early Greek models. In the plastic arts too classical and archaizing tendencies are often observed during the Augustan period, mirroring the mood of the time, but also in correspondence with the 'official' character of particular works.[1] Horace, in whose life

[1] SCHEFOLD (Kunst 79) remarks that in spite of its originality and depth, the *Ara Pacis* pretends to be a renewal of a primeval form.

different spheres simultaneously intersected, followed, in accordance with his topic and inspiration, partly the 'regular' Hellenistic line in literature, but partly also took up the lyric poets of the early period. More than other Augustan poets, Ovid followed Hellenistic tradition. 'Classical' features may be detected, if at all, in his first masterpiece, the *Amores*. But after that, Alexandrianism becomes ever more visible. This is why Ovid opens the Imperial period, while Virgil and Horace, swimming against the contemporary stream, realized achievements hardly expected and even hardly conceivable in their day.

In other respects too, Ovid was already a child of the new age. He consciously adhered to a Latin literary tradition, an attitude that would become more frequent under the emperors. This does not exclude of course the reception of some further stimulus from the Greeks, but by comparison with the Republican period the emphasis perceptibly changed.

An awareness of looking back to a Roman tradition is manifest in Varro's *Roman Antiquities*. Livy shaped the Roman past in powerful scenes and pictures. But all this could be written only once Roman authors had realized that the Republic was now at an end. The 'restoration' of the Republic and of old Roman religion under Augustus presupposed that both had died. In reality this 'restoration' was a new creation borrowing old forms.

Similarly Ovid transmitted Greek myth to posterity as a treasury of pictures; it had become manipulable because it belonged to a world already distant from the reader. With Augustus began the time in which our own age has its roots. Augustan literature acted as a prism, collecting the rays of the past to illumine the future.

GENRES

The heyday of prose under Caesar was followed by the Augustan acme of poetry. But there are significant exceptions to this rule. The blossoming of prose also witnessed Catullus and Lucretius, and that of poetry Livy. The metamorphoses of literature do not occur independently of historical shifts and changes. Certain genres disappear and others are transformed.

Social circumstances had altered, and the *speech*, losing its political function, retreated to the lecture room and auditorium. This development was sealed by the banishment of orators and the burning of

books, achievements of the Augustan period fraught with consequences. The change of aim and public furthered the rise of an unclassical style of prose, while simultaneously poetry had its classical period. Speech was estranged from its own nature. No longer did it bring about decisions in real situations, but rather sought to impress an audience of connoisseurs, which fostered the pointed style. Correspondingly rhetoric became in one way a preparation for literary technique, influencing all types of literature, even the poetic. This may be seen at the latest in Ovid's *Heroides*, a new genre of literature in which characteristically prose and poetry cross paths. In another way rhetoric made an 'inner pilgrimage' to become the art by which an individual could influence and instruct himself through words. The line of development leading to Seneca the Younger began in the time of Augustus.

With the dawn of the Augustan period, *historical writing* had gained a new vantage point, and accordingly could seek a comprehensive view of the past. Its principal representative was Livy, patronized by Augustus although recognized by him as a Pompeian. It was no coincidence that historiography now severed its link with the senatorial milieu to which in the older generation Sallust and Asinius Pollio had belonged, and became the domain of a professional writer. In spite of the closeness of his early prose to poetry, Livy increasingly kept his distance from the extremes of the 'modern' style. As a classical author of history, he sought to follow closely Herodotus, Theopompus, and Cicero, and swam against the stream of modernistic prose and late Augustan poetry written in the Hellenistic manner. Universality, a teleological view of history, and a carefully thought out narrative art proceeding by dramatic scenes were features of the period. Pompeius Trogus, too, worked on an ecumenical scale.

Among *technical works* Vitruvius' invaluable treatise on architecture takes pride of place. Its origin is indivisibly linked with the experiences gathered by the author in the service of Augustus' great program of architecture, and recorded with the emperor's financial support. It is to Augustus' merit that we possess an authoritative work on architecture from antiquity at all.

Augustus likewise took pains to secure the cooperation of the *jurists*. In the administration of the Empire, a great future was in store for them. Just like Caesar, he used C. Trebatius Testa as his adviser. To A. Cascellius, who had declared gifts resulting from proscriptions to be invalid, he nevertheless offered a consulship, though

without finding acceptance (Val. Max. 6. 2. 13; *Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 45). Even the great M. Antistius Labeo[1] persisted in opposition, quite unlike his rival Ateius Capito. Augustus limited the official *ius respondendi* to a narrow circle of highly qualified senatorial jurists (*Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 49). This meant that he brought the creation of law, not previously subject to official regulation, under his own control, at least in principle. The achievement of the classical jurists was the expert mastery of the individual case. They wrote for the most part case evaluations and commentaries. From the time of the late Republic on, Roman law experienced an admixture of Greek methodology, though systematic reflection was less in demand. Under the influence of Greek dialectics, early classical jurists still showed a certain predilection for definitions. Since jurists largely stood aloof from rhetorical considerations on *aequitas*, their Latin exhibits a refreshingly clear factuality and brevity, a quality destined to resist all the literary fashions of the following centuries.

Satire was tamed in another way, or rather, tamed itself. Horace was less concerned with social criticism than with finding the golden mean. The *Satires* center on what is *satis*, self-limitation and sufficiency. The *Epistles*, somewhat less down-to-earth, are concerned with *recte*, the right way of living. These poems have still to be appreciated at their full value. Their author discovered the domain to be later explored by Seneca in his *Moral Epistles*. Horace's *Ars poetica* was an epistle, but in this very genre ethics and aesthetics converged. (s. also Ideas I).

Conditions of space and time favored the birth of an *epic* of world rank. The Augustan order bore a share of Virgil's poetic invention. Unlike the epics of the archaic and silver periods, the *Aeneid* has only one principal hero, who, like the young Augustus, is *primus inter pares*. This was an advantage in securing the *Aeneid*'s unity. Only the experience of the first years of the principate could have mediated this notion. In other respects too, the twenties, with their gratitude for the final attainment of peace and their still living hope in Rome's renewal, found an unrepeatable expression in the *Aeneid*.

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[1] Labeo was deeply read in philosophy and rhetoric. He wrote both on the *Twelve Tables* and on the law of the *pontifices*. For later generations, his definitions acted as signposts, and in them he also displayed knowledge of the scholarly etymologies of his day. His commentaries on the edicts of the urban and peregrine praetors are often cited.

This work was 'classical', in harmony with the style of imperial art, but also with the mood of the times. At long last under Augustus Rome had found its measure. The dreams of expansion cherished by the age of Caesar were now only spoken of as possibilities. Measure and mean were in poetry, too, the great achievements of the age. It was to these ideas that Horace looked both in theory and practice.

The *dramas* of the Augustan period are lost, although they by no means lacked importance. Varius' *Thyestes* was produced at Augustus' victory celebration. Ovid's *Medea* would be praised even by Quintilian. In Horace's circle Aelius Lamia wrote *praetextae*, while Fundanius and probably also Aristius Fuscus took up comedy. Augustus himself composed an *Ajax*, though in a mood of self-criticism he allowed his hero to 'fall on a sponge'.

Didactic poetry no longer occupied, as it had even in Caesar's day, a place outside society. It identified itself either with Augustus' program of reform, as in the case of Virgil's *Georgics*, or with the social counterculture of love, exemplified in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. Unlike Virgil and Horace, the *elegists*[1] enjoyed no profound connection with the Augustan state. Elegy flourished in the soil of the political indifference induced by Augustus. Tibullus rarely explored political themes, although he felt himself to be a *vates*. In him, as in Propertius, 'peace' is elegiac rather than Augustan. After harsh sufferings in his youth, which included the loss of a relative in Octavian's bloodbath at Perusia, Propertius gradually showed more openness to the regime, although he remained a pacifist and an opponent of the Julian laws on marriage. It was only with his 4th book that he became the poet of Roman *aetia*.

The youngest of the elegists, Ovid, had no experience of the civil wars, and accordingly felt no particular gratitude for the gift of the Augustan peace. Yet he did think himself particularly blessed to be a child of his time, though this was not for political or economic reasons, but rather because of the cultivated society of the capital which was his element. Heedless of the *princeps*' feelings, he pilloried the elevation of Caesar to godhead as an instance of human lack of moderation. He was proud that once, in the vicinity of his hometown, had lain the center of resistance to Rome during the Social War. He accepted the claim that now there was an age of gold—

[1] The genre of epigram was well represented by Domitius Marsus, though unfortunately tradition failed to preserve his works.

only insofar as in his time gold could buy anything. It was an irony of fate that the poet most deeply linked with the capital was expelled from it by a sentence of exile. Sedulous adulation of the *princeps* in the later works could not shorten the generous period he had been allocated for reflection. Augustus remained true to himself. At the beginning of his career he had shown no mercy to the greatest living writer of prose, and at the end he would do the same for the greatest still living poet. In forcing two men of the spirit whose nature was not that of heroes into martyrdom, he turned Cicero into the patron saint of Republicans, and Ovid into the prototype of the poet isolated from society. And yet the *princeps* remained a favorite of fortune. Even his mortal sins against literature somehow turned out for the best.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Poetry attained classical perfection later than prose. Virgil realized an ideal of language combining simplicity with dignity. The small sympathy he was accorded at first for this is shown by Agrippa's remark that he had invented a new type of 'mixed metaphor' (κακόζηλον), made up of everyday words. Even in lofty epic, Virgil rather shunned the archaisms favored by Ennius. He was content with minor hints of archaizing color. Occasionally he employs a genitive in *-ai*, or confers on the demonstrative an old-fashioned sound (*olli*), but taken as a whole his Latin is strikingly far from the motley manner of his predecessor. His tranquil and full-sounding language possesses an organic unity, and so does his style. His sentences display a clear and structured sequence, often spilling over the end of the verse, equally removed from Ennius' jolts as from Ovid's dancing.

Horace's language is more colorful. The vocabulary of the *Satires* is somewhat cruder than that of the *Odes*, but there are many links; and certain odes are rich in strongly expressive words, wrongly regarded as 'unpoetic'. Metrically there is a marked difference between the comparative looseness of the satirical hexameters and the strictness of those in lyric vein. The rhythm of Horace's verse shows unsurpassed variety and subtlety.

The language and style of the elegists display individual differences. Tibullus is a purist, using limited vocabulary and strict meter to

produce sounds of angelic refinement and beauty of a kind previously unknown in Latin. The passionate, taut, and concentrated style of Propertius is filled with contrasts, colorful and less uniform. With Ovid, what was once the language of Roman farmers attained the lightness and the élan of witty antithesis suited to a metropolis.

In the Augustan elegists, the elegiac couplet, which had not quite matched the refinement of the hexameter in the late Republican period, reached perfection. This shift of phases in the perfection of the two meters explains why the *Amores* deserve the title 'classical' more than the *Metamorphoses*.

Prose of the Augustan period is not at all monolithic. In his early books, matching the variety of his themes, Livy writes in a somewhat poetic manner. Later, he approaches a Ciceronian ideal of style. The path he traveled therefore, like that of Virgil, was from a Hellenistic style to a classical style. Augustus himself was, in language, a classicist. Vitruvius' voice was that of a technical expert concerned more with things than with words. However, all those mentioned here as prose writers were no longer quite up to date in their period. The future belonged to the declaimers quoted by the Elder Seneca and their pointed style which, with Ovid, was to conquer poetry and, with the Younger Seneca, philosophical prose.

IDEAS I
REFLECTIONS ON LITERATURE

Perhaps the most fascinating contribution of the Augustan period to the history of literature and ideas was the act of creating and developing an independent idea of the poet. The leisure to reflect encouraged by the newly gained peace, the transitory equilibrium between private and public worlds and the still fluid boundaries of power in the early Augustan period made it possible for poets to determine independently their intellectual vantage-point in the new society. Virgil thought of himself as a priest of the Muses. With mingled pride and humility he set at the end of the *Georgics* his Neapolitan *otium* against the victories of the conquerer. In the 4th Eclogue and in the *Aeneid* Virgil gave free rein to his claim to be a poet prophet. Since he lived in a time when historical expectations were fulfilled, he could view past, present and future together. By contrast, in Republican epic the present was dominant, and in that of the Empire, the past.

Horace, who was also a priest of the Muses, dared as the poet of the *carmen saeculare* to claim moral authority for himself, and even maintain that he was useful to Rome. The poet had an important role in society. His freedom from ties to political or economic activity left him open to the divine, and to his vocation to guide the younger generation towards proper respect. His lyric was more than personal, without denying the person. Tensions between Stoic love of country and Epicurean withdrawal, between the finely nuanced homages to Augustus in the first three books of *Odes* and the greater directness in the fourth, do not alter the fact that the recovery of the sacred claim of lyric was made possible by the Augustan period. The idea of the poet matured in this age, but was not bound to it. Horace was aware that the memorial raised by his work would outlast pyramids and pharaohs.

At the same time with his *Ars poetica* and *Letter to Augustus* he utters some sober words of warning. He praises technique, conscientious work, self-criticism. For unteachable fools, who think of themselves as geniuses, he has nothing but ridicule. He assails the customary canonization of the old at the expense of the contemporary, and has bitter words for the Romans who yesterday were honorable philistines but today dabble without scruple in every area of literature, amateurs exempted from criticism by their wealth.

Tibullus sees himself as a *vates*. Propertius and Ovid are proud of their *ingenium*. The 'playful' Ovid insists on renewing, with surprising seriousness, the old notion of inspiration. As a result of his banishment from his beloved city of Rome, he anticipates willy-nilly the modern experience of the writer's isolation. The talent (*ingenium*) on which he is thrown back forms, in combination with his world-wide public, a counterpart to the central power. In this regard the *princeps* cannot touch him. Ovid's sincerest belief is in poetry. The equilibrium between the two realms sought by Horace and Virgil is shattered. For all coming generations the Augustans experienced, suffered and pondered poetry and the poet's fate in the entire gamut of its variations. This is why later great lyric, whether that of Ronsard, Pushkin or Hölderlin, can seek guidance from Horace, and the poetry of exile even down to our own days from Ovid.

Livy was an author and no more than an author. At the level of prose, he offered a modest though instructive parallel to Augustan poetry. While Sallust as a senator had transferred the old Roman notion of glory to literature and there lent it spiritual depth, in Livy's

prefaces the reader is looking over the shoulder of a professional writer, composing history though himself not a politician and simply offering to his time 'examples' for contemplation.The reader experiences with him the growth of his gigantic work, and assists at the moments when in Livy's eyes the unmastered material rather than diminishing, seemed to keep expanding beyond control. We hear the author's early admission that his spirit becomes itself 'ancient', as it sinks more deeply into ancient times, and his late declaration that the untiring writer, now that his desire for fame has long been satisfied, is carried forward only by his unquiet spirit.

IDEAS II

Individual, state, and the natural world form for the Romans three concentric circles, each following its own laws. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, the second of these rings, the very heart of the traditional Roman outlook on the world, shines for one more time with almost unreal beauty. But an indirect consequence of the principate was the increasing indifference to politics on the part of many men of education, especially of the generation which had not experienced the civil wars. The traditional world of the Romans, the *res publica*, was losing its attractiveness. This meant more than a loss for poetry. It also offered an opportunity. At least since the days of Catullus and Lucretius great individual writers had begun to explore the secrets of their own inner world and of the external world of nature. There was a fruitful exchange between these spheres: as expected, the vocabulary of political life was extended to new realms. A word like *foedus* ('alliance') was transferred in one direction to the bond of love, and in another to the union of atoms. New systems of relationships received emphasis. In the elegists this meant the personal sphere, in the epic writers nature. Virgil in writing the *Georgics*, Ovid, Germanicus, Manilius each reflected nature in different philosophical shades. The definition of man as a being who looks up to the sky was taken seriously once more. In the *Metamorphoses* natural philosophy was joined with erotic and psychological interest. In many ways, this late Augustan epic opened the Imperial period.

New questions produced new answers. Philosophical and religious views now came to exercise fascination. Retreating from the hurly burly of political life, already in the late Republican period many

had sought refuge in the safe haven of Epicurean philosophy: for example, Lucretius and Cicero's restless friend Atticus. Even Augustans were touched by the philosophy of pleasure. As a young man, Virgil spent time on the Gulf of Naples with the Epicurean Siro, and traces of that doctrine are still found in the *Aeneid.* Horace describes himself as 'a pig from Epicurus' sty' (*epist.* 1. 4. 16). Neo-Pythagoreanism had been at home in Rome since the days of Nigidius Figulus, and it now left its mark on the apocalyptic portions of the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses.* It was congenial with the late republican yearning for redemption and the resigned mood of the late Augustan period. Principally however, in spite of official counter-measures, mystery religions gradually began to prevail at Rome, at first particularly among women. To please his female readers, Ovid treats the divinities of mystery, such as Isis, with more respect than the Olympian gods. From Augustus on, politics as the highest vocation of life would belong for most Romans to the past. The future was reserved for philosophy and religion. But the answers given there were motley and contradictory.

Human intellect, feeling or will could approach philosophy and religion in different ways. The distinction made by the Roman scholar Varro (*apud* Aug. *civ.* 6. 5), perhaps in succession to the Stoics, is helpful here. He had divided 'theology', a discipline still at that time including physics, into three categories. When indulging in theoretical speculation, an educated Roman followed *theologia rationalis* or *naturalis,* with its physical and scientific picture of the world usually favoring an abstract monotheism. In practical affairs the same Roman was guided by *theologia civilis,* which was taken for granted as the basis of public order. This was partly made up of ancient rituals, and partly aimed at exalting the ruler of the day. Finally, in his poetic world of ideas, our Roman continued to enjoy *theologia fabulosa,* myth and its anthropomorphic polytheism, even though he knew that the old three-storeyed picture of the world, for all its psychological plausibility, was scientifically out of date. Varro omitted a fourth power, although religiously it was perhaps the most significant, that of the mystery religions. Such coexistence of several 'theologies', although in principle only one could claim truth, might lead the sober observer to skeptical relativism, but in poets it could produce bold bridges between the realms, and a new creation of myths. To understand the mentality of the time, its many layers must be borne in mind.

The 'restoration' of the old Roman *religion* of state by Augustus

bore at first romantic features. The yearning for peace in late republican times fostered a religious mood, and the man who had fulfilled it aroused messianic hopes. This brings the reader to an aspect of Augustan literature which today is distasteful and even repellent: the beginnings of emperor worship. The excellence of many relevant texts forbids us to see in them only courtly flattery. Certainly in the first Augustans gratitude for the new gift of peace was genuine. Following Hellenistic panegyric, Augustus was cautiously compared with Apollo, Mercury, and Jupiter. His role as redeemer was reflected in demigods like Romulus, Hercules, and Bacchus. On occasion in their poetry, Virgil and Horace seem to be ahead of the actual evolution of the worship of Augustus at Rome. More than for us moderns, for the men of antiquity a deity was experienced in action; hence, in the notion of god, the idea of function prevailed over the idea of substance. A mortal bestower or preserver of life may therefore, for those he has saved, become a god. In the first and last books of the *Metamorphoses*, Augustus, the political master of the world, is a figure analogous to Jupiter, the ruler of the world of nature. This does not involve any personal attitude towards Augustus the man. The ruler was the guarantor of public order. It is from this point of view that the later contribution made by Ovid during his banishment to the *topoi* of emperor worship becomes intelligible. A pagan god need not be good. It is enough that men 'completely depend' on him. The Christian opposition of church and state—not to mention a modern and secular notion of the state—was far from the Augustans' thoughts.

The coldness of official religion could not satisfy mind and heart. In providing a philosophical basis for citizenship of the world, for behavior directed to the community and to the service of the state, as the Augustans wished to celebrate them, it was the Stoa principally that supplied arguments. This is attested by the *Aeneid* and by certain odes of Horace.

Without artistic shaping, ideas are robbed of effect. The astonishing thing is that in the Augustan period *myth* gained new poetic life, and indeed from two sides. Myth, the peculiar realm of poetry, had at least since Hellenistic times become a purely literary medium and largely lost its religious background. Virgil's achievement deserves therefore all the more admiration, for it was he who in the *Aeneid* produced a new myth which would feed the imagination of almost two thousand years. The myth created by Virgil was an enrichment

of *theologia fabulosa* from the realm of *theologia civilis*, also aided by the power of individual feeling of great tenderness and profundity. A further stage in the regeneration of myth occurred in the late Augustan period. It sounds paradoxical to say that the *Metamorphoses*, written by a worldly denizen of the capital, mediated Greek myth to the West. But this work's universal accessibility is a result of the fact that here myth was given fresh life, not by any ritual or political connections, but by the erotic and artistic inspiration of an individual.

A counterpart in prose to this was Livy's creation of a storehouse of pictures of Roman history. In the hand of this talented writer the personages of ancient Rome were turned into clearly stamped *exempla* of civic and political behavior. They were fruitful for European culture right down to the advent of international law in modern times.

Bibl.: To be consulted in the first place: the relevant volumes of ANRW (e.g. 2, 30, 1–3; 2, 31, 1–4) as well as G. BINDER, ed. (s. below).

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II. POETRY

A. EPIC, DIDACTIC, BUCOLIC

ROMAN BUCOLIC

General Remarks

Bucolic or pastoral is one of the most fascinating and mysterious branches of poetry, even one of the most contradictory. It emphasizes its own simplicity, and yet can seek to encompass the most exalted subjects. In the last analysis, it has popular roots, and yet it has always been a particularly artistic genre. It seems occasionally to withdraw from reality, and yet it is its constant concern to come to terms with reality.

To bucolic belong specific types of situation and poem, and these are found for the most part prefigured in the Sicilian poet Theocritus of the 3rd century B.C. (s. Greek Background). The basic theme of 'singing shepherds' displays different facets. There may be poetry about poetry. The shepherds may be inspired by love. Sometimes, the panorama of shepherd life may take in that of the countryside in general. It may focus on the historical situation in the narrower sense (evictions) and even view history as a whole. In disguised form the poets may speak of themselves, though perhaps less of their lives than of their creations.

With Virgil tender pastel tones and a mysterious ambivalence become typical of the genre. The poet elicits from his apparently simple range of themes an unending wealth of nuances. To read the many facets of bucolic as mere biographical allegory, or to reduce it in other ways to some fixed literary denominator, is to be satisfied with partial aspects and to miss the enjoyment of a unique polyphony. Sicily, Italy, with their landscape, inhabitants and creatures are indeed present, but there is also the air of larger history breathing through the work. All this finds resonance in a language whose musicality was previously unimaginable in Latin. In the center is found

the poet's soul and its feelings, now gentle, now passionate; and from them a new poetic universe arises, not to replace that of reality but to illumine it. A minor genre assumes greatness.

Greek Background

Typical elements of later pastoral poetry are already found in Theocritus: shepherds in conversation (*id.* 4); in poetic rivalry (Βουκολιασταί: *id.* 5, 6, 8, and 9); poetry about poetry (Θαλύσια: *id.* 7; the queen of eclogues); exaltation of nature and the song honoring the death of the shepherd Daphnis (Θύρσις ἢ ᾠδή: *id.* 1); the sorceresses (Φαρμακεύτριαι: *id.* 2); the lover's ditty or Παρακλαυσίθυρον (*id.* 3; cf. 11). Furthermore, there is already found the later increasingly important theme of eulogy of the ruler (cf. esp. *id.* 17: an encomium in verse). In Virgil the *topoi* of the Golden Age will be added.

In the light of masterpieces like the seventh Idyll and the quite close thematic links between Virgil and Theocritus, the reader has no hesitation in describing Theocritus as the founder of Bucolic. Yet qualifications are necessary. Just as satire, in spite of Lucilius, only became a genre with Horace, so did pastoral with Virgil. Moreover, each of the Roman bucolic poets emphasized different aspects, with the result that, even after Virgil, the uniformity of the genre is only partially fixed.

Theocritus' picture of his shepherds is humorous, distanced by a light irony. The 'sentimental' outlook of the city dweller, a perspective which the modern reader associates with the notion of idyll, comes into view more strongly only after Theocritus, as, for example, in Moschus, Bion, and the spurious later pieces in the *corpus Theocriteum.*

From the imperial period, a pastoral romance by Longus (*Daphnis and Chloe*) has been preserved, whose influence has hardly been less than that of the major bucolic poets.

Roman Development

In the early Augustan period pastoral fits a mood of the times, a manner which may be observed also in the arts.[1] In literature pastoral features are found even outside pastoral poetry, especially, for

[1] E. Simon, Augustus. Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende, München 1986, 206–210.

example, in Tibullus' elegies. Pastoral unites with 'georgic' elements, such as reminiscence of Rome's earliest days, the restoration of the Italian peasantry and old Roman devotion. It is now that it acquires its kinship with the idea of the Golden Age.

Virgil set a new stamp on the genre by reducing its crudely realistic elements. Irony loses its cutting edge, and tender poetic feeling smooths the sharp angles. A subtle art of indirect presentation prevails. Considered solely as a collection, the ten *Eclogues* form a self-contained work of art, and yet the range of themes is broadened, so that even the hardships of the day find entry to the pastoral. In a serious and critical way Virgil takes note of the suffering brought by politics upon men in his time. The motif of 'imperial eulogy' is not developed without counterpoint. The gratitude of Tityrus to his 'god' is balanced by the lament of Meliboeus who has lost his home. In the fourth *Eclogue*, messianic hopes are heard, and the poem consciously bursts the old framework of the genre. Along with the historical changes taking place, both the power and powerlessness of poetry in times of distress form a persistent theme. It is as if Virgil observed all the principal motifs of bucolic poetry in the light of the sublime seventh *Idyll* and through the prism of his own experience of the present.

In Nero's time imperial eulogy becomes less complex. Calpurnius and the *Einsiedeln Eclogues* bestow on pastoral a changed orientation. At the same time georgic and didactic elements[1] are resumed with greater emphasis.

In the 3rd century Nemesianus gives fresh life to the genre in a non-political sense and, among other things, makes it the vessel of his personal struggle for redemption, in parallel to the adoption of elements of imperial apotheosis into the private sphere, as they may be observed in contemporary pastoral scenes found on sarcophagi.[2]

With the advent of Christianity the idea of the shepherd acquired new significance. Endelechius wrote an eclogue which preserved the pastoral background while giving a superficial Christian color to the content. It is the cross that protects the herd from sickness. Conversely, Paulinus of Nola treated a Christian topic, the birthday of St. Felix of Nola, in his *Natalicia* with many bucolic and georgic touches.

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[1] E.g. Calp. 5; the shepherd's tasks.

[2] G. Binder in: B. Effe, G. Binder 1989, 150–153 following N. Himmelmann 1980.

Literary Technique

The typical literary technique of pastoral is the amoebaic song of shepherds. Different types of poem were already listed above (s. under General Remarks).

There is a marked interest in character. In Virgil's 1st *Eclogue* Tityrus and Meliboeus incorporate opposed temperaments. Their contrasting nature serves at the same time to give expression to opposed views of the world. In the same way, Galatea and Amaryllis represent two antithetical female characters.

A typical procedure in discourse is the listing of examples, or priamel (e.g. Verg. *ecl.* 7. 65–68). Similes are mostly taken from country life (e.g. *ecl.* 1. 22–25), thus preserving the *aptum*.

From at least Virgil's time on, the collection of poems in itself became a work of art (s. Virgil, Literary Technique). Poems related in form (such as the amoebaic song of shepherds) appear in the first and second halves of the book under opposing auspices (*ecl.* 3 and 7) and with different emphasis. Addressees play a structural role. The character of Gallus (*ecl.* 6 and 10) frames the second half of the book. The same may be said of motifs. Two 'Roman' eclogues (1 and 4) surround two particularly 'Theocritean' examples (2 and 3, mirrored by 7 and 8). The sequence 4–5 and 9–10 displays in each case a transition from contemporary history to the discussion of poetry.[1]

A recurrent question in the study of the *Eclogues* is that of numerical proportion. The possibility that Virgil may have had proportion in mind cannot be excluded on *a priori* grounds. In the 1st *Eclogue*, the *iuvenis* occupies a central position, not simply from the point of view of content, but also from that of form. The best course however is to be content with such obvious facts, and not to press everything into some numerical pattern.

In other respects, too, the most difficult part of interpretation is to maintain a sense of proportion. Different answers are given, for example, to the question of how far the *Eclogues* are to be read as allegories. There is no doubt that Virgil sometimes uses his shepherds as masks. It is tempting to some degree to identify Tityrus with Virgil himself (Serv. *ecl.* 1. 1), and something similar may be said of Menalcas (*ecl.* 5. 86–87; *ecl.* 9). But is not Meliboeus, too (*ecl.* 1), a part of him? These manifold refractions already forbid the

[1] Freely adapted from C. Becker, Virgils Eklogenbuch, Hermes 83, 1955, 314–349 and R. Kettemann 1977, 74.

assumption of consistently coherent allegory. Servius (ibid.) himself advises a prudent reserve: *et hoc loco Tityri sub persona debemus Vergilium accipere; non tamen ubique, sed tantum ubi exigit ratio*, 'and in this instance we have to understand Virgil in the guise of Tityrus; not everywhere, however, but only where the thought demands it'. One should indeed be careful of reversing the artistic achievement of the poet, which lies after all in the transcendence of the merely biographical. Could Virgil guess that it would not only be his famous riddle (*ecl.* 3. 104–105) that would bring so many curious scholars to the point of despair? We are confronted with a consciously polyvalent type of art, and there is no pedantry. Yet in the later history of the genre, allegory plays a significant part. Petrarch himself offers a commentary on his own bucolic poems.

Language and Style

In Theocritus the Doric dialect serves as a subtle means of character portrayal and differentiation. This nuanced art was already reduced by his Greek successors to a relatively neutral compromise.

Latin knew no equally privileged literary dialects, and this feature of Theocritus' poetry could hardly find imitation. Virgil dares at times to echo popular idiom, as with *cuium pecus* (instead of *cuius*). But the Romans of the capital, so priggish in matters of language, would not allow even their greatest poet to get away with this. They made fun: *Dic mihi, Damoeta: 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum?*, 'Tell me, Damoetas, is *cuium pecus* Latin?' (*Vita Donati* 181 Hardie). In these circumstances, it is not surprising that vulgarisms occur in Virgil only as trace elements.

Virgil writes an apparently simple and everyday language, whose artistic nature is observed only on second glance. When Agrippa jibed that Virgil had discovered a new type of κακόζηλον ('mixed metaphor'), consisting of everyday words (*Vita Don.* 185 Hardie), his malice was matched by his sharp eye.

At times, the style rises to solemn elevation, as in the 4th Eclogue. In the line ending *magnum Iovis incrementum*, 'Jove's great augmenting seed' (*ecl.* 4. 49), the rare fifth-foot spondee is consciously introduced as a token of *gravitas*.

A characteristic of pastoral poetry is the musical flow of the language. The refrain attracts attention,[1] but other forms of repetition

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[1] R. Schilling, Le refrain dans la poésie latine, in: Musik und Dichtung, FS V. Pöschl, Heidelberg 1990 , 117–131.

are particularly marked, such as resumptions of the type *ite meae quondam felix pecus, ite, capellae*, 'onward, my little goats, once happy flock, onward' (Virg. *ecl.* 1. 74).

The language of Calpurnius is influenced by the purity and simplicity of Virgil's style. Only occasionally does he venture pointed sallies in conformity with the baroque taste of the time ('Without you, lilies seem to me black' Calp. 3. 51). Nemesianus shows himself as an author of eloquence. He gives to the genre, without destroying its character, a lightly rhetorical impetus. Endelechius (about A.D. 400) uses the second Asclepiad for pastoral, a proof of the mingling of the genres in late antiquity. He is not even afraid to bring into his poetry words of prosaic origin such as *purificatio*.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In principle, Virgil sets the literary level of pastoral 'low', matching the stunted bushes of the pastoral landscape (cf. Verg. *ecl.* 4. 2 *humilesque myricae*). Servius remarks (*ecl.* p. 1. 16 Thilo): *humilis character*. Yet this means no loss of quality.[1] If greater elevation is attempted, this is an exception (*ecl.* 4. 1, cf. also Calp. 4. 10–11). In order to preserve their humble *personae*, Calpurnius makes his shepherds read a political promise from the tree bark on which a god has carved it (*deus ipse canit*: Calp. 1. 29).

The problem of the influence of poetry in a time of distress is also considered (Virg. *ecl.* 9). Its capacity to change external circumstances is not rated highly, though not actually disputed. Its effectiveness in real life as love charm (*ecl.* 8) in courtship (Calp. 3) or at least as consolation is unambiguous.[2]

Pastoral poetry takes as its theme singing shepherds, and to that extent is also poetry about poetry.[3] The omnipresence of Theocritus' programmatic *Idyll 7* in Virgil's *Eclogues* speaks volumes. In the 5th *Eclogue*, Daphnis is a poet who has become immortal, but the poem is also an explanation of the cultural relevance of feasts. Feasts keep alive cultural creativity, although—or because?—they are celebrated

[1] *Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae* (*ecl.* 4. 3).

[2] Cf. the refrain at Nem. 4. 19 etc. *levant et carmina curas*; Endelech. AL 893. 12 *prodest sermo doloribus*.

[3] E. A. Schmidt 1972 and 1987.

in honor of the dead. In this sense, the succession from poet to poet (*ecl.* 2. 36–38) gains deeper significance. Virgil's apotheosis of Daphnis is renewed in the divinization of Virgil himself by his successor Calpurnius[1] (4. 70), and that of Meliboeus by Nemesianus (1 passim). To Virgil are ascribed the gifts of Orpheus (Calp. 4. 65–67; cf. the hope expressed at Virg. *ecl.* 4. 55–57). But the songs of Calpurnius' shepherds have a similar effect on animals and landscape, even when their themes are unpolitical (2. 10–20). The poet of the *Eclogues* humbles himself, yet on closer inspection is revealed as a divine *vates*, as a prophet.

Ideas II

Even in eclogues the link with reality and time takes precedence over purely literary imitation. Moreover, Virgil already links bucolic and 'georgic' elements.[2] The reality of farming finds didactic expression in Calpurnius, and Calpurnius also undertakes the description of games.

The negative aspects of a political present oppressive to the individual make their way into Virgil's pastoral poetry, and rescue it from the temptation to provide merely a convenient escape from reality. What is more, Virgil gives to his *Eclogues* a messianic emphasis. The notion of the Golden Age, introduced by him into eclogue, was resumed as early as Nero's time.[3] Eclogue was made by Virgil a vehicle of reflections on the philosophy of history. Yet the world of shepherds, and bucolic poetry as a genre, lie further from utopia than we might have assumed.[4]

The theme of the ruler's godhead is only delicately sounded in Virgil's *Eclogues*, and developed in more detail in Calpurnius. By implication, however, these poets are still able to maintain their intellectual independence. Along with the emperor, Calpurnius also

[1] In Calpurnius, the dignity of the poet's art is preserved. Virgil, not merely the emperor, is elevated to divine status. A different line is taken in *Einsiedeln Eclogue* 1. 43–49: Homer conducts Nero's coronation as poet, and Virgil personally destroys his own works.

[2] R. KETTEMANN 1977.

[3] In addition to Calpurnius, cf. *Carm. Einsidl.* 2. Caution in applying the motif of the Golden Age is recommended by E. A. SCHMIDT 1987, 14–16. On Virgil's 4th *Eclogue* and its relation to pastoral cf. R. KETTEMANN 1977, 71–76 (with bibl.).

[4] E. A. SCHMIDT 1987.

divinizes Virgil, while Nemesianus replaces the apotheosis of the emperor by that of the rustic singer Meliboeus.[1] This remarkable act of privatization is accompanied in the course of time by a consecration. Nemesianus' 3rd *Eclogue*, varying the framework of Virgil's 6th *Eclogue*, is an impressive hymn to Bacchus, and this Dionysiac element in bucolic poetry is something new. A certain Pomponius, in close dependence on Virgil's 1st *Eclogue*, makes Tityrus instruct Meliboeus in the Christian faith.[2] With the loss of its polyphony, eclogue poetry loses a characteristic quality of its poetic charm.

Concordance: M. Korn, W. Slaby, Concordantia in carmina bucolica. Lemmatisierte Computerkonkordanz zur römischen Bukolik (Vergil, Calpurnius Siculus, Carmina Einsidlensia, Nemesian) und zu den *Cynegetica* des Grattius und Nemesian, Hildesheim 1992.

W. Arland, Nachtheokritische Bukolik bis an die Schwelle der lateinischen Bukolik, diss. Leipzig 1937. * L. Castagna, I bucolici latini minori. Una ricerca di critica testuale, Firenze 1976. * Curtius, Europäische Lit. 191–209 ('Die Ideallandschaft'). * B. Effe, ed., Theokrit und die griechische Bukolik (= WdF 580), Darmstadt 1986 (collection of articles, bibl.). * B. Effe, G. Binder, Die antike Bukolik. Eine Einführung, München 1989 (there Effe's earlier works and further bibl.). * K. Garber, ed., Europäische Bukolik und Georgik, Darmstadt 1976 (collection of articles, bibl.). * D. M. Halperin, Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry, New Haven 1983. * N. Himmelmann, Über Hirten-Genre in der antiken Kunst, Opladen 1980. * R. Kettemann, Bukolik und Georgik. Studien zur Affinität bei Vergil und später, Heidelberg 1977. * K. Kubusch, Aurea Saecula: Mythos und Geschichte, Frankfurt 1986. * B. Luiselli, Studi sulla poesia bucolica latina, AFLC 28, 1960, 1–102. * M. C. Mittelstadt, Longus: *Daphnis and Chloe* and the Pastoral Tradition, C&M 27, 1966, 162–177. * E. Panofsky, *Et in Arcadia ego*: Poussin und die Elegische Tradition (s. K. Garber, ed., 271–305). * Wolfg. Schmid, Tityrus christianus (s. K. Garber, ed., 44–121). * Wolfg. Schmid, Bukolik, in: RLAC 2, 1954, 786–800. * E. A. Schmidt, Poetische Reflexion. Vergils Bukolik, München 1972. * E. A. Schmidt, Bukolische Leidenschaft oder über antike Hirtenpoesie, Frankfurt 1987. * H. C. Schnur, R. Kössling, eds., Die Hirtenflöte. Bukolische Dichtungen von Vergil bis Geßner (a good selection, TrN), Leipzig 1978. * G. Schönbeck, Der *locus amoenus* von Homer bis Horaz, diss. Heidel-

[1] It is probable that the honest countryman and singer Meliboeus is intended to represent some private individual (G. Binder in: B. Effe, G. Binder 1989, 150–153).

[2] Poetae Christiani Minores, pars I, ediderunt. C. Schenkl et al., Vindobonae 1888 (= CSEL 16, 1), 609–615; cf. AL 719a.

berg 1962. * C. SEGAL, Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral. Essays on Theocritus and Virgil, Princeton 1981. * J. VAN SICKLE, Theocritus and the Development of the Conception of Bucolic Genre, Ramus 5, 1976, 18–44. * J. VAN SICKLE, The Design of Vergil's *Bucolics*, Roma 1978. * B. SNELL, Arkadien. Die Entdeckung einer geistigen Landschaft (repr. in: K. GARBER, ed., 14–43). * G. WOJACZEK, Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik, diss. Köln, Meisenheim 1969.

VIRGIL

Life and Dates

P. Vergilius Maro was born on the Ides of October, 70 B.C., at Andes near Mantua in northern Italy. Attempts to explain the uniqueness of his genius by reference to Celtic or Etruscan antecedents are hardly helpful, but certainly his love for the landscape of Italy springs from a childhood spent close to nature and not from a city dweller's 'sentimental' yearning for his roots. It is precisely in the greatest creative personalities that culture and nature often form a unity.

The accounts of his life deserve more doubt than credence. His father, who perhaps was originally a potter by profession, is said to have been a free day-laborer, and from modest beginnings to have worked his way up to become landowner and bee-keeper. Whether Virgil was affected directly or only indirectly by the distribution of land made by Octavian to his veterans, his first great work, the ten pastoral poems (*Eclogues*), gives a lively picture of the troubles of that time (between 42 and 39, or as is now assumed,[1] 35 B.C.). Italian farmers were driven from hearth and home to make room for veterans. The resentment this caused is heard in the shepherd Meliboeus' words from the first eclogue (*ecl.* 1. 70–72).

In the poet's life, friendship played an important role. He refers by name to the poet Cornelius Gallus with sympathy and admiration (*ecl.* 6 and 10), as to Varus (*ecl.* 9), to the writer and literary patron Asinius Pollio (*ecl.* 4) and, not least, to the 'god' of the first

[1] G. W. BOWERSOCK, A Date in the *Eighth Eclogue*, HSPh 75, 1971, 73–80; W. V. CLAUSEN, On the Date of the *First Eclogue*, HSPh 76, 1972, 201–205; E. A. SCHMIDT, Zur Chronologie der *Eklogen* Vergils, SHAW 1974, 6, 9; cf. ibid. 8, note 4. A contrary view in W. STROH, Die Ursprünge der römischen Liebeselegie, Poetica 15, 1983, 205–246, esp. 214, note 30 (convincing).

Eclogue, who in all probability is to be identified with Caesar's heir, the later Augustus.

Virgil's next work, the *Georgics*, was a didactic poem on agriculture, written in the years leading up to 29. It shows him as a member of the circle around Maecenas. In this poem the apotheosis of the one later to become Augustus also plays an important part. If the story is true that Virgil cancelled a eulogy of Cornelius Gallus in the *Georgics* after the latter's fall from grace, this would be the only blemish on the picture we have of the poet's character.[1]

Maecenas is mentioned for the first time in Virgil's second major work, the *Georgics*. Once again, as patron, he remained true to his principle of only furthering talents which had already proved themselves. Nevertheless Maecenas exercised an essential influence on the poet's creativity.[2] Along with Varius, Virgil is perhaps the poet who most faithfully adopted as his own the intentions of Maecenas and Augustus.

It is superfluous to ponder whether heroic poetry suited Virgil's talent as well as pastoral did. Certainly Horace was correct in emphasizing (*sat.* 1. 10. 44–45) the 'delicate wit' (*molle atque facetum*) in Virgil's talent. But the poet also possessed a strong dramatic feeling, a tragic outlook on life which, already visible in passages of the earlier works, only found full deployment in the *Aeneid*. The question is wrongly put. His powers grew in meeting his new challenge, or better, previously hidden sides of his nature were revealed. That Virgil as a person created an impression of quiet self-absorption, of being somewhat shy and awkward, and anything but a brilliant speaker, may perhaps be believed on the evidence of the ancient biographers. Horace (*sat.* 1. 5) recounts Virgil's precarious health during a trip to Brundisium. If, as assumed by modern scholars, the Virgil addressed in the *Odes* (1. 3 and 1. 24) is the poet, they give evidence of melancholy, deep gloom, and serious preoccupation with death, features recurring in many passages of the *Aeneid*.

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1 J. Hermes, C. Cornelius Gallus und Vergil. Das Problem der Umarbeitung des vierten *Georgica*-Buches, diss. Münster 1980 (attacks the credibility of the story); H. D. Jocelyn, Servius and the 'Second Edition' of the *Georgics*, Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio 1, Milano 1984, 431–448; H. Jacobson, Aristaeus, Orpheus, and the *Laudes Galli*, AJPh 105, 1984, 271–300; on T. Berres, Die Entstehung der *Aeneis*, Wiesbaden 1982 (*georg.* 4 changed after *Aen.* 1–6) s. W. Suerbaum, Gnomon 60, 1988, 401–409.

2 Virgil jokes: 'your not entirely gentle orders' (*georg.* 3. 41).

It was this work on which Rome's greatest poet was engaged in his last decade of life, perhaps in the awareness that he had accepted a challenge beyond his powers (Macr. *sat.* 1. 24. 11). A final revision was to take place on a visit to Greece in the company of Augustus, but during the journey he fell ill, interrupted his travel and died on his way home in Brundisium (19 B.C.).

The *Aeneid* is a basic text not only of Roman but also of European civilization. Its preservation is owed to Augustus, who set aside the poet's wishes, expressed in his will, not to publish anything of his previously unpublished. The editors, Varius and Tucca, went about their task with the devotion of true friends, even refraining from completing verses left incomplete.

Virgil's life began during Pompey's first consulship (70 B.C.) and ended shortly before Augustus' legislation on marriage. It embraced the period when in Roman politics individualism showed its greatest development. Pompey made the east and Caesar the west serve his ends, until the Republic broke in two. Virgil, who was 26 years old when Caesar was murdered, experienced to the full the Civil Wars. This explains his gratitude to Augustus, the ultimate bringer of peace and the fulfiller of the highest aim of politics. The kindness of fate allowed the poet to die before the new system of rule became definitely established and unmasked itself as monarchy.

The historical evolution of this period is matched in Virgil's creativity by his journey from private to more than personal issues. From the perspective of literary history, his youthful years coincided with the maturity of Catullus and Lucretius, bold and independent spirits. In the next generation, individualism became a fashion and with that, paradoxically, a collective phenomenon. While the elegiac poets Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid represented the normal development of Roman literature under Hellenistic influence, the 'classic' Virgil, though not disavowing his Alexandrian beginnings, swam against the tide of his age. It may be guessed what independence and determination were needed to fulfill this mission.

Survey of Works

Eclogues

1: A conversation between two shepherds illumines the problem of land confiscation from two perspectives, reflected in two characters. The lively, 'elegiac' Meliboeus must leave his farm, while the reflective Tityrus is

allowed to remain. The first half of the eclogue is concerned with the past, the second with the future. Precisely in the middle (41–42) the 'god' is mentioned to whom Tityrus owes his good fortune.

2: Corydon gives utterance to his hopeless passion for Alexis in a 'sentimental' and poetic discourse. In the center of the poem (37–38), we learn that it was to Corydon that the dying Damoetas left his shepherd's pipe. This hint of artistic inheritance is particularly suggestive in a collection setting Theocritus' *Idylls* in a new context, and lending them totally new shape.

3: Menalcas and Damoetas banter with each other. They appeal to an arbiter who begins to speak in the middle of the eclogue (55), and contend with graceful or enigmatic pairs of verses so well that no victor can be declared.

4: A more exalted theme is announced. With the birth of a child under Pollio's consulship (40 B.C.), a new golden age is to begin. The fourth *Eclogue* is one of the noblest and profoundest poems of world literature.

5: Mopsus and Menalcas celebrate in competition the dead singer Daphnis. The eclogue falls into two halves. At the end, both singers compliment each other in turn. This poem sheds light on the deeper meaning of festivals and on the relation between the living and the dead.

6: The introduction is an indirect homage to Varus, followed by the framing story: two lads capture sleeping Silenus, who ransoms himself with a song. This mysterious poem about the origins of the world, cosmology, and love contains the consecration of Cornelius Gallus as a poet.

7: Meliboeus tells about a competition between singers in which Thyrsus was vanquished by Corydon. The conflict revealed in this eclogue is perceptibly sharper than the contests in 3 and 5.

8: After a dedication to Pollio come two songs of equal length, whose content is complementary. Damon sings of an unrequited love (cf. Theocr. 3). In Alphesiboeus' song, the beloved uses magic (cf. Theocr. 2) to call her Daphnis home.

9: The farm-bailiff Moeris and the shepherd Lycidas discuss the question whether the songs of the poet Menalcas have the power to change reality or not. It is a poem critical of the times, dealing with problems of poetics, depending as a whole on Theocritus 7, but also citing other poems, including eclogues of Virgil himself.

10: A homage to the love poet Cornelius Gallus and at the same time a lofty celebration of love and poetry.

Georgics

1: An address to Maecenas is followed by the announcement of the theme: 1: agriculture; 2: arboriculture; 3: animal husbandry; 4: bee-keeping. There is a solemn invocation of the gods of the countryside and of the emperor (1–42). Three main sections then consider work in the fields (43–203); the

course of the year (204–350); and weather portents (351–463). The finale of the book, connected in thought with this last section, treats the ill-omened portents at Caesar's death (463–514).

2: The book dedicated to the cultivation of trees, especially the vine and olive, opens with an invocation to Bacchus (1–8), and immediately proceeds to its theme. An address to Maecenas is introduced a little later (39–46). The first portion of the book (9–108) discusses the many forms of tree propagation; the second the different types of soil (109–258) and of planting (259–345); and the third the care and protection of growth (346–457). The conclusion is a eulogy of country life (458–542). These divisions are emphasized by the use of the excursus: the second section appropriately begins with a eulogy of Italy (109–176) and ends with the praise of spring (322–345).

3: In the proem, which constitutes the very heart of the Georgics, the poet pays homage to his birthplace, to the emperor, and to Maecenas (1–38). The first part of the book (49–283) then deals with cattle and horses, the selection and care of breeding animals (49–156), the raising of young (157–208) and, to conclude the first section, the irresistible nature of the sexual urge (209–283). The second half, after an intermediate proem (284–294), explains the care of sheep and goats in winter (295–321) and summer (322–338). A contrasting picture of Libyan shepherding and Scythian cattleherding (339–383) is followed by a mention of animal products (384–403) and dangers threatening the herd (404–473), especially cattle plague, the description of which forms the finale (474–566).

4: Bees, both subtle and sublime in one, furnish the topic of the 4th book, which is also dedicated to Maecenas (1–7). The location and construction of the bee-hive are discussed (8–50), followed by swarming and struggle, selection and settlement (51–115). After a respite provided by the description of a garden (116–148), Virgil stresses the moral uniqueness of bees, thus offering a positive counterpart to the destructive sexuality of the previous book. He assigns to the bees a share in the divine *logos* (149–227). The harvesting of honey, pests, and sicknesses round out the picture (228–280). The death and rebirth of the bee colony afford an excuse for the story of Aristaeus and its tale of Orpheus, which forms the grandiose finale (281–558). Some personal remarks, also once again mentioning the emperor, conclude the work (559–566).

Aeneid

1: The proem sweeps from Troy to Rome and Carthage. A storm at sea, raised by Juno, drives Aeneas' ships to the Carthaginian shore. Venus is encouraged by a prophecy from Jupiter about her son, and, masquerading as a huntress, informs Aeneas about the land and its people. Then, under the protection of a cloud, Aeneas and his comrade Achates come to Carthage.

Queen Dido bids the Trojans welcome, and at a banquet Amor, in the guise of the boy Ascanius, wins her heart for Aeneas.

2: At Dido's request Aeneas tells the story of Troy's destruction. In the 10th year of the war the Greeks concealed their bravest champions in a wooden horse and pretended to sail away to Tenedos. Sinon's treacherous tale and the example of Laocoon caused the Trojans to level their walls and pull the horse into the city. But, under cover of night, the enemy returns unexpectedly, and in a dream the dead Hector commands Aeneas to abandon his doomed city. The hero, however, prefers death to flight, and the Trojans do fight successfully, until the Greek arms which they have assumed as a trick spell their undoing. Citizens slaughter fellow citizens. After the death of King Priam, Aeneas is encouraged by a revelation from Venus and a sign from Jupiter to set out with his family and followers. The ghost of his wife Creusa prophesies to him the future.

3: Aeneas narrates his wanderings. He is compelled to leave Thrace by the portent of Polydorus. Delphic Apollo bids him seek his ancient home, which Anchises wrongly takes to be Crete. Aeneas is expelled from there by a plague among the Trojans, and in a dream the Penates direct him towards Italy. He is swept by a storm to the Strophades Islands, and at Actium celebrates games in honor of Apollo. In Epirus, he receives a revelation from Helenus. On the west coast of Sicily, he takes on board an old comrade of Ulysses. At Drepanum, Anchises dies. On his voyage to Italy, Aeneas is driven by a storm to Carthage.

4: Dido opens her heart to her sister Anna, and is advised to seek a union with Aeneas. To further the marriage, Juno assures herself of Venus' cooperation, and during a hunting expedition a storm causes the two lovers to seek refuge in a cave. But their happiness is shortlived. The jealous king of the Gaetuli, Iarbas, prays to Jupiter and he, through Mercury, bids Aeneas, the 'ladies' man', to make ready for departure. Dido learns of these preparations, and overwhelms her lover with reproaches. On Mercury's advice, the Trojans flee by night. The abandoned queen commits suicide.

5: On his way to Italy Aeneas is welcomed by Acestes in Sicily, and celebrates festive games to honour the anniversary of Anchises' death. In the ship race, Cloanthus is victorious, in the footrace, Euryalus, thanks to a trick by his friend Nisus. In the boxing match, old Entellus wins, in archery Eurytion, though Acestes, whose arrow catches fire in flight, is awarded the first prize as a token of respect. Ascanius, with the young boys of his own age, puts on a display of horsemanship. But a group of Trojan women goaded on by Juno sets the fleet on fire, until Jupiter sends a shower to quench the flames. In a dream, Anchises bids his son leave behind the women and the old men in the newly founded city of Acesta.

6: In the cave of the Cumaean Sibyl Aeneas puts his questions to the oracle of Apollo. He buries his dead comrade Misenus at the cape named

after him. Doves show Aeneas the way to the golden bough, which enables him, after the proper sacrifices, to descend to the underworld by the entrance at Avernus, with the Sibyl as his guide. His first encounter is with his unburied helmsman Palinurus, then in the center of the book with Dido, and finally with the Trojan Deiphobus. The Sibyl explains to him the fate of sinners in Tartarus. In the abode of the Blessed, Musaeus leads him to Anchises, who shows him the heroes of the future, from the kings of Alba to Augustus and the prematurely dead Marcellus. With this encouragement, Aeneas leaves the world of shadows by the ivory gate.

7: After the burial of his nurse Caieta, Aeneas journeys past Circe's dwelling to the mouth of the Tiber and lands at the *Laurens ager*. Ascanius is witness to 'the portent of the tables', and Aeneas recognizes that he is in the promised land. An embassy is sent to ask King Latinus for ground on which to settle, and, moved by the prophecies made by seers, Latinus offers Aeneas the hand of his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Meanwhile, on Juno's orders, the Fury Allecto provokes Latinus' wife, Amata, and Lavinia's intended bridegroom, Turnus, to resistance. When Ascanius wounds a tame deer, hand to hand fighting breaks out and two respected inhabitants of the country are killed. Since Latinus refuses to undertake a war of revenge, Juno herself forces open the gates of war. Turnus finds many allies, including Mezentius and Camilla.

8: Turnus sends Venulus to Diomedes to seek his support in the fight. On the advice of the river god Tiberinus, Aeneas travels upstream to visit King Evander at the future site of Rome There he takes part in a festival honoring Hercules. Evander's son Pallas brings a company to join the Trojans. Then Aeneas seeks help from Mezentius' enemies, the Etruscans at Agylla. In answer to Venus' prayer, Vulcan forges weapons for her son. On the shield, the destiny of Rome is depicted.

9: During Aeneas' absence Turnus is encouraged by Juno's emissary, Iris, and assails the Trojans, but, at the entreaty of the Great Mother of Ida, his attempt to burn their fleet is frustrated by Jupiter, who changes the ships into nymphs. During the night, Nisus and Euryalus offer to inform Aeneas about the threat facing the Trojans, and in the enemy camp they wreak bloody havoc. But the glitter of a helmet he has plundered betrays Euryalus, and both friends fall. The next day, Turnus presses home his attack into the Trojan camp. After a brave fight, he retreats to the river.

10: At an assembly of the gods Venus and Juno debate angrily. Jupiter leaves the decision to fate. The Rutulians continue their siege. Meanwhile, Aeneas returns from Etruria with a strong fleet, and on the way is met by the nymphs (his former ships) who inform him of the danger to his comrades. At his appearance the Rutulians abandon the siege. In the fight that follows, Pallas is killed by Turnus and Aeneas honors the fallen youth by the slaughter of many enemies. Turnus is now withdrawn from the fray by

Juno, and the chief burden of battle falls to Mezentius until he is wounded by Aeneas. After his son Lausus has given his life for him, Mezentius again joins the fray and in turn is killed by Aeneas.

11: Aeneas dedicates Mezentius' arms to Mars, and sends back the body of Pallas to Evander with an honor guard. Both sides bury their dead. Venulus now brings a refusal from Diomedes. While a wordy dispute is taking place in Latinus' council of war, Aeneas attacks the city. Turnus entrusts the cavalry to Messapus and Camilla, while he accompanies the infantry to an ambush. It is only when news arrives of Camilla's death that he comes to help his men. The onset of night brings an end to the slaughter.

12: Turnus resolves to face Aeneas in single combat, and Aeneas accepts his challenge. A solemnly concluded truce is broken, at Juno's prompting, by Turnus' sister Juturna. A false portent misleads the seer Tolumnius into hurling his spear, and an arrow wounds Aeneas in spite of his efforts to separate the contestants. Turnus now begins a victorious course over his enemies until Aeneas, healed by Venus, returns to the field. Juturna attempts to rescue Turnus by assuming the guise of his charioteer. Only when Aeneas sets fire to the city, and Amata in despair takes her own life, does Turnus confront his adversary, though without success. Aeneas is on the point of sparing the life of his wounded foe when he finds him wearing Pallas' baldric and fulfills his duty of vengeance.

Sources, Models, and Genres

This was a period when Roman history was leading from individualism towards the recognition of a an order going far beyond the individual, and the course of Virgil's intellectual evolution may be understood as a path from a multiplicity of small-scale poems to the composition of larger units. His encounter with genres, sources, and models reflects this development most clearly.

The most 'modern' poetry is found at the outset. The young poet began with short pieces modeled on Catullus and the neoterics (*Catalepton*). For the *Eclogues*—his first work of importance—he chose a somewhat earlier model: Theocritus, a Hellenistic poet.

It was Virgil's destiny to enlarge his vision and to choose ever older and greater masters as his teachers. The next stage, that of didactic poetry, meant in the first place a turn towards the Hellenistic poet Aratus, with whom Cicero had competed earlier.[1] Yet the

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[1] The beginning of the 3rd book of the *Georgics* (1–48) appears in a new light thanks to the Callimachus papyrus from Lille: P. J. Parsons, Callimachus: Victoria Berenices, ZPE 29, 1977, 1–50, esp. 11–13; E. Livrea, A. Carlini, C. Corbato,

theme was no longer the sky and its stars, but the earth. With this, even if more in theory than in practice, a more ancient and profound layer of Greek poetry was revived, *Hesiod's Works and Days*, though the source from which the poet drew his material was not so much Hesiod as later technical literature.

With his advance to the *Aeneid*, signified, for example, already in the proem to the 3rd book of the *Georgics*, the scope of his models was once again considerably broadened. Virgil now took up the most exalted example of all, that of Homer. He gave fresh life to Homer's entire work by reflecting his twice 24 books in twelve. In them, the sequence of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is reversed. Essentially, the first half of the *Aeneid* corresponds to the *Odyssey*, the second to the *Iliad*.[1]

Along with Homer, the Hellenistic epic poet Apollonius must be mentioned, without whose story of Medea Virgil would never have been able to describe as he did the awaking of love in Dido's heart but in the *Aeneid* this love, contrasted with Dido's political mission as queen, enters a larger context. Here, as elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, a group of models is important, now only surviving in fragments: Roman tragic poetry, which had been highly influential in establishing myth at Rome. Of course Virgil also had direct access to the Greek tragedians.

The influence of lost old Roman epic may scarcely be measured. Naevius must certainly have mediated the conversation between Jupiter and Venus in the 1st book. He may also have been influential on the 4th book and even on the technique of inset. In all likelihood Naevius himself had introduced prehistory by way of episode, while conversely Virgil incorporated the future in the form of prophecies (cf. the prophecy of Jupiter *Aen.* 1. 257–296, Dido's curse *Aen.* 4. 622–629, the vision of heroes *Aen.* 6. 756–886, the description of the shield *Aen.* 8. 626–728). Finally, Ennius, Virgil's real predecessor in heroic poetry, provided a storehouse of countless images and turns of phrase. The *Annales* were replaced by the *Aeneid* in the fullest sense. The language and spirit of the *Aeneid* satisfied the demands of

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F. Bornmann, Il nuovo Callimaco di Lille, Maia 32, 1980, 225–253, esp. 226–230; R. F. Thomas, Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, and Roman Poetry, CQ 77, n.s. 33, 1983, 92–113, esp. 92–101.

[1] There is of course overlapping, as with the Funeral Games in the 5th book and Aeneas' voyage in the 8th; cf. also M. Lausberg, Iliadisches im ersten Buch der *Aeneis*, Gymnasium 90, 1983, 203–239. In general, for Virgil the *Odyssey* is perhaps even more important than the *Iliad*.

modernity. It was Virgil who first gave reality to an artistically finished large-scale form in Roman epic. Yet even here Virgil did not entirely deny the literary impressions of his youth. Dido also bears features of the abandoned Ariadne from Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* and the Catullan image of the mown flower is elevated, on the death of a youthful hero, to an epic simile. We already assessed the impact of Apollonius Rhodius. Finally the 'prophetic' concept of the *Aeneid* was likewise inspired by a Hellenistic poet, Lycophron.[1] Thus Virgil gave heroic epic a unity of form and at the same time enriched its content by the many facets of modern aesthetic feeling.

Material was provided in the first place by Varro, the great scholar and contemporary of Caesar, whose long life stretched down to the period of Octavian. Parallel texts reveal that Virgil reshaped tradition independently, or else made use of other sources than those known to us. Comparative study of myth[2] discovers in the *Aeneid* 'Indo-European' structures, and comparative literature points to parallels with the Indian *Mahâbhârata*,[3] and this at least shows how deeply Virgil, in competition with Homer's and Hesiod's 'creation of the Greek gods' (cf. Herodotus 2. 53), penetrated the essence of myth.[4]

In his choice of models, therefore, a backward movement in time is combined with an enlargement of previous scope. Hellenistic and Roman elements previously favored were not so much rejected as subsumed into a higher synthesis. In this increasing distance from contemporary fashion, and the attainment of a more than personal vantage point, the older poets and their authoritative standing played a liberating and unifying role.

Literary Technique

No complete account of Virgil's literary technique is possible here. Only selected features may be mentioned, traceable in different works.

Already in his *Eclogues* Virgil established principles for the structure of whole books as an artistic unit. Horace's 1st book of the *Satires* and Tibullus' 1st book would equally consist of ten carefully arranged

[1] The *Book of Daniel*, with its historical prophecy, is also Hellenistic.
[2] G. Dumézil, Mythe et épopée, Paris, 2nd ed. 1968.
[3] G. E. Duckworth, Turnus and Duryodhana, TAPhA 92, 1961, 81–127.
[4] Basic on the myth of Aeneas: G. K. Galinsky 1969.

poems. *Eclogues* 3, 5, and 7 are musical competitions, and the 8th shows a related structure. In the 5th *Eclogue* the harmony between the contestants is greatest, while the rivalry is less marked in the 3rd poem than in the 7th. The second half of the collection gains coherence through its allusions to Cornelius Gallus, who appears in *Eclogues* 6 and 10. Although the individual eclogues may stand as independent units, the book has also a high degree of inner cohesion, even if scholars, in their search for mathematical symmetries, may at times have gone too far. But, given the deeply musical character of ancient poetry in general, and of the *Eclogues* in particular, such interpretations are not in principle to be regarded as misleading.

In comparison with his predecessor, Theocritus, Virgil's adaptation of pastoral poetry to a Roman milieu marks a further loss of immediacy, though also an increase in organic unity. The poet adapts the varied elements of Theocritean poetry to a new universe, and makes them serve new ends. Politically, this may be said of the central role played by the later Augustus, partly borrowed from Theocritus' eclogues honoring Ptolemy. Poetically, this is true of the remarks about poetry, modelled on those of the seventh *Idyll*, whose influence is felt in many of Virgil's eclogues. Artistically, it may be said of the shaping of Virgil's book of *Eclogues* as an organic unity of ten poems, linked by correspondences in form and content. At the same time Virgil tones down 'naturalistic' or mimic features found in the Theocritean idyll. The multiple elements found in the model are incorporated into a unified structure with a new meaning. In passing through the school of Hellenistic poetry right to its end, Virgil grew beyond it, and himself became a classic of an originally unclassical genre.

The task of arranging a *continuous* text as a self-contained book was solved by Virgil for the first time in the 1st book of the *Georgics*. Between the proem and the finale, there are three main sections. The structure is marked by the use of excursus (such as the description of the storm at the end of the second section, 311–350) and similes. The final simile echoes the simile at the end of the first part (512–514; cf. 201–203). In the 2nd book of the *Georgics*, the digressions (praise of Italy and praise of spring) pinpoint the beginning and end of the second section. Yet Virgil's style is fluent, and these are not hard and fast divisions. There are bridges between sections, giving to the text a uniform and cohesive quality. The use of divisions into three or even into five parts is also found in the books of

the *Aeneid.* The 4th book there has even been compared with a tragedy in five acts.[1]

There may also, however, be a strict division into two halves, as in the 3rd book of the *Georgics.* This structure is underlined by an intermediate proem and by corresponding conclusions (first half: irresistible nature of the sexual urge; second half: cattle plague).

It was an even more difficult task to establish an overarching structure unifying several books. But Virgil, like Lucretius before him, solved it brilliantly. In the *Georgics,* the gloomy conclusions of the 1st and 3rd books are set in contrast with the brilliant beginnings of the 2nd and 4th. The excursuses in books 3 and 4 are in correspondence, both for their position and their themes (unrestrained and restrained sexuality). A unifying link in the *Georgics* is also the name Caesar (i.e. Octavian): at the beginning and end, homage is paid to the ruler, and in the middle of the work, in the proem to the 3rd book, Virgil promises to erect a temple to him (*in medio mihi Caesar erit,* 'in the midst I will have Caesar' 3. 16).

The structure of the *Aeneid* required Virgil to think in even larger units. Three groups of four books may be recognized. The first four are united, if by nothing else, by the setting of 1 and 4 at Carthage. In their turn, the two Carthaginian books frame the narrative of Troy's destruction and Aeneas' wanderings. Books 5–8 prepare the hero for his struggle. In 9–12, the actual events of war are described. But it is even more fascinating to view the *Aeneid* as a work of two halves. The 7th book is a new beginning. A second proem contrasts what is to follow with what has preceded as a *maius opus* (*Aen.* 7. 45). The second half relates to the first as a Roman *Iliad* to a Roman *Odyssey,* even though the antithesis is not strictly maintained.[2]

The unleashing of war in the 7th book was already prefigured in the unleashing of the storm in the 1st. If the 2nd book describes the destruction of Troy, the 8th prepares the way for the birth of a new Troy, Rome. The final verses correspond. Earlier Aeneas took his father onto his shoulders, and now he takes up 'the fate of his grandsons'. Such observations on the conscious counterpoint of the two halves of the poem may be multiplied almost at will.

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[1] A. WLOSOK, Vergils Didotragödie, in: H. GÖRGEMANNS and E. A. SCHMIDT, eds., Studien zum antiken Epos, Meisenheim 1976, 175–201.

[2] So rightly G. N. KNAUER 1964; on the importance of the *Odyssey* for the *whole* of the *Aeneid* s. also above p. 675, note 1.

This is to indicate the level on which the unity of the *Aeneid* is to be sought. The poet's first concern was with internal coherence. He left unreconciled some contradictions at more superficial levels.[1] The poet would perhaps have partly removed them in the course of a final revision: at least it was not his wish to publish the *Aeneid* in its present state.

The narrative proceeds in scenes which, in contrast to the linear narrative style of Apollonius Rhodius, clearly emerge from their context as units.[2] The author gives these scenes a literary shape, conveying to the reader above all else their inner significance. A trenchant remark has described the *Aeneid* as displaying a 'unity of feeling.'[3] Like a musician, the poet unfolds his work from within an embracing, overall mood, drawing out themes and motifs, assigning them their special place and particular purpose within the economy of the whole. Unlike the Hellenistic poets, Virgil leaves out much everyday detail in his representation of myth, and plays down realism. Individual comic features are no longer elaborated, receiving at best a brief hint.

Character portrayal is, in the case of Aeneas, often subordinated to the plot. At the beginning of some books, Aeneas seems to have lost a part of the knowledge he has acquired previously. This may be intentional, a way of presenting a man liable to mistakes, who needs divine guidance, and who in his constant obedience to the gods is shown as *homo religiosus.*

Aeneas is a new type of hero, not fitting into any traditional scheme. On the one hand, he bears features of the old-fashioned epic champion. As warrior, he is necessarily exposed to the feeling of anger. Moreover, Roman qualities distinguish him, such as *pietas* towards his father and descendants and a sense of responsibility towards his comrades. Finally he also possesses 'modern' qualities: when Lausus falls, he shows sympathy and even solidarity with his adversary. This

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1 W. Kroll, Studien über die Komposition der Aeneis, JKPh suppl. 27, 1902, 135–169 (Virgil is 'incapable of thinking further than the particular portion of his poetry with which he is preoccupied at the moment' 137; 'allows himself to be dragged along in the wake of his authorities' 138; 'very often forgets to narrate important matters' 146). G. Funke goes even further in: *Sunt lacrimae rerum*, Komposition und Ideologie in Vergils *Aeneis*, Klio 67, 1985, 224–233. The answer was already given in 1902 by Heinze in: Virgils epische Technik (s. now: R. Heinze, Virgil's Epic Technique. With a Preface by A. Wlosok, London 1993), passim.

2 The basic study is by F. Mehmel 1940.

3 V. Pöschl 1950 (3rd ed. 1977) passim.

sensitivity continually displayed by Aeneas is hard to reconcile with his unyielding obduracy towards Dido and Turnus. It may be that here we encounter the barriers separating pagan Roman and Christian feeling. The absolute novelty of his hero allowed Virgil to draw in him a picture that, if difficult to understand, is also astonishingly modern. It may not be legitimate to speak of the *Aeneid* as a novel of development, but Aeneas is a man who is ever maturing[1] and who has to learn, a type of character unexpected in an ancient author. Humanity for him is less a gift than a goal. The best feature in Aeneas is his perpetual openness, and this is why the reader of the *Aeneid* is continually discovering new facets in its hero.[2]

Aeneas' opponents, Dido and Turnus, are drawn with more decisive strokes. They are lively and engaging personalities to whose fate the reader cannot remain indifferent. The poet here had more rewarding artistic possibilities than in the case of Aeneas. By contrast with comparable women characters in the *Odyssey* or the *Argonautica*, Dido is a queen and tragic protagonist in the heroic mold. A gloomy hero under the spell of death, Turnus is a notable and typically Virgilian creation.

Even subordinate figures, such as father Anchises and Aeneas' comrade Achates, have their own features. By contrast with Dido, Lavinia lurks only in the background. But the shadow of Creusa, still loyal and caring in death, for all its sketchiness, is one of the most tender pictures of women in world literature. Angry Juno, as well, and gracious Venus, here presented for the most part as a mother, and even a grandmother, are, in their portraiture of women, fascinating character studies.

The style of the speeches proves that Virgil was an expert in rhetoric, though he controls the autonomous tendencies of this art and does not allow it to prevail over his poetry.

Let us now look at certain artistic devices, used by Virgil with particular expressiveness.

Chronological retrogression and exchange of roles. An unusual device is the reversal of normal temporal succession. In the 1st *Eclogue* the speech of Meliboeus (11–17) shows a reverse arrangement of facts, as does the story of Tityrus (27–35). This may be explained by psy-

[1] This does not mean that he is a Stoic προκόπτων.

[2] In Virgil in general, and in Aeneas in particular, there are definitely found a great many voices (not only two).

chology. It is the present which first comes into the speaker's consciousness, while the past in each case is brought in by way of explanation. This might be a reflection of ordinary language. But there is also a structural purpose. The first half of the eclogue leads us to the past, so that the divine youth aiding Tityrus to gain his good fortune is mentioned exactly in the center of the poem. In the second half, it is the future that will dominate. Thus chronological retrogression fulfills an artistic function in the structure of this eclogue.[1]

In the 6th book of the *Aeneid* there is a reversal of sequence in the arrangement of scenes. They refer back to earlier books. At first, the conversation with Palinurus harks back to the 5th book, then the meeting with Dido alludes to the 4th and finally the dialogue with Deiphobus to the 2nd. But there is more. Within the Dido scene (6. 450–476), which stands exactly in the middle of the 6th book, the events of the 4th are evoked in reverse order.[2] First comes Dido's deadly wound, then the departure of Aeneas, and after that the divine command. Consequently at the end of the scene Dido returns to her former husband Sychaeus. There is certainly a psychological justification to this arrangement of the facts: the meeting gives at first a reason to recall the most recent event, and then by way of explanation the narrative goes further and further back into the past. But the strictness with which Virgil adopts a counter chronology within this scene and also in the grouping of the three conversations already mentioned, is unique within his work. What is his artistic purpose? To come to terms with the past is the object of the first half of the 6th book. Only then is Aeneas free to turn his attention to the future, and this is what happens in the vision of the heroes. The structure of the 6th book, in which retrospect is followed by prospect, recalls the structure of the 1st *Eclogue*.

But, by contrast with the eclogue, progress is revealed in a double aspect in the *Aeneid*. The reverse chronology within one scene is supplemented on the large scale by the reverse chronological arrangements of three scenes. In the interval, Virgil had learned mastery of larger forms.

The second novelty by comparison with the eclogue is the linking of reverse chronology with a further type of inversion. The roles of

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[1] von Albrecht, Poesie 132–163.

[2] M. von Albrecht, Die Kunst der Spiegelung in Vergils Aeneis, Hermes 93, 1965, 54–64.

Aeneas and Dido are now, by contrast with the 4th book, exchanged. Now he is the suppliant and she the unapproachable. Numerous verbal correspondences underline that Aeneas must now suffer what he earlier did to Dido. This reversal of the active and passive roles confers upon the encounter in the lower world precisely the character of 'retaliation'.[1]

The combination of both types of reversal[2] in the *Aeneid* undoubtedly shows an increase in range, strength and depth by comparison with the 1st *Eclogue*.

Has this technique also a unifying function? Certainly it produces the closest conceivable dependence between the 6th and the preceding books.

An exchange of roles is also found at the end of the second great conflict in the *Aeneid*. Turnus, Aeneas' opponent, has slain the youthful Pallas (book 10) and taken his baldric. In the final scene of the *Aeneid*, it is the sight of the baldric which advises Aeneas to exact his vengeance, also expected by Pallas' father Evander. He does this with the words, 'Pallas sacrifices you.' Here too, the exchange of roles is meant to confront the agent objectively with his action. The artistic principle of reversal of functions is therefore a unifying element, linking both main conflicts of the *Aeneid*.

These refined techniques attest a high artistic awareness, schooled by Hellenistic teachers. But their application is controlled. The chief aim is not to display brilliance and virtuosity, but to render visible deeper connections between action and suffering, guilt and atonement. In this subordination of technique to poetic content, a classical element may be detected, but principally it acts as a unifying feature amidst the multiplicity of artistic means. It is true that Virgil picks up again in the *Aeneid* a technique employed in the *Eclogues*, but he develops it further and connects it with other procedures, making it a vehicle of meaning within a specifically epic context. Thus the Aeneid shows a striving for both greater variety and deeper

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[1] In his masterpiece *Evgeniy Onegin*, Pushkin establishes the same relation between the principal scenes. Onegin spurns Tatyana. At a later meeting, she rejects his love. The great poet felt the archetypical model furnished by Virgil's shaping of this material.

[2] The reversal of the time-line could be presented in a graph along a (horizontal) x-axis, and would be described in music as a retrograde movement. The interchange of active and passive would be shown on the (vertical) y-axis: in music mirroring or inversion of the melodic steps.

consistency. Perhaps it is no coincidence that in the *Georgics* no such reversals have so far been discovered.[1] The didactic poem is the most objective of Virgil's works, standing between two poems showing greater emphasis on symbol.

Images and Comparisons. A second aspect of Virgil's literary technique deserving study is his use of images and comparisons. Numerous images of nature found in the *Georgics* are developed in the *Aeneid* into similes.[2] A motif represented in all three main works is that of bees.

In the 1st *Eclogue* (*ecl.* 1. 53–55) the humming of the bees serves to indicate mood. Along with other sounds, such as the cooing of doves, it forms part of the happy world of Tityrus, as Meliboeus' vivid imagination paints it. The bees are not the chief theme of the presentation, and not even the grammatical subject of the sentence. The 'unaltered' hedge is more important, for it is the token that Tityrus' farm has remained intact, a central motif of the 1st *Eclogue.*

In the *Georgics,* bees are the chief theme of the 4th book.[3] Virgil describes in detail the features a particular locale must have to allow bees to settle there, and how they may be attracted to it (4. 8–66).[4]

But Virgil would not be Virgil had he not developed the motif beyond itself. Already at the beginning of the book, epic language and military metaphors confer on the material a special dignity. 'High-spirited generals and in order the morals and likings of a whole people and their battles will be my song' (4. 4–5). In the description of the battle (67–87), a contest among creatures is described in language adapted to human relationships (so far as warfare may be described as 'human relationships'). We hear, among other things, of trumpets, lances, and enemies. Epic similes accompany the contest. The bees fall to the ground like hail and acorns (80–81). Comparisons also illuminate the bees' use of pebbles as ballast, as if they were ships (195), and their industrious collaboration (170–175).[5] Virgil

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[1] In the 4th book, Aristaeus' misfortune is interpreted as a punishment for his persecution of Eurydice, but the scenes are not reversed.

[2] E.g. *georg.* 3. 215–223 and *Aen.* 12. 715–722; *georg.* 3. 232–234; *Aen.* 12. 103–106; *georg.* 3. 435–439; *Aen.* 2. 471–475.

[3] They form—after crops, trees and livestock—the highest realm of nature below man.

[4] The description of the flight (58–60) is, in spite of its poetic beauty (esp. *nare per aestatem*), meant objectively throughout.

[5] To think of the Cyclopes in *georg.* book 4 is however quite far-fetched. Virgil therefore may already at that time have worked on the 8th book of the *Aeneid.*

enjoys the contrast between the tiny object and the imposing means of description; as a Hellenistic artist, he takes a bird's eye view of a Lilliputian world.

But in several ways he allows the reader to see through his descriptions. The political and military metaphors (e.g. 201 *Quirites*) and the patriotic tones (212–218) focus on the Roman state and its morality, while, at a yet higher level of meaning, Virgil relates his motifs to the larger world and the totality of life. He speaks of the close connection of bees with the divine spirit (219–227). Early in the book we find an indication of the theme of 'immortality'. In spite of the short life of the individual, the race lives on (208–209). In the inset story of Orpheus, the conquest of death is unsuccessful, while in the framing narrative the miracle of the resurrection of the bees is accomplished, a significant contrast of themes.

In the *Georgics* the bees are therefore in the fullest sense a symbol, both objectively real and yet filled with moral and cosmic significance.

Just as the bees in Virgil's didactic poem form the crown of the world of creatures, their 'civic life' makes them peculiarly equipped to act as a bridge to the presentation of human destinies in the *Aeneid.*

In the 1st book of the *Aeneid* a bee simile describes the industrious Carthaginians building their new city (1. 430–436). Characteristically here, Virgil did not take up Homer's bee comparison (*Iliad* 2. 87–90), but that of the *Georgics* (4. 158–164), abbreviating for his epic a long section of his book on bees, and turning it into an image of human activity. This time, the levels of the main narrative and of the simile change place. In the *Aeneid* human activity is illustrated by a comparison with bees, while conversely, in the *Georgics*, the bustle of the bees is likened to work in a smithy (4. 170–175), and metaphors in general there are taken from human life. By this reversal of the two levels of fact and image in contrast to the earlier work, Virgil's self-imitation is justified, even necessary, for it is the verbal reminiscences that bring home the reversal in the relationship.

The technique of interchange between level of fact and level of image deserves further consideration. It underlines not only the connection between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, but throws light also on the *Aeneid*'s own structure. In the *Aeneid* the same correlation is found between the 1st and 7th books, introducing the two halves of the work. The calming of the storm in the 1st book is illustrated by a picture drawn from political life (1. 148–153). The god of the sea,

who calms the waves, is like a respected statesman allaying a riot among his fellow citizens. In the 7th book, by contrast, the main action takes place in the realm of politics and morals, and now it is nature that serves to provide a comparison (7. 586–590). In the midst of the general cry for war, King Latinus remains unmoved, like a cliff in the tempestuous sea. The relationship last adduced (chief action political and moral, similes drawn from nature and everyday) is the rule in epic. In retrospect the storm described in the 1st book appears as an overture to the warfare of the later, artfully projected into nature. At the same time for the reader who comes from the *Georgics* the path is smoothed. At first it seems that yet another event of nature is the theme. It is a constantly observable feature that Virgil counted on readers who apprehended his whole work as a unity.

In the 5th book of the *Aeneid* a bee simile (*Aen.* 6. 707–709) describes the souls in the grove of Lethe. Their buzzing recalls the *Eclogues*, but it is no longer a mere means of establishing a mood. By being applied to souls, the bee metaphor regains its old symbolic value. Moreover, the position of the simile within the book deserves attention. It was preceded, in the first half, by two autumnal pictures (309–312, the falling leaves and the departure of the migratory birds)[1] which describe the throng of the dead. Now there follows, towards the end of the book, the picture of summer which prepares the way for the prospect of Romans yet to come. The sequence autumn-summer is unexpected and is intended to provoke reflection.[2] Thus in the bee metaphor the symbolic meaning, so often found in the *Aeneid*, is combined with the painting of a mood known from the *Eclogues*.[3]

In the 7th book the motif is used as a prodigy (*Aen.* 7. 64–70). The bees symbolize the citizens coming from outside. The link with Troy and Rome, as is recognized in retrospect, was already given in the 6th book, where the simile prepares for the vision of heroes, and

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[1] Cf. also *georg.* 4. 473–474, birds in winter, not in autumn.

[2] If Virgil had simply aimed at plausibility, the succession of winter and spring would have satisfied his purpose, but his concern was to underline the contrast between the funereal mood of the first half of the book and the expectation of the future in the second.

[3] In detail the mention of summer recalls the *Georgics*: *Aen.* 6. 707; *georg.* 4. 59. Instead of the purple flowers (*georg.* 4. 54) are now found flowers of many hues and (white) lilies (*Aen.* 6. 708), perhaps in reference to the realm of the dead: cf. *Aen.* 6. 883.

indirectly also in the 1st book, where contemplation of the industrious Carthaginians causes Aeneas to think of his own future founding of a city.

In summary it may be said that in the *Georgics* the application of the motif is most markedly objective, though without losing moral, political or metaphysical symbolism. Uniform elements of this picture and in part uniform linguistic and stylistic means—a notable example are the quotations from the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid*—are applied in different literary genres according to different premises, and on each occasion set in multiple contexts of meaning. In the *Aeneid* and the *Eclogues*, the aim of defining a mood is particularly evident; in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, it is the symbolic reference. The double aspect of simile and prodigy (a real object used as a symbol) reflects the multiplicity of their applications in the *Aeneid*. At the same time in the epic poem the different aspects form a unity, since here the system of relationships is most clearly marked.

It may be noted that Dante (*Paradiso* 31) would later Christianize the bee simile. For him, it symbolizes the angels who fly unceasingly between God and the saints, depicted as white roses. Virgil's remarks about the particular closeness of the bees to the spirit of the universe and their abstention from sexual love may have encouraged Dante to elevate the motif one stage higher than was the case in the *Aeneid*. The simile reflects no longer a human but a suprahuman community.[1] Dante saw therefore the stages in which Virgil had developed the motif and elaborated a logical extension of the tradition.

These few examples may suffice as proofs of the unity and multiplicity of Virgil's poetic technique. Virgil lived with the pictures he observed and they accompanied him from work to work, gradually transforming themselves and receiving new shades of meaning. But precisely the method by which Virgil recapitulates his own earlier compositions shows the organic growth and inner unity of his creativity.

Language and Style

The transformation effected by Virgil is most evident by comparison with Lucretius. The earlier poet totally subordinated language, meter,

[1] By giving motives in each case for the flight of the angels from the saints to God and back, Dante has lent greater energy to the notion.—On the Christian

and form to content, and in this way produced a poetry which was in the highest sense 'functional'. In the place of its sublime austerity, Virgil now set a harmonious balance of form.

In comparison with Ennius' motley language, Virgil's elegant reserve is striking. The poet weighs every word, and often decides in favor of the simplest. Agrippa was, in a sense, right therefore in observing that Virgil had discovered a new type of 'mixed metaphor' (κακόζηλον), made up of everyday words. It was in his evaluation of this phenomenon, however, that he was wrong. In adopting Ennian archaisms Virgil acted with prudence. Any false note was to him an abomination. In essence his language is that of his contemporaries. Only a delicate hue is provided on occasions by an old-fashioned admixture, lending the language an antiquarian dignity, though without inflexibility and stiffness, such as a genitive like *aulai* or the fuller sound of *olli* instead of *illi*. The alleged remark by Virgil *aurum se legere de stercore Enni* ('that he was collecting the gold from Ennius' dung'), if untrue at least *ben trovato*, excellently describes the choice purity of Virgil's diction.

The simple nobility of Virgil's language may be recognized by the quality of those winged words cited from him. In their weighty and meditative character they are clearly distinguished from the epigrammatically sharpened apophthegms of later times:[1] *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*, 'such anger in heavenly minds?' (*Aen.* 1. 11); *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, 'so vast was the effort to found the race of Rome' (*Aen.* 1. 33); *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*, 'there are tears for misfortune and mortal sorrow touches the heart' (*Aen.* 1. 462); *fuimus Troes*, 'we Trojans are not anymore' (*Aen.* 2. 325); *quid non mortalia pectora cogis/auri sacra fames?*, 'to what deeds do you not drive the hearts of men, o cursed hunger of gold!' (*Aen.* 3. 56–57). The words and even their grammatical forms preserve their full weight. The simple perfect *fuimus* is particularly eloquent: 'we are no

significance of bees cf. also the liturgy of Holy Saturday, The Saint Andrew Daily Missal, Bruges, Belgium, 1958, p. 479. Ambrose, *De virginitate*, must also be recalled.

[1] The comparison with the 'improved' *Aeneid* of Arituneus Mizuno, Kioti 1988 is instructive: *tantumne furunt* (bombastic) *sibi* (superfluous) *caelitis* (obscure) *irae; molis et error erat Romanosque edere tantae* (reversed order; double conjunction); *sunt lacrimae rerum, mortalia* (wrong case) *Tartarus* (exaggerated) *adflet* (probably from *adflere*). It is not the number of dactyls that matters in Virgil but the harmonious *sequence* of different types of hexameters, as is shown by G. Möhler, Hexameterstudien, Frankfurt 1989; on Virgil's Style: R. O. A. M. Lyne 1989.

more.' This ability to restore its full value to the individual word is matched by a masterly deployment of spondees, which according to ancient metrical theory possessed the character of *gravitas.* Thus Virgil took advantage of Latin's richness in spondees. He coaxes the long syllables into sound, and draws from them a melodic verse of melancholy beauty. It is, like the 'simple' language which at times recalls that of Naevius, something typically Roman. Here may be categorized also certain difficult elisions (e.g. *Aen.* 1. 462), which were avoided by later poets. Virgil's powerful effect on his Roman audience was owed precisely to the fact that his language, equidistant from archaic as from new fangled artifice, attained the highest aim of ancient art, a new naturalness.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Much of the *Eclogues* is poetry about poetry.[1] The singing contest between shepherds, a characteristic of bucolic poetry, plays a large part in Virgil, as does the relation of shepherds to their teachers and models. If in Virgil's Daphnis eclogue (5) the dead shepherd and singer was honored by new songs, this gives a living meaning to the nature of 'tradition'. In this way the dead, who provide the occasion for the festival, come to hold the role of founders and maintainers of a culture.

In the 6th *Eclogue* a more than human being—Silenus—sings a poem describing the origins of the world in terms of eros. Here, the idea of the poet-prophet is already signaled. The 9th *Eclogue* raises the problem whether songs have the power to change reality or not, particularly in regard to the confiscations of land.

Both these themes are continued in the *Georgics.* The concluding story of Orpheus deals among other things with the power and powerlessness of song, or rather with the power of song and the powerlessness of the singer. The effect of Orpheus' song is potent, but Orpheus the man fails. The conquest of death is not his triumph, but that of Aristaeus, who, however, in his lust for Eurydice, had unintentionally brought about her death. It is for Aristaeus, after he has offered sacrifice of atonement for Orpheus, that the miracle

[1] E. A. Schmidt 1972.

of the resurrection of the bees takes place. Comforting though the picture of new life at the end of the *Georgics* may be, it is matched by the gloom of the portrait of Orpheus, who twice loses his beloved, grieves without hope and finally meets with a violent end.

The poetic claim raised by Virgil outdoes that of Lucretius. His ambition is no longer to be a physician, offering sick children bitter medicine in a cup smeared with honey, but to be a priest of the Muses.[1] The renewal of the claim of *vates* goes back to the archaic period, and not only Hesiod but Pindar in particular must be recalled.[2]

This second aspect of poetry in the *Georgics*, the high and even Pindaric claim of the priest of the Muses, could also be symbolized in the figure of Orpheus. The positive formulation of the role of the poet, who here approximates the farmer (*georg.* 2. 475–502; cf. 3. 1–2), is deliberately separated from the section on Orpheus. Again, in another passage (*georg.* 3. 1–48), we find the promise to build a temple to Caesar. Finally, the epilogue, with a mixture of pride and humility, sets the general and the poet in parallel.

The way followed by the reflective poet led from the small-scale art of the late Hellenistic style through the reflections on poetry in the *Eclogues* to the priesthood of the Muses found in the didactic poetry, with its dark counterpoint of the mourning Orpheus which perhaps points ahead to Virgil's later years. It is in the *Aeneid* that the problem of death is central. The didactic poem was followed by the heroic epic, and the step to the next highest genre was revealed in the very first word of the *Aeneid*. Yet a transition from didactic poetry to epic was for ancient readers not a change of genre in the full sense. It is true that the heroic poem gives little scope for any subjective utterances of the poet, and the writer of epic in general hardly speaks for himself. Yet Virgil more than once employs the first person, and he even announces the transition from the Odyssean to the Iliadic half of his work as a fresh change to a higher stylistic level (*Aen.* 7. 44–45). In the *Aeneid* poetry is no longer a central theme, and only plays a role in the exaltation of Musaeus in the underworld. There, poets and seers are mentioned along with priests, inseparably from them (6. 660–668). Musaeus is a figure akin to

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[1] von Albrecht, Poesie 44–62.

[2] V. Buchheit 1972. He is also right to refer to the topoi of the Hellenistic eulogy of rulers.

Orpheus. After the *Georgics* the poet's claim underwent no essential change. From a poet of poets and poetry, Virgil grew to become a poet of reality as a whole: in the *Georgics* of nature, in the *Aeneid* of history. Yet even here there are unifying elements, persistence in change. Nature and history were already themes of Silenus' song in the 6th *Eclogue*. On the one hand, historical themes intrude into the earlier poems at least in the shape of contemporary history (and into the *Georgics* in the shape of the 'origin of civilization'). On the other hand, the theme of natural philosophy is still at work in the *Aeneid*. A constant feature is the prophetic role of the poet, from the 6th *Eclogue*, where it falls to Silenus, and the *Georgics*, where Virgil formulates his claim to be a *vates*, to the *Aeneid* in whose 'prophetic' structure this claim is given practical reality.

Ideas II

As a young man, Virgil associated at Naples with the circle around the Epicurean Siro.[1] Horace too sympathized with Epicureanism, a philosophy exalting the pleasure of the individual, and was longer in its debt than Virgil, who soon felt the attraction of the more than personal world of the Stoa and of a Pythagoreanism tinged by Platonism.

As early as the *Georgics* Virgil professes a Stoic pantheism: 'That god permeates all lands, the waves of the sea and the height of heaven' (4. 221–222). Readers as early as the Church Fathers would connect this passage with the teaching of Anchises in the 6th book of the *Aeneid*: 'In the first place, an indwelling spirit nourishes heaven, earth and the watery levels, and reason moves the whole universe, is infused through all its limbs and mingled with the mighty frame' (6. 724–727).

Recently[2] attention has again been drawn to the important role played in the *Aeneid* by so-called 'physical theology', that is, the interpretation of mythical gods as representatives of natural phenomena. Thus Vulcan represents fire, and Juno air, and Virgil was conscious of these connections. He took for granted the allegorical interpreta-

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[1] On Virgil and Philodemus: M. Gigante, M. Capasso, Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano, SIFC ser. 3, 7, 1989, 3–6.

[2] For the *Aeneid* P. R. Hardie 1986; earlier Heinze, V.e.T., 298–299 (Engl. ed. 238–239); for the *Georgics*: D. O. Ross 1987.

tion of myth, as it had been practised in Greece since the 6th century B.C., and, more recently, by Stoics and other philosophers. In the *Aeneid* and *Georgics*, the 'elements' of ancient physics are constitutive parts of the imagery. In this respect the *Aeneid* can be considered a cosmological epic (which explains why the Middle Ages turned Virgil into a magician). Modern critics are inclined to neglect this physical side of the *Aeneid*, since they are more attracted to its historical features. At any rate, considerations of natural philosophy establish a bridge to the *Georgics*, thus contributing to the overall unity of Virgil's œuvre.

It is true that even in the *Georgics* nature is not studied for its own sake but in its relation to men, and agriculture is set in a larger context as a paradigm for civilization in general, for a fulfilled life, the responsibility of man for nature and the links between life and death. Yet the world around, its plants and animals, are considered here as beings, not as means to establish a mood or as simile. This fact was neglected by Seneca who conceded to the *Georgics* merely the aim of *delectare*, not *docere*. The manner in which technical writers such as Columella read Virgil, points to the contrary. Perhaps this factual, relaxed relationship to the material is also a reason for Dryden's description of the *Georgics* as 'the best Poem of the best Poet.'[1]

As for the portrayal of characters in the *Aeneid*, it does not fit into any philosophical pattern. It is true that, in the 4th book, Dido seems to maintain the Epicurean doctrine that the gods are unconcerned with the lot of individuals (4. 379–380). But her curse obviously presupposes a divine providence (*Aen.* 4. 607–629). An impressive simile (*Aen.* 4. 441–446), which is developed from a picture of nature in the *Georgics* (2. 290–297), illustrates Aeneas' steadfast character. But does that make him a Stoic sage? It was undoubtedly more realistic to compare him with the more modest type of the 'pilgrim' (προκόπτων) as developed by the Middle Stoa.[2] But this is open to two objections. First, every man in some degree resembles this type, and its invention was intended to allow everybody to identify themselves with this type. Second, there is no continual moral progress on Aeneas' part throughout the entire work. Therefore, this philosophical labeling is not particularly meaningful.

[1] L. P. Wilkinson 1969, 1.
[2] Heinze, V.e.T. 278 (Engl. ed. 227).

In the character of Aeneas different strands of thought coexist. On the one hand there is the archaic epic hero,[1] on the other, the Augustan representative of *humanitas* and *clementia*. But there are even more aspects: Aeneas as representative of Pallas, who must exact blood vengeance, Aeneas as guest of Evander—*pietas* itself bids him kill his enemy.[2] The many sides of Aeneas' character are made clear in a comparison with the *Georgics*. There the pithy instruction is read that if in the hive two kings are found, one of them, the weaker, must be put to death (*Georg.* 4. 89–90). It is a relief that Virgil did not choose in the *Aeneid* to follow this easy way of settling the conflict between Aeneas and Turnus.

The inherited religion of the *Aeneid* is a mixture of Greek and Roman popular beliefs and of Hellenistic and oriental mystery religions. There are also traces of Platonic, Stoic, and neo-Pythagorean philosophy. But pride of place goes to the values of Rome, notably *pietas*, the right attitude towards country, parents, children, kinsfolk, guests and friends living and dead. This is the quality embodied by Aeneas. Just as at the end of the 2nd book he takes his father onto his shoulders, so at the end of the 8th book, he takes up the destiny of his descendants, symbolized by the shield. A moral idea like *pietas*, distinguishing Aeneas from Ulysses and Achilles, determines therefore both the imagery and the structure of the *Aeneid*.

It is also important that Aeneas is conducting a just war. For his behavior the Roman concept of the *bellum pium et iustum* is crucial. At times, behavior is found which seems to point beyond the Greek and Roman canon of virtues, such as the sympathy with his opponent in the Lausus episode.

In creating the *Aeneid* and its heroes, Virgil welded together into a new unity a great diversity of Greek, Roman, and oriental notions drawn not only from religion, but also from philosophy and society.

Likewise the main conceptual themes of the earlier works recur in Virgil's epic and are set in a yet wider context.

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[1] A pioneering essay: H.-P. Stahl, Aeneas—An 'Unheroic' Hero?, Arethusa 14, 1981, 157–177; M. Erler, Der Zorn des Helden, GB 18, 1992, 103–126 (on Philodemus and Virgil).

[2] In the expression *meorum* there is also for Aeneas a legitimation: see now C. Renger 1985. Along with other archaic religious features we may mention the artistic employment of magic notions such as the curse on weapons taken from an enemy, which persecute and punish their new owner in the name of the previous owner.

Love, a principal theme of the *Eclogues*, is presented there in its omnipotence as an all-conquering passion (cf. the end of *Eclogue* 10). In the *Georgics*, love appears as a mighty force in the life of animals, while in the community of the bees their superiority to sexuality is emphasized as a special merit. In the story of Orpheus at the end of the *Georgics* love enters a larger context. It now bears human features and is linked with cycles of themes such as 'death and life' and 'the power of song and its limits'. The *Aeneid* depicts love as a fate which, however, can be no more than a counterpoint to the political missions of the two protagonists. The collision between public and private destiny is tragic. Thus love's tragedy, already known from the *Eclogues*, recurs in the *Aeneid* but in a broader, heroic framework.

The changing aspects under which the motif of *earth* occurs exemplify the relationship to reality found in the different works. In the *Eclogues* the earth is not only the locale of the happy dreams of the shepherds and of a Golden Age, brought about by the birth of the child, but it is also quite specific, Italian earth, the object of land allocation and industrious toil (a feature pointing ahead to the *Georgics*).[1]

In the *Georgics* the earth is universalized and becomes the setting for life and death. As a political stage it serves the *princeps*, who is a star destined to win universal significance; and as a field it furnishes a motive for the peaceful and civilized activity the prototype of which is agriculture. But earth has another specific aspect. For the native of the country watered by the Mincio, it is embodied in Italy, whose central role emerges already in the *Eclogues*. In Virgil's didactic poem Italy is 'the mother of earth's fruits' (*frugum*), but also 'the mother of men' (*virum*, *Georg.* 2. 173–174). This last feature forms a parallel to the vision of heroes in the 6th book of the *Aeneid*, and thus the *Georgics* occupy a central place between the latter and the *Eclogues*.

In the *Aeneid* the earth is the scene for deeds of arms and history. Particular places gain significance, along with their geographical position (e.g. *Aen.* 1. 13 *Karthago, Italiam contra*) and the sequence of locales—among which Troy, Carthage, Sicily, and Italy may be mentioned. Passages rich in detail, such as catalogues skipped by hasty readers, suggest the physical presence of Italy, its cities, and their inhabitants. The predominantly contemporary perspective of the

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[1] On this R. Kettemann 1977.

Eclogues is in the *Aeneid* definitively replaced with a panorama of world history. Virgil had to study Italy's early history in order to write his epic. But with this there also recurs the 'soteriological' aspect of the *Eclogues*, in the shape of the pastoral world of old Arcadia on Roman soil, found in the 8th book of the *Aeneid*. Thus Virgil's epic resumes and incorporates points of view found in bucolic.

Virgil immerses himself with great seriousness in the facts, without losing his way. This is shown also by his *view of history*. Drawing on Sibylline prophecies, the 4th *Eclogue* proclaims the birth of a new age within a 'cyclic' scheme of history. Late antiquity and the Middle Ages saw here a prophecy of Christian redemption. Historically this is incorrect, but the correspondences between the Jewish-Hellenistic, Roman, and Christian sense of mission and epoch are significant enough. The *Aeneid*'s picture of history is determined by the *fata*. A linear development leads towards an eternal dominance of Rome. In the *Iliad* the prophecy relating to Aeneas' descendants is only an incidental feature, while in the *Aeneid* this concept determines the structure of an entire epic. It is no coincidence that the classical author of a Christian philosophy of history, Augustine, would later reflect critically on Virgil's theology of Rome.

Instead of theorizing about history, Virgil set before his readers living symbols of the future: in the eclogue to Pollio, the birth of the child embodying the new age, in the vision of heroes the throng of Romans yet unborn.[1] We are confronted therefore with the rare case of an epic whose final culmination is not downfall but the emergence of future life. In this reversal of the tendency seen in the *Iliad*, Virgil's genius gives proof of itself. In this, 'prophecy' is not only a technical means: the entire invention of the *Aeneid* is determined by its orientation towards the future, for this is to grasp Roman history by its very root. To some extent Virgil presents Rome *in statu nascendi*, that is at the moment when its potential energy was strongest. He was more concerned with the powers moving and shaping Rome's history than with particular details and the often accidental nature of events. For this reason the main action had to be fashioned as a myth. A unified action was to be narrated, whereas the diversity of actual history could be reflected and prefigured only indirectly. Virgil

[1] The similarity of the symbols in *ecl.* 4 and *Aen.* 6 is not a coincidence. The symbol of the newborn, like that of the prematurely dead, plays a decisive part in Virgil's reflections on death and life.

reversed, as it were, the intention of the methods of interpretation employed by the Homeric scholiasts[1] and created a Roman myth. This allowed him to avoid successfully the perennial temptation of historical epic, which is to become lost in details, and that of philosophy of history, to fall under the tyranny of schemes and theories. He created both a unified work and a unified picture of history.

Just as the theme of 'nature' links the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, so the theme of 'history' links the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, though the *Aeneid* is supplemented by *theologia physica*, as the *Georgics* are by the doctrine of the origin of civilization. In this respect too the *Aeneid* offers both the richest palette and also the widest-ranging synthesis of the great themes of 'nature' and 'history'.

Transmission

The transmission of Virgil is rich in both quantity and quality. A stemma cannot be established for antiquity because of the small number of the witnesses, nor for the Middle Ages because of their large number. We possess, either in whole or in part, the following ancient codices in majuscules:[2] Augusteus, Vat. Lat. 3256, Berol. Lat. 2° 416 (A; 5th century) from St-Denis, 8 leaves, with fragments of the *Georgics* and *Aen.* 4. 302–305; Sangallensis, miscellaneous codex 1394 (G; 5th century), 11 leaves with fragments from the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*; Veronensis 40. 38, rescriptus (V; 5th century), 51 leaves with fragments from *Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid* along with the Veronese scholia; Mediolanensis (Ambrosianus), rescriptus, 81 verses from the 1st book of the *Aeneid* in Latin and Greek (B; 5th–6th century); Cod. Fulvii Ursini schedae bibliothecae Vaticanae, Vat. Lat. 3225 (F; 4th century) with illustrations, 75 leaves preserved without *Bucolics, Georgics* I and II, and *Aeneid* X and XII, and with other serious lacunae; Romanus, Vat. Lat. 3867 (R; 5th–6th century), with illustrations, contains *Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid* with lacunae; Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 1631 (P; 5th–6th century), contains all works with lacunae; Mediceus (Laur. plut. 39, 1), (M; 5th century), contains everything except *ecl.* 1–6. 47; the second corrector was Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, consul 494. Editors rely mainly on M, P, and R. The medieval manuscripts are not without value.

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[1] G. N. Knauer 1964, 356; 358, following E. Zinn.

[2] Dating according to Mynors (edition). On illustrated manuscripts s. now: A. Geyer, Die Genese narrativer Buchillustration. Der Miniaturzyklus zur *Aeneis* im Vergilius Vaticanus, Frankfurt 1989; A. Wlosok, Gemina Pictura. Allegorisierende Aeneisillustrationen in Handschriften des 15. Jh., R. M. Wilhelm and H. Jones, eds., FS G. MacKay, The Two Worlds of the Poet. New Perspectives on Vergil, Detroit 1992, 408–432.

Where P is deficient, the related Guelferbytanus Gudianus 2°. 70 (γ, 9th–10th century) is useful. Even the secondary tradition is not to be neglected, since ancient grammarians and commentators used at times a better text than we have.

The additional portions of texts transmitted by Donatus and Servius are however deeply suspect: the prelude to the *Aeneid* (1, A–D) and the Helen passage (*Aen.* 2. 567–588). They are not found in the ancient manuscripts. If the rather weak and maladroit[1] introduction (something I find incredible) really was found in the manuscript left by Virgil, its purpose was to identify the author, but not to form part of the epic. In any case, Varius and Tucca were right in deleting it. One might perhaps think of an early book seller, who, possibly on the occasion of the first edition, wanted to make capital by an allusion to the famous author. The Helen episode is at best a rough draft, and at worst a forgery.

Influence[2]

Virgil's work had repercussions even among his contemporaries, as for example Horace and Propertius. Ovid drew on the *Aeneid* especially in the *Letter of Dido* (*Heroides* 7) and in the later portions of the *Metamorphoses*. Moreover, the cosmological and erotic account of the universe in the sixth *Eclogue* is a prefiguration of the *Metamorphoses*, and it was left to Ovid to fulfill the plans of Gallus. The eulogy of the emperor and the story of Orpheus in the *Georgics* are other Virgilian passages which had their effect on Ovid.

Grammarians lost no time in busying themselves with Virgil. Much was done to establish a reliable text and its interpretation. The surviving commentary of Servius marks the final point of a long series.

For posterity Virgil set a lasting stamp on the genres of poetry he had practiced. He influenced didactic poetry, starting with Manilius

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[1] E.g. *at* in the last verse of the introduction is intolerable.

[2] D. Comparetti, Virgilio nel medio evo, 2 vols. (1872), new edition by G. Pasquali, Firenze 1937–1941; E. Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets, New York 1919, repr. 1966; G. Gordon, Virgil in English Poetry (1931), The Folcroft Press 1974; W. Suerbaum, Vergils Aeneis. Beiträge zu ihrer Rezeption in Gegenwart und Geschichte, Bamberg 1981; C. Martindale, Virgil and His Influence, Bristol 1984; S. Grebe 1989; C. Kallendorf, In Praise of Aeneas. Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance, London 1989; K.-D. Koch, Die Aeneis als Opernsujet. Dramaturgische Wandlungen vom Frühbarock bis zu Berlioz, Konstanz 1990; A. Wlosok, Zur Geltung und Beurteilung Vergils und Homers in Spätantike und früher Neuzeit, in: A.W., Res humanae—res divinae. Kleine Schriften, Heidelberg 1990, 476–498; T. Ziolkowski, Virgil and the Moderns, Princeton 1993.

and Germanicus; bucolic, from Calpurnius to Petrarch and modern times; and, of course, epic. Lucan, who boldly diverges from the norm, is, nevertheless, antithetically related to his great predecessor, whereas Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Silius Italicus follow Virgil with veneration. Late antiquity witnessed, apart from Claudian's political epic, also his poem *De raptu Proserpinae*, which both in form and content makes an instructive counterpart to the *Georgics*. Nor was Virgil ignored by the writers of biblical epic (Juvencus, Sedulius, and others). In the eastern empire there were versions with interlinear Greek, intended to aid the understanding of the original.[1]

In considering the inheritance of form the reader is often tempted to forget the more important persistence of content. Even down to the *Geoponica*, Virgil is present as teacher. The emperor Constantine—or someone writing in his name—gave a Christian interpretation to the fourth *Eclogue*. Church Fathers,[2] among whom Augustine (d. 430) may be mentioned, took critical account of the theology of history developed by the poet. Macrobius (early 5th century) compared Virgil with the creativity of nature (*Sat.* 5. 1. 18–2. 3), and so approached the idea of poetic creativity. Fulgentius (end of 5th century) saw in the *Aeneid* a picture of human life;[3] in the 12th century Bernardus Silvestris would find in *Aeneid 1–6* an allegory of the stages of human life.

Virgil was honored by the Middle Ages as a sage and magician. The period of Charlemagne particularly deserves the name of *aetas Vergiliana*, although he was read at all times and even quoted as *the* poet. Walahfrid Strabo (first half of 9th century) in his *De cultu hortorum* drew inspiration from the *Georgics*, as did Wandalbert of Prüm in his *De mensium XII nominibus*. In the 12th century, Virgil was temporarily eclipsed by the emotionality of Lucan.

The influence of the *Aeneid* cannot be described here in all its richness. Individual images such as that of the bees take on their own

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[1] B. ROCHETTE, Les traductions grecques de l'Énéide sur papyrus. Une contribution à l'étude du bilinguisme gréco-latin au Bas-Empire, LEC 58, 1990, 333–346; V. REICHMANN, Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung, Leipzig 1943, 28–61.

[2] A. WLOSOK, Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher Vergilrezeption: Polemik (Lact. *inst.* 5. 10) und Usurpation (Or. *Const.* 19–21); in: V. PÖSCHL, ed., 1983, 63–86; E. HECK, *Vestrum est—poeta noster*. Von der Geringschätzung Vergils zu seiner Aneignung in der frühchristlichen lateinischen Apologetik, MH 47, 1990, 102–120; Jerome, who had been a pupil of Donatus, knew his Virgil perfectly. Proba wrote a Christian Virgilian cento, which, however, did not find Jerome's approval.

[3] *Expositio Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosophos morales.*

life.[1] The poets of the early empire followed Homer as well as Virgil. The Middle Ages read Virgil without Homer. Under Virgil's patronage, epics were written in medieval[2] and neo-Latin,[3] and soon in the vernacular languages.[4] For Dante (d. 1321) Virgil was *the* poet and, even more, his guide through the *Inferno*. Chaucer assigned Virgil a place of honor in his *House of Fame*. Early Renaissance readers set Virgil above Homer.

Virgil was much read and translated. Before 1400 a Gaelic version appeared. In the 15th century, there were French and Spanish paraphrases in prose (Guillaume Leroy, Enrique de Villena). About 1500, Octovien de Saint-Gelais produced the first regular French translation in verse.[5] No less a poet than Du Bellay translated books 4 (1552) and 6 (1561), and Desmasures rendered the entire *Aeneid* (1560). Scotland and England were represented by Gawin Douglas (1513, published 1553), Richard Stanyhurst (1583: *Aen.* 1–4 in idiosyncratic English hexameters), and Germany by T. Murner (1515); Johann Spreng (1610; first German translation into verse). Spain witnessed a translation by Tasso's friend Cristobal de Mesa (16th century), followed in Italy by that of Annibal Caro (1581), and in Holland the greatest of Dutch poets, Vondel (d. 1679), presented in 1646 the *whole* of Virgil in 'Low German' Alexandrines, an impressive literary and linguistic achievement.[6]

Virgil provided lessons in writing poetry that deserved the name.[7] Epic in the Virgilian tradition divided into national and religious branches. Camões (d. 1580) composed his grandiose national poem

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[1] J. von Stackelberg, Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Imitatio. Romanische Forschungen 68, 1956, 271–293.

[2] Ekkehard's *Waltharius* and the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon are illustrious examples (G. Meter, Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis Book 10*. A Commentary, Frankfurt 1991).

[3] M. A. Di Cesare, Vida's *Christiad* and Vergilian Epic, New York 1964.

[4] S. Grebe 1989.

[5] T. Brückner, Die erste französische *Aeneis*. Untersuchungen zu Octovien de Saint-Gelais' Übersetzung. Mit einer kritischen Edition des VI. Buches, diss. Düsseldorf 1987.

[6] Parodies of Virgil began very early (e.g. *vit. Verg. Don.* 175–184; Petron. 112; 132; Auson. *cento nuptialis*) and continued well into the modern age: G. Lalli, *Aeneida travestita*, 1633; P. Scarron, *Le Virgile travesti*, 1648–1653; J. A. Blumauer, *Aeneide* (a fragment), 2 vols., 1783; parodies of the *Aeneid* enjoy great popularity to the present day in Ukraine and Russia.

[7] Initially imitation had been frighteningly close: Boccaccio's *Theseis* comprised exactly the same number of lines as Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Os Lusíadas[1] with justified pride in the greatness of the Portuguese empire, eclipsing the voyages of both Ulysses and Aeneas. In comparison, later efforts such as that of Voltaire's *Henriade* and Cheraskov's *Rossiada* pale into insignificance. Vida (d. 1566), in his Latin *Christias*, gave to the gospels the garb of Virgilian humanism. Tasso (d. 1595),[2] in the train of the Counter-Reformation, combined medieval material with Virgilian sensitivity to form and Christian themes (*Gerusalemme liberata*). The perfect blending of three cultures was attained in Milton[3] (d. 1674). The employment of Virgil as a subtext, along with Homer and the Bible, reached in *Paradise Lost* a high point never again attained. The streams of exegesis and poetry, reception and creation here blended with an intensity matched elsewhere only in Dante and Virgil himself. Klopstock's (d. 1803) *Messias* fell short of its great predecessors in external and internal coherence. Furthermore the *Aeneid* strongly influenced opera.[4]

It was the increasing value set on 'original genius'[5] and on folk poetry (Ossian), as well as German philhellenism, that ushered in a period setting Homer above Virgil. The Virgil of J. H. Voss did not therefore become part of German literature to the extent that his Homer did. Goethe spoke of Virgil only incidentally and in somewhat patronizing terms, whereas Schiller[6] translated two books of the *Aeneid* into brilliant *ottave rime*. Pushkin (d. 1837), in his masterpiece *Evgeniy Onegin*, shaped with convincing poetic power the last encounter between Tatyana and Onegin as a modern pendant to Virgil's Dido scene in the underworld. C. F. Meyer (d. 1898), in what is perhaps his most personal story, *Der Heilige*, used the *Aeneid* as a subtext.[7] The same may be said of a story of Turgeniev (d. 1883). In a thoughtful comparison, Victor Hugo described Homer as the

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[1] On Camões, Tasso, Milton see VON ALBRECHT, Rom 361–403; on Dante, Tasso, Milton see S. GREBE 1989 (with bibliography).

[2] F. J. WORSTBROCK 1963.

[3] C. MARTINDALE, John Milton and the Transformation of Ancient Epic, London 1986.

[4] K.-D. Koch, Die *Aeneis* als Opernsujet, Konstanz 1990.

[5] Already Dryden, Pope, Addison set store by Homer. A milestone was formed by Robert Wood, Essay on the Original Genius of Homer (1769).

[6] On an older effort by Schiller: W. SCHUBERT, Schillers Übersetzung des 'Sturms auf dem Tyrrhener Meer' (Verg. *Aen.* 1. 34–156), in: A. AURNHAMMER (and others), eds., Schiller und die höfische Welt, Tübingen 1990, 191–212 (with further bibl.).

[7] VON ALBRECHT, Rom 106–107; on Turgeniev idem, forthcoming.

sun, and Virgil as the moon.[1] Baudelaire, Valéry, and Tennyson were under the spell of Virgil as well. As the 19th century waned, the affinity of that period for Dante indirectly prepared the way for a new understanding of Virgil.

The re-evaluation of the poet by scholarship about 1900 (R. Heinze, E. Norden) brought in its train the late rediscovery of Virgil for German literature. R. A. Schröder's translation (begun 1930, finished 1952) may be noted along with H. Broch's novel, *Der Tod des Vergil* (1945). According to Broch's poem *Vergil in des Orpheus Nachfolge*,[2] the shaping of earthly life is 'entrusted to those who have been in the darkness and yet have torn themselves free/like Orpheus to a painful return.' Much more than the embodiment of the 'classic' (T. S. Eliot), Virgil here again becomes the prototype of the poet and even of man as an intellectual being.

In antiquity, Virgil's *bucolic poetry* found independent successors in Calpurnius, the *Einsiedeln Eclogues* (1st century A.D.) and Nemesianus (second half of 3rd century). Calpurnius already interpreted the genre for his own time in a novel way; more than in Virgil and Theocritus, eulogy of the emperor strikes a dominant note. A Christian pastoral in asclepiads was composed by Endelechius (about 400).[3]

In the Middle Ages and modern period, the *Eclogues* inspired whole genres of literature, which here can only be mentioned in passing.[4] From the Middle Ages, for example, a double eclogue is known, addressed to Charlemagne by Modoin of Autun (9th century), who here, taking the name Naso, writes as a poet to defend his own cause and celebrates the new Golden Age. Here, the history of the influence of the *Eclogues*[5] joins the history of their interpretation, since already ancient scholarship had treated the *Eclogues* as biographical allegories. Aware of this school of interpretation, Dante used a Latin

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[1] *Préface à Cromwell* (1827).

[2] H. Broch, Die Heimkehr. Prosa und Lyrik, Frankfurt 1962, 174.

[3] Wolfg. Schmid, Tityrus christianus, RhM 96, 1953, 101–165; repr. in: K. Garber, ed., Europäische Bukolik und Georgik, Darmstadt 1976 (collection of articles), 44–121.

[4] K. Krautter, Die Renaissance der Bukolik in der lateinischen Literatur des 14. Jh. von Dante bis Petrarca, München 1983. On Virgil and Petrarch see also von Albrecht, Poesie 132–173; H. C. Schnur, R. Kössling, eds., Die Hirtenflöte. Bukolische Dichtungen von Vergil bis Geßner, Leipzig 1978; A. Patterson, Pastoral and Ideology. Virgil to Valéry, Oxford 1988.

[5] Virgil did not call his poems *eclogae*. In ancient literary criticism the word denotes a poem selected (for example from the *Bucolics*).

eclogue to defend his employment of Italian in the *Divine Comedy*, and Petrarch (d. 1374) treated personal themes allegorically in the *Carmen bucolicum* which he composed in twelve poems, contributing his own commentary. A blend of pastoral poetry, hunting topics (inspired by the 10th *Eclogue*), and sublime allegory are found in the *Ameto* of Boccaccio (d. 1375). Sannazaro (d. 1530) was the author of an influential *Arcadia*, written in Italian in a mixture of prose and verse. The same poet also composed original eclogues in Latin on the life of fishermen. But the most famous writer of neo-Latin pastoral was Baptista Mantuanus (last third of the 15th century), who also ventured into social criticism. This same feature was found at the beginning of the 16th century in the Erfurt humanists, especially Joachim Camerarius and Euricius Cordus, who was influenced by Luther, though not in Eobanus Hessus. Pastoral poetry in German, as late as the graceful prose of Gessner (d. 1788), was mostly limited to the expression of personal feelings. The Spaniard Garcilaso de la Vega (d. 1536) produced long melancholy eclogues following Virgil and Sannazaro. Clément Marot (d. 1544) celebrated French countryfolk in a French landscape. In the *Six Eclogues* of Ronsard (d. 1595), the presence of Virgil and Calpurnius is sensed. At the time of the French Revolution André Chénier (d. 1794) wrote his exquisite *Bucoliques*. The *Après-midi d'un Faune* of Mallarmé (d. 1898) inspired a *Prélude* of Debussy (d. 1918).

Spenser's elegant *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) was influenced more by the Renaissance than by antiquity. Milton (d. 1674) reflected the two aspects of his life in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Pope's *Pastorals* should also be mentioned. The three greatest English pastoral elegies are Milton's *Lycidas*, the *Adonais* of Shelley (d. 1822) and the *Thyrsis* of Matthew Arnold (d. 1888).

Pastoral poetry, in the tradition of the *Arcadia* rather than that of Virgil, gave rise to narrative forms. Jorge of Montemayor (d. 1561), in his *Diana*, created from pastoral material a continuous erotic narrative, as had already been done in antiquity by Longus. From France must be mentioned the *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé (d. 1625) and the *Paul et Virginie* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (d. 1814). A less tranquil spirit is found in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* by Philip Sidney (d. 1586).

A Renaissance creation was the pastoral drama, exemplified by Tasso's *Aminta* (printed 1580) and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (performed 1595). Milton's *Comus* also deserves mention. Musical drama and opera

often prefer a pastoral framework. Examples are the *Acis and Galatea* of Handel (d. 1759), the *Phoebus und Pan* of Bach (d. 1750), and the *Orpheus und Eurydice* of Gluck (d. 1787). In music, particular rhythms and keys are linked with the notion of pastoral music, not only in religious works, such as Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, but also in the *Pastoral Symphony* of Beethoven (d. 1827).

As a didactic poem on nature, the *Georgics*[1] have exercised considerable influence since the time of the Renaissance, at first in Latin, as for example in the *Rusticus* of Politian (d. 1494), the *Syphilis* of Fracastoro (d. 1553), and the *De bombycum cura et usu* by Vida (d. 1566). These were soon followed by works in the vernacular languages such as *Le api* of Giovanni Rucellai (d. 1525) and the *Della coltivazione* of Luigi Alamanni (d. 1556). In France, the *Georgics* had been admired from the days of Ronsard and Montaigne on. As late as 1665 Rapin composed his *Hortorum libri IV* in Latin, a work also studied in England. In Germany, the *Lob deß Landlustes* of Johann Fischart (d. 1590) stood in a tradition mingling the end of the 2nd book of the *Georgics* with Horace's 2nd *Epode*. In England, the *Georgics* exercised a powerful influence, notably in the 18th century. We may mention the *Seasons* of James Thomson (d. 1748) from which the libretto of the *Seasons* of Haydn (d. 1809) is drawn.

Even Virgil's poetic career, which led him from relatively small to ever greater compositions, would become a model for many poets and writers to come,[2] though this is so natural a sequence that the reverse order is difficult to imagine. Yet it remains significant that for many poets Virgil (usually considered the prototype of artistic poetry) proved to be a guide to a better understanding of the nature of things and of the poet's own nature.

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[1] On the influence of the *Georgics* L. P. Wilkinson 1969, 270–313.

[2] Lucan, medieval poets (who called this pattern *rota Virgilii*), Spenser, Milton, Pope, Proust, Joyce, Musil, and some Romantics (Conte, LG 289).

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Charikleia. Zur Gestaltung der Frau bei Vergil und im griechischen Liebesroman, Eirene 24, 1987, 21–33. * W. R. Johnson, Darkness Visible. A Study of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Berkeley 1976. * P. A. Johnston, Virgil's Agricultural Golden Age, Leiden 1980. * P. E. Kehoe, Was Book 5 Once in a Different Place in the *Aeneid*?, AJPh 110, 1989, 246–263. * R. Kettemann, Bukolik und Georgik. Studien zu ihrer Affinität bei Vergil und später, Heidelberg 1977. * G. Klemke, Beobachtungen zur Vergilischen Parataxe: Das Phänomen der Entfaltung in der *Aeneis*, Frankfurt 1990. * F. Klingner, Virgil. *Bucolica. Georgica. Aeneis*, Zürich 1967. * G. N. Knauer, Die *Aeneis* und Homer, Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils, mit Listen der Homerzitate in der *Aeneis*, Göttingen 1964. * W. F. Jackson Knight, Roman Virgil, Harmondsworth 2nd ed. 1966. * W. Kraus, Vergils vierte Ekloge: ein kritisches Hypomnema, ANRW 2, 31, 1, 1980, 604–645. * E. W. Leach, Virgil's Eclogues: Landscapes of Experience, Ithaca 1974. * M. O. Lee, Death and Rebirth in Vergil's Arcadia, New York 1989. * R. O. A. M. Lyne, Further Voices in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Oxford 1987. * R. O. A. M. Lyne, Words and the Poet. Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Oxford 1989. * C. J. Mackie, The Characterization of Aeneas, Edinburgh 1988. * F. Mehmel, Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius. Untersuchungen über die Zeitvorstellungen in der antiken epischen Erzählung, Hamburg 1940. * G. B. Miles, Virgil's *Georgics*. A New Interpretation, Berkeley 1980. * R. C. Monti, The Dido Episode and the *Aeneid*. Roman Social and Political Values in the Epic, Leiden 1981. * J. J. O'Hara, Death and Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Princeton 1990. * H. Oppermann, ed., Wege zu Vergil, Darmstadt 2nd ed. 1976. * B. Otis, Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry, Oxford 1964, repr. 1967. * A. Parry, The Two Voices of Virgil's Aeneid, Arion 2, 1963, 66–80. * C. G. Perkell, The Poet's Truth. A Study of the Poet in Virgil's *Georgics*, Berkeley 1989. * V. Pöschl, Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der *Äneis* (1950; English ed.: The Art of Vergil, Ann Arbor 1962), Berlin 3rd ed. 1977 (modified). * V. Pöschl, ed., 2000 Jahre Vergil. Ein Symposion, Wiesbaden 1983. * M. C. J. Putnam, The Poetry of the *Aeneid*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965. * M. C. J. Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, Princeton 1970. * M. C. J. Putnam, Virgil's Poem of the Earth, Princeton 1979. * M. C. J. Putnam, Virgil's Inferno, MD 20/21, 1988, 165–202. * K. Quinn, Virgil's *Aeneid*. A Critical Description, London 1968. * C. Renger, Aeneas und Turnus. Analyse einer Feindschaft, Frankfurt 1985. * R. Rieks, Affekte und Strukturen. Pathos als Form- und Wirkungsprinzip von Vergils *Aeneis*, München 1989. * F. Robertson, *Meminisse iuvabit*: Selections from the Proceedings of the Virgil Society, Bristol 1988. * H. J. Rose, The *Eclogues* of Vergil, Berkeley 1942. * D. O. Ross, jr., Virgil's Elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics, Princeton 1987. * W. Schadewaldt, Sinn und Werden der Vergilischen Dichtung (1930), repr. in: H. Oppermann, ed., Wege zu Vergil, 43–68. * R. R. Schlunk, The Homeric Scholia and

the *Aeneid*, Ann Arbor 1974. * E. A. SCHMIDT, Poetische Reflexion. Vergils Bukolik, München 1972. * E. A. SCHMIDT, Bukolische Leidenschaft oder Über antike Hirtenpoesie, Frankfurt 1987. * F. SERPA, Il punto su Virgilio, Roma 1987. * B. SNELL, Arkadien. Die Entdeckung einer geistigen Landschaft (1945), repr. in: H. OPPERMANN, ed. (s. above) 338–367. * H.-P. STAHL, Aeneas—an 'Unheroic' Hero?, Arethusa 14, 1981, 157–177. * R. F. THOMAS, Prose into Poetry. Tradition and Meaning in Virgil's *Georgics*, HSPh 91, 1987, 229–260. * G. THOME, Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil, Frankfurt 1979. * A. THORNTON, The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Leiden 1976. * J. VAN SICKLE, The Design of Virgil's *Bucolics*, Rome 1978. * T. WEBER, *Fidus Achates*. Der Gefährte des Aeneas in Vergils *Aeneis*, Frankfurt 1988. * P. WIGODSKY, Virgil and Early Latin Poetry, Wiesbaden 1972. * R. M. WILHELM, H. JONES, eds., The Two Worlds of the Poet. New Perspectives on Vergil, Detroit 1992. * L. P. WILKINSON, The *Georgics* of Virgil. A Critical Survey, Cambridge 1969. * M. M. WILLCOCK, Homer's Chariot Race and Virgil's Boat Race, PVS 19, 1988, 1–13. * G. WILLIAMS, Techniques and Ideas in the *Aeneid*, New Haven 1983. * R. D. WILLIAMS, Virgil, Oxford 1967. * R. D. WILLIAMS, The *Aeneid*, London 1987. * W. WIMMEL, Hirtenkrieg und arkadisches Rom. Reduktionsmedien in Vergils *Aeneis*, München 1973. * A. WLOSOK, Die Göttin Venus in Vergils *Aeneis*, Heidelberg 1967. * A. WLOSOK, Der Held als Ärgernis: Vergils Aeneas, WJA n.s. 8, 1982, 9–21. * A. WLOSOK, *Et poeticae figmentum et philosophiae veritatem*. Bemerkungen zum 6. Aeneisbuch, insbesondere zur Funktion der Rede des Anchises (724 ff.), LF 106, 1983, 13–19. * F. J. WORSTBROCK, Elemente einer Poetik der *Aeneis*. Untersuchungen zum Gattungsstil vergilianischer Epik, Münster 1963. * E. ZINN, Epilogue to: Vergil, *Aeneis*, Tr. by R. A. SCHRÖDER, Frankfurt 1963, 312–322, repr. in: E. ZINN, Viva Vox, Frankfurt 1994, 185–196. * C. ZINTZEN, Die Laokoonepisode bei Vergil, AAWM 1979, 10.

Appendix Vergiliana[1]

Various minor works were current under Virgil's name in antiquity which are either spurious or of doubtful attribution. They deserve a

[1] *Editions*: F. VOLLMER, *Poetae Latini minores I: Appendix Vergiliana*, Lipsiae 1910; R. GIOMINI (TTrN with *ecl.*), Firenze 2nd ed. 1962; H. NAUMANN (TTrN, part with ecl.), München 1968; W. V. CLAUSEN, F. R. D. GOODYEAR, E. J. KENNEY, J. A. RICHMOND (T), Oxford 1966; F. DELLA CORTE (TTr), Genova 1974–1975; A. SALVATORE (TN), Torino 1957–1960; A. SALVATORE (TC), *Appendix Vergiliana I*: Epigrammata et Priapea, Napoli 1963; II (TTrN, notes): *Culex* etc., Napoli 1964; *concordance*: H. MORGENROTH, D. NAJOCK, Concordantia in Appendicem Vergilianam, Hildesheim 1992; *bibl.*: K. BÜCHNER, Vergilius Maro, RE 8 A 1, 1955, 1062–1180;

brief mention, since they illustrate the 'regular' Hellenistic trend of literary history. It is only against this background that the achievement of the Augustan classics is rightly appreciated in all its greatness. This makes it appropriate to examine the poems of the *Appendix* in the present context in spite of the uncertainty of their dates of origin.

Culex

There is good evidence that in his youth Virgil composed a *Culex*, though that does not necessarily prove that this was the *Culex* we have (414 hexameters). The numerous echoes of Virgil's later works in the poem may count just as much against as in favor of authenticity, although many important Latinists have believed the work was genuine.[1] Today most scholars date the *Culex* to the period of Tiberius and Claudius.[2]

The plot is quite simple. During his afternoon siesta a shepherd would have been bitten by a snake had he not been awakened and so rescued by

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R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, Où en est aujourd'hui l'énigme de l'*Appendix Vergiliana*?, in: H. Bardon, R. Verdière, eds., Vergiliana. Recherches sur Virgile, Leiden 1971, 386–421; C. Conti, Rassegna di studi sull' *Appendix Vergiliana* dal 1955 al 1971 (1972), BStudLat 3, 1973, 351–392; 4, 1974, 229–263; J. Richmond, Recent Work on the Appendix Vergiliana (1950–1975), ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, 1112–1154; E. Bickel, Syllabus indiciorum quibus pseudovergiliana et pseudovidiana carmina definiantur, RhM 93, 1950, 289–324; G. E. Duckworth, Studies in Latin Hexameter Poetry, TAPhA 97, 1966, 67–113 (*Culex* and *Moretum* close to Virgil; *Ciris, Dirae, Aetna* certainly spurious); R. O. A. M. Lyne, A New Collation of the Graz Fragment (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Hs. 1814), WS 6, 1972, 79–92; M. D. Reeve, The Textual Tradition of the Appendix Vergiliana, Maia 28, 1976, 233–254; J. A. Richmond, Quaeritur quomodo *Appendicis Vergilianae* poemata in unum convenerint, RFIC 104, 1976, 26–30; A. Salvatore, Virgilio e Pseudovirgilio. Studi su l'*Appendix*, Napoli 1994.

[1] *Separate editions*: C. Plésent, Le *Culex*. Édition critique, Paris 1910; M. Schmidt (TTrN), Berlin 1959; A. Soler (TTrN), EClás 16, 1972, No. 67, 1–29; *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, esp. 1125–1130; C. Plésent, Le *Culex*, Étude, Paris 1910; in favor of authenticity: F. Skutsch, Aus Vergils Frühzeit, Leipzig 1901, 125 (similarly Näke, Teuffel, Ribbeck, Kroll, and many others); for the Augustan period: F. Bücheler, Coniectanea, RhM 45, 1890, 321–334, esp. 323; for the Tiberian period (convincing): E. Fraenkel, The *Culex*, JRS 42, 1952, 1–9, repr. in: E.F., Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Roma 1964, vol. 2, 181–197; likewise D. Güntzschel, Beiträge zur Datierung des *Culex*, Münster 1972; see now D. O. Ross, The *Culex* and *Moretum* as post-Augustan Literary Parodies, HSPh 79, 1975, 235–263; D. F. Kennedy, Gallus and the Culex, CQ 76, 1982, 371–389; E. Klopsch, Der *Culex*. Eine Neuorientierung zur Echtheitsfrage, in: U. Kindermann, ed., FS P. Klopsch, Göppingen 1988, 207–232.

[2] W. Ax, Die pseudovergilische 'Mücke'—ein Beispiel römischer Literaturparodie, Philologus 128, 1984, 230–249; W. Ax also thinks of irony at the emperors' expense in the *Culex*; W. Ax, Marcellus, die Mücke. Politische Allegorien im *Culex*?, Philologus 136, 1992, 89–129.

the sting of a gnat. But, on awaking, the shepherd naturally kills the gnat. The next night it appears to him in a dream in order to reproach him, and in the morning he builds a tumulus for it.

The literary technique is marked by the use of insets, such as a eulogy of the pastoral life (58–97), descriptions of the underworld, catalogues of trees and flowers. The epic style forms a contrast with the small dimensions of the topic (cf. *Georgics* 4). This is a graceful and playful minor work of respectable achievement.

Ciris

The *Ciris*[1] is dedicated to Messalla, and cannot be ascribed to Virgil.

The story of Scylla is narrated in the shape of an epyllion. After falling in love with Minos, who is besieging her city of Megara, Scylla has cut off the lock of her father, King Nisus, on which his own immortality and the well-being of his city depend. Minos accepts Scylla's treachery, but rejects her love. The girl is turned into a bird, the *ciris*. Her father Nisus becomes a sea eagle.

The author of the poem writes in the neoteric manner. He is fond of elisions and spondaic fifth feet, and is not at all reluctant to use words of four or even five syllables at the end of the verse. The use of long sentences and of a somewhat ponderous syntax is reminiscent of Catullus. Gallus has been credited with the poem; a late date may be supported at best by postulating either the backwardness of some poetic dilettante or the duplicity of an accomplished forger.

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[1] *Separate editions*: A. Salvatore (TC, discussion), 2 vols., Napoli 1955 (cf. RAAN 30, 1954, 53–152; appendix [on the Graz fragment]: AFLN 4, 1954, 25–39); A. Haury (TTrN), Bordeaux 1957; D. Knecht (TC, discussion), Brugge 1970; R. O. A. M. Lyne (TC), Cambridge 1978; *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, esp. 1137–1141; early dating (Gallus): F. Skutsch, RE 4, 1, 1900, 1348; in Virgil's early period: D. Knecht, Virgile et ses modèles latins, AC 32, 1963, 491–512; A. Salvatore loc. cit.; after Virgil and before Ovid (who uses similar sources): K. Büchner, RE 8 A 1, 1955, 1109–1129 ('a poetic dilettante, with connections to the house of Messalla, an admirer of Catullus and Virgil'); later than Ovid: J. A. Richmond ibid. 1139; still later: R. O. A. M. Lyne, The Dating of the *Ciris*, CQ 21, 1971, 233–253 (late datings are improbable because of the neoteric style, unless S. Mariotti's theory of a conscious forgery is assumed: La *Ciris* è un falso intenzionale, Humanitas 3, 1950–1951, 371–373); W. Ehlers, Die *Ciris* und ihr Original, MH 11, 1954, 65–88; M. D. Reeve, The Textual Tradition of *Aetna*, *Ciris*, and *Catalepton*, Maia 27, 1975, 231–247; A. Thill, Virgile auteur ou modèle de la *Ciris*?, REL 53, 1975, 116–134; R. F. Thomas, Cinna, Calvus, and the *Ciris*, CQ 75, 1981, 371–374; A. Salvatore, Echi degli Aratea nella *Ciris*, Ciceroniana 5, 1984, 237–241; P. Frassinetti, Verifiche sulla *Ciris*, in: Filologia e forme letterarie, FS F. Della Corte, Urbino 1987, vol. 2, 529–542.

Copa

A graceful, short poem in elegiac couplets displays as a theme the 'hostess'.[1] It comes from the classical period, as is evinced from the author's elaborate metrical skill. Its lively, almost frivolous tone, allied with some archaic affectation in expression, is not consistent with the style of the undoubtedly genuine works by Virgil. In his adaptation the German poet Geibel caught the tone of the original well enough, though omitting its somewhat risqué undertones.

Moretum

The *Moretum*[2] is nowhere attested in ancient sources as Virgilian. It offers the most detailed picture of the daily life of an Italian farmer. Its prosaic content forms a contrast with its highly poetic style. The close attention to detail is attractive. The author's coolly distant eye makes Virgilian authorship unlikely, though the work could be dated to the classical period.

Catalepton

This is the title of a collection of fourteen (really 17)[3] poems in elegiacs and iambics, and underlines the Hellenistic principle of small-scale refinement. It cannot therefore be surprising that Catullus is repeatedly imitated. The

[1] *Separate editions*: F. R. D. Goodyear (TC), BICS 24, 1977, 117–131; A. Franzoi (TC), Venezia 1988; *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, esp. 1133–1135; Wilamowitz, Hellenistische Dichtung 1, 311–315; against his assumption of a Greek model: R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, On Dating the *Copa*, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 11, 1958, 331–338 (dependence on Propertius in spite of K. Büchner taken for granted: origin shortly after 16 B.C.; against K. Büchner's early dating); G. P. Zarri, Une étude quentinienne sur la tradition manuscrite de la *Copa*, RELO 1974, 1, 1–16.

[2] *Separate editions*: A. Perutelli (TTrC), Pisa 1983; E. J. Kenney (TTrC), Bristol 1984; *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, 1151–1152; A. Salvatore, Tradizione manoscritta e lingua del *Moretum*, in: Studi in onore di L. Castiglioni, Firenze 1960, 835–857; D. O. Ross, The *Culex* and *Moretum* as Post-Augustan Literary Parodies, HSPh 79, 1975, 235–263; E. Évrard, Quelques traits quantitatifs du vocabulaire du *Moretum*, Latomus 41, 1982, 550–565; M. Rodríguez Pantoja, El *Moretum*. Estudio lingüistico y literario, Habis 8, 1977, 117–148; idem, La métrica del *Moretum* pseudovergiliano, Habis 7, 1976, 125–157; A. Perutelli, Epilegomeni al *Moretum*, MD 22, 1989, 189–200.

[3] *Separate editions*: R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma (TC), 2 vols., Assen, 1949–1963 (assigns 1–8 and 10–12 to Virgil); M. and J. Götte, K. Bayer (TTrN with *ecl.* and *georg.*), München 1970; *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, esp. 1142–1154; M. Schmidt, Anordnungskunst im *Catalepton*, Mnemosyne 16, 1963, 142–156; V. Buchheit, Literarische Kritik an T. Annius Cimber (Verg. *catal.* 2)..., in: Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, vol. 1, 37–45; G. I. Carlson, E. A. Schmidt, Form and Transformation in Vergil's *Catalepton*, AJPh 92, 1971, 252–265; H. Naumann, Ist Vergil der Verfasser von *Catalepton* 5 und 8?, RhM 121, 1978, 78–93; J. A. Richmond, De forma libelli qui *Catalepton* inscribitur,

ancient tradition maintains that the poems were *prolusiones* of Virgil. Some of the poems, however, on chronological grounds alone, cannot be by him. It is only for a few of these pieces that modern scholars are inclined to consider Virgilian authorship, as for example for *catal.* 5 and 8. In his will Virgil ordained that nothing of his should be published that he had not published himself. These parerga therefore should not attract overly prolonged attention. It is true, however, that some pieces taken together with relevant papyri give us a glimpse into the circle of Philodemus.

Aetna[1]

This poorly transmitted didactic poem on Mount Etna must be dated, because of its overripe verse technique, to the 1st century A.D.

Dirae; *Lydia*[2]

The *Dirae*, in 103 hexameters, contains curses against the property lost by the speaker during the Civil War. The poem is certainly not by Virgil, any more than the *Lydia*, a lover's lament, which is to be distinguished from it.

Elegiae in Maecenatem[3]

These elegies, written after Maecenas' death, cannot of course be by Virgil. The date presupposed in the text may possibly be accepted. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* presents similar problems.

Priapea

These poems will be discussed as part of the literature of the early Imperial period (vol. 2).

Mnemosyne 28, 1975, 420–422; idem, Quomodo textus libelli qui *Catalepton* inscribitur ad nos pervenerit, Eranos 74, 1976, 58–62; M. Gigante, M. Capasso, Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano, SIFC ser. 3, 7, 1989, 3–6.

[1] *Separate editions*: W. Richter (TTrN, indices), Berlin 1963; F. R. D. Goodyear (TC), Cambridge 1965; *Bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, esp. 1130–1133.

[2] *Bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, es. 1122–1125.

[3] *Separate edition*: H. Schoonhoven (TC, ind., bibl.), Groningen 1980 (proposed date: 3rd quarter of the 1st century A.D.); *bibl.*: J. A. Richmond, ANRW 2, 31, 2, 1981, es. 1135–1137; in favor of dating to the Augustan period: E. Bickel, De *Elegiis in Maecenatem* monumentis biographicis et historicis, RhM 93, 1950, 97–133; in agreement J. A. Richmond ibid.; in favor of a late date (under Domitian): B. Axelson, De aetate *Consolationis ad Liviam et Elegiarum in Maecenatem*, Eranos 28, 1930, 1–33.

B. LYRIC, IAMB, SATIRE, EPISTLE

HORACE

Life and Dates

Q. Horatius Flaccus was born on December 8, 65 B.C. at Venusia,[1] and so, along with Livius Andronicus and Ennius, must be numbered among the poets contributed to Rome by South Italy. His father, a freedman, took great personal pains to secure him the best possible education.

During his schooldays at Rome the doughty blows of his teacher, the famous Orbilius, instilled into him a lasting prejudice against old Latin poetry. He studied Greek philosophy and literature at Athens (*epist.* 2. 2. 44). There he threw in his lot with Brutus, and in a surprisingly high promotion[2] to the rank of military tribune he fought against the Caesarians. After the defeat at Philippi (42 B.C.; *carm.* 2. 7), and the loss of his father's estate, poverty allegedly made of him a poet, as he declares with satiric irony at his own expense (*epist.* 2. 2. 50–52). On his return to Rome he secured the respectable position of a *scriba quaestorius.*

He met well-known patrons of literature, including Asinius Pollio (cf. *carm.* 2. 1) and M. Valerius Messalla (cf. *ars* 371). His poems caught the attention of Virgil and Varius, who in 38 B.C. recommended him to Maecenas. Maecenas accepted him into his circle and, probably after the publication of the 1st book of the *Satires* (35 B.C.), presented him with a Sabine estate. Their friendship remained essentially undisturbed, since Maecenas was ready to tolerate the poet's requirement of great personal freedom (*epist.* 1, 7). Even Augustus, on offering him the position of private secretary, had to learn that the poet's services could not be bought and that the offer

[1] Chief sources on the life: Suetonius' *Vita Horati* (repr. in the editions of Horace) and the poet's own works.

[2] This rank and the office of a *scriba quaestorius* suggest membership of the equestrian order: D. Armstrong, *Horatius eques et scriba: Satires* 1. 6 and 2. 7, TAPhA 116, 1986, 255–288.

was declined. For the year 17 B.C. Horace received the commission of composing the *Carmen Saeculare* and rehearsing its presentation with a chorus of boys and girls. As the Roman lyrist—poet, musician, intermediary with the divine—he could now see himself recognized by the civilized world. Horace died on November 27, 8 B.C., soon after Maecenas, to whom he had long felt that his fate was linked (*carm.* 2. 17), and was buried next to him.

Horace's life led from juvenile exuberance and Republican allegiance to tranquillity and resignation. Only by taking seriously his youthful enthusiasm and ambition can the reader measure the cost of the serenity of old age, which no one but the hasty observer will take for granted.

The *Satires* were published after Virgil's *Eclogues*, perhaps 35/34[1] (book 1) and 30/29 (book 2). The *Epodes* appeared shortly after Actium (therefore after 31: *epode* 9). The first three books of *Odes* came out in 23 B.C., the 1st book of *Epistles* in 20 (*epist.* 1. 12. 27–28), the *Letter to Florus* (*epist.* 2. 2) before 19 B.C., the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C., the *Letter to Augustus* (*epist.* 2. 1) after the assumption of the *genius Augusti* into the worship of the Lares in 14 B.C., the 4th book of *Odes* after the emperor's return in 13 B.C. (*carm.* 4. 15). Scholars proposed various dates for the *Ars Poetica* (23–18 or 13–8).

The simultaneous appearance of the *Epodes* and *Satires* proves Horace's outgrowing the Lucilian tradition, since he clearly separates the genres of iambic and satire still united in his predecessor.

In the *Epodes* the poet of the *Odes* already is to be felt, and even here there may be chronological overlap. In theme the *Odes* are also connected with the *Satires* and *Epistles*, with which again they have partial chronological links.

The line of development traceable from the 1st to the 2nd book of the *Satires* and to the *Epistles* is paralleled in the transition from the *Epodes* to the *Odes*. The 4th book of *Odes* already belongs to the later phase of Augustus' reign, and again sets Horace in a new light.

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[1] Or 33 B.C. after Sallust's death (R. Syme, Sallust, Berkeley 1964, 281).

Survey of Works

Odes (*Carmina*)
Books 1–3
The collection is self-contained, framed by two odes dealing with poetry, written in the first asclepiad meter (1. 1 and 3. 30). The center is formed by a cycle[1] of twelve poems (2. 1–12), preceded and followed by 38 odes. There are further important groups: In the first place, we should mention the nine 'parade' odes opening book 1, of which each shows off a different meter. Furthermore, the 3rd book opens with the six so-called Roman odes all written in alcaics. Odes addressed to Maecenas are to be found in important positions: at the beginning (1. 1), after the middle (1. 20; 3. 16) and at the end of books (2. 20; 3. 29; and 30). The central cycle is framed by odes to Pollio (2. 1) and Maecenas (2. 12).

Book 4
The central poem of the new collection describes the power of poetry to give immortality. It is written in stichic asclepiads, as are the initial and final poems of the first collection, equally relevant to the overall structure. Poems thematically related are sometimes adjacent (as with the invitational poems 11 and 12) and sometimes separated.

Epodes (*Iambi*)
This collection, which was probably inspired by the *Iamboi* of Callimachus, consists of 17 poems: The 1st and 9th (the beginning and middle) are dedicated to Maecenas. Before and after the central poem (9) are two sets of eight. The last of each of these (8 and 17)[2] take aim at old women, the penultimate are directed to the Romans (7 and 16). Elsewhere, careful attention is given to variation.

Satires
Book 1
The 1st book contains ten pieces, like Virgil's *Eclogues* and Tibullus' 1st book. *Satires* 1 and 6 are addressed to Maecenas; 5 and 10 are closely related to his circle. This means that the collection falls into two halves. Variation is secured by the character of diatribe shared by poems 1–3 in the first half, and that of narrative shared by poems 7–9 in the second. *Satires* 4 and 10, dealing with literary theory, are not set in precise parallel. The first half

[1] W. Ludwig 1957; the regular sequence of alcaic and sapphic strophes is broken in 2. 12.
[2] In the third poem of the first series, Maecenas is addressed and Canidia is alluded to. The third poem of the second series (12) is directed to an old woman.

of the book ends with narration, the second with discussion of literature.[1]

1 To Maecenas. Nobody is satisfied with his lot, although nobody would seriously consider exchanging it with another. Making provisions for one's own old age is only a pretext; greed spurred on by envy (110–116) is the real reason for restless activity. Hardly anyone knows how to observe moderation and to halt the search for gain in time to enjoy what has been gained already.

2 Just as there is a healthy mean between avarice and extravagance, so there is also in affairs of love. The extremes to be avoided are harlots and other men's wives. The golden mean is offered by freedwomen.

3 A distinction must be made between gross and minor mistakes. One should criticize oneself, but be forgiving towards one's friends.

4 Unlike Lucilius or Crispinus, Horace is not a particularly prolific writer. Ambitious individuals and those in search of money and pleasure, are afraid of verses and hate poets. Horace for his part does not regard himself as a poet, for the language of satire is, like that of comedy, related to everyday idiom. Horace need not be feared, for his works are not available at the bookstore. He reads them only to a small circle and even then under pressure. Slanderous speeches are not in his manner, although to teach by using examples specified by name is something which he learned from his father. Writing poems is one of his minor faults.

5 Journey from Rome to Brundisium.

6 To Maecenas. In spite of his lowly origin, Horace is not despised by Maecenas. Thanks to his father[2] the poet received the best possible education. Being free from ambition, he can enjoy a happy life.

7 An amusing incident from the time when Brutus was praetor in Asia.

8 A wooden Priapus describes how he chased away two witches.

9 Horace is pestered on the *Sacra Via* by an ambitious interloper who would like to intrude into Maecenas' circle (often not quite accurately described as the 'chatterer').

10 Horace defends his criticism of Lucilius, made in 1. 4, and briefly sketches his theory of satire. Lucilius was undoubtedly polished enough for his own day, but were he alive now, he would be more self-critical. Horace does not aim to please everyone, and he names the few to whose verdict he attaches some importance.

Satires
Book 2

The book consists of two sets of four satires. The penultimate poem of either group is in the style of the diatribe (3 and 7), and the last in both

[1] Cf. M. von Albrecht 1986.

[2] A. Önnerfors, Vaterporträts in der römischen Poesie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Horaz, Statius, Ausonius, Stockholm 1974.

cases deals with gastronomy (4 and 8). The 1st satire, which is of particular importance, is rightly placed at the beginning. The 6th, which corresponds to it in importance, does not open the second half, but is displaced to avoid a too rigid symmetry. The 6th and 7th satires are complementary. They are juxtaposed because they reflect Horace's nature in two quite different ways.

1 A witty consultation, rich in meaning, with the jurist Trebatius, containing a masterly evaluation of Lucilius. It defines proudly, with allusion to the doctrine of *status*,[1] the standpoint of the poet's own satiric compositions, somewhere between polemics and flattery, risk and acknowledgment.

2 The farmer Ofellus criticizes modern extravagance at the table and recommends homely fare.

3 Damasippus, a failed connoisseur of art and real estate dealer, converted by Stertinius to Stoicism, reproaches Horace with his lack of literary productivity, and reports a lecture given by his master on the madness of all fools, rounded off with a list of Horace's faults.

4 Catius initiates Horace into the higher wisdom of the cuisine (gastrosophy) as a way towards a happy life.

5 The seer Teiresias reveals to Ulysses the mysteries of legacy hunting.

6 An expression of thanks to the poet's patron Mercury for granting him the Sabine estate. The troubles of city life. The illusions of others about Horace's influence with Maecenas. A dream of happy life in the country: the town mouse and the country mouse.

7 A sermon at the *Saturnalia* by the slave Davus. 'In the city you wish you were in the country and vice versa. Maecenas' toady! Listen to the sermon which I heard from Crispinus' porter! If I visit a wench, and you another man's wife, who is then the greater sinner? You are not an adulterer, just as I am not a thief, merely out of fear. In many ways you are a slave: how dare you be my master? You are mad about expensive paintings, as I am about pictures of gladiators. Yet I am called a good-for-nothing and you a connoisseur . . . You are always running away from yourself and cannot stay on your own for an hour.' (The enraged Horace is about to throw a stone.) 'Either one is crazy or one writes poetry'.

8 A dinner with the *nouveau riche* Nasidienus, who ruins the evening with a tasteless *embarras de richesse* and long-winded explanations.

Epistles
Book 1

1 To Maecenas. Withdrawal from poetry in favor of moral philosophy.

2 To Lollius (like 18). Homer as instructor in morals.

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[1] LEEMAN, Form 235–249 ('Horaz und die anderen Satiriker über die Aufgaben der Satire').

3 To Julius Florus (like 2. 2) and to the friends interested in literature who have accompanied Tiberius to the East (20 B.C.).

4 To Tibullus. The past and the gift of the present day. Epicurean reflections.

5 To Torquatus (cf. *carm.* 4. 7). Invitation to a simple meal on Augustus' birthday.

6 To Numicius. *Nil admirari.* A challenge to a virtuous life, combined with ironic advice about the pursuit of worldly goods.

7 To Maecenas. A candid excuse for a long absence.

8 To Celsus Albinovanus (cf. *epist.* 1. 3. 15), Tiberius' secretary. A satirical self-portrait of inconsistency, and advice to the addressee to bear his good fortune with moderation.

9 To Tiberius. An urbane letter of recommendation for Septimius.

10 To a friend, Aristius Fuscus (*carm.* 1. 22; *sat.* 1. 9. 61). The advantages of a modest life in the country.

11 To Bullatius. Tranquillity of mind and the folly of restlessness.

12 To Iccius (cf. *carm.* 1. 29). On self-sufficiency.

13 To Vinnius. Advice on the presentation of a copy of the *Odes* (1–3) to Augustus.

14 To his bailiff (*vilicus*). The advantages of country life (cf. 10).

15 To Vala. Contentment with modest fortune does not preclude the enjoyment of comfort.

16 To Quintius. A description of Horace's estate. The right way to live and die.

17 To Scaeva. The way to behave towards those of higher social station. The examples offered by Aristippus and a Cynic.

18 To Lollius (cf. *epist.* 1. 2). The way to behave with friends. Equanimity (cf. *epist.* 1. 17; 1. 11).

19 To Maecenas (like *epist.* 1. 1 and 7). Literary imitation and originality.

20 To his book. An ironic picture of its future, and a self-portrait of the author.

Epistles
Book 2

1 To Augustus on the present state of Roman literature. The high esteem in which the Romans hold Augustus shows that in politics their judgment is more mature than in matters of literature. They treasure the old authors and hate those of the present. But, in Roman literature, age is no criterion of literary value, since Greek and Roman literature have developed under different conditions. If the Romans, who for so long were philistines, have now succumbed to the fashionable sickness of writing books, that has its good points. Poets are modest and useful citizens, good educators, interpreters of things divine. Older Latin literature does not lack tragic feeling,

but polish. Plautus is content to make his audience laugh and his cash box jingle. In choosing the authors allowed to write about him, including Virgil, Augustus shows more power of judgment than Alexander the Great did. Horace, who does not feel called to such lofty political themes, can alas only bring out down-to-earth 'conversations'.

2 To Florus. You would like poems from me? An idle man, no longer under compulsion, cannot be expected to engage in any such selfless enterprise. After the defeat at Philippi, poverty turned me into a poet, but now I am provided for. Poetry belongs to the things of which old age has robbed me. Moreover, every reader wishes to hear something different. Besides, you cannot write poetry in a bustling city like Rome. Authors spend their time in mutual flattery. Bad poets shy away from self-criticism, and good ones have a hard life. The man living under a delusion is happier. I would rather leave such play to children and ask about the right measure in real life. Enough of money-grubbing! Seek a mean between avarice and extravagance. Test yourself to see if, as old age advances, you are becoming a better man. Bow out, before you make yourself into a fool.

Ars poetica

Bizarre combinations destroy the unity of a work of art. Mistakes arise from an exaggerated effort to secure the neighboring virtues. Thus brevity leads to obscurity. Even the poorest craftsman is a master of detail, but cannot conceive a plan of the whole. One should choose a topic matching one's powers. Structure demands selectivity and holding back what is to come later. Well-known words become novel in a studied combination. Neologisms and archaisms are permissible, and the criterion is linguistic usage.

The poem now takes up the different meters, genres, the appropriate stylistic means, the arousal of emotion and character portrayal. The poet should adhere to traditional themes, while avoiding slavish imitation. He should also guard against grandiloquent promises in his introduction. A poem should start in the midst of the events, and the poet should invent plots whose beginning, middle, and end are in harmony. The nature of the different ages of man is to be noted. What is ugly and improbable is to take place off stage. A play is to have five acts, and a god is to intervene only when necessary. Just three characters are to speak on stage, and the chorus is not to utter remarks irrelevant to the action.

There follows a treatment of musical history and satyr play. The trimeter is mentioned, along with its imperfect Roman adaptations. Roman playwrights have shrunk from the labor of the file. Without writing himself, Horace intends to serve as a 'whetstone' for others. Appropriate character portrayal, seeming to imitate life, is the principal need. Sober Rome was not at first suitable ground for poetry. Enjoyment and instruction need not be opposites. Homer may be forgiven for his trivial oversights, but mediocrity

in poetry is deadly. The poet should not write without Minerva's inspiration. He should first present his work to critical readers and wait long before publication. The high dignity of the art of poetry is attested by Orpheus, Amphion, Homer and Tyrtaeus. Nature (talent) and art must work in harmony. True friends should not keep their criticism to themselves, so that the crazy poet does not make himself ridiculous.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The great variety of the genres in which Horace worked reflects the complexity of his genius.[1] The model for his *iambic* poetry was Archilochus of Paros, although he contributed more to meter and the general pugnacious attitude than to motifs (*epist.* 1. 19. 23–25). Horace avoided uncompromising personal invective, characteristic of Archilochus, and attacked only unnamed or insignificant persons. A fresh inspiration allowed him to remodel a traditional literary form and to create a new genre in Roman literature. He had been schooled in the technique of Hellenistic poetry, by the *Iamboi* of Callimachus as well as by epigram. His distinguishing mark is a captivating elegance of style.

As models for the *Odes*, Horace names Alcaeus and Sappho. His link with the former[2] is much more clearly recognizable. *Carm.* 1. 23 recalls Anacreon (*frg.* 39 D.), who may also have influenced even the *Epodes*.[3] Pindar makes his influence visible, for example, in *carm.* 1. 12 (cf. *Ol.* 2). The *Carmen Saeculare* also displays Pindaric elements in its structure. In *carm.* 4. 2, with reference to Augustus, Horace expressly rejects any rivalry with Pindar, the towering master of the lyric; nevertheless, the lofty themes found elsewhere in the 4th book establish a parallel with Pindar. Yet the influence of Alexandrian poetry on the *Odes* is very great, and here, too, the techniques of Hellenistic epigram are frequently on display.[4] Paraenetic odes (e.g. 2. 14; 15; 16; 3. 24) are reminiscent of the diatribe, though this explanation falls short of their lyrical power. Philosophical reflection is a unifying element in all that Horace wrote.

In the *Satires* Horace is in the train of Lucilius, with whom he comes to critical terms (see below Ideas I, Reflections on Literature). Lucretius too is important for Horace, both as Epicurean and as

[1] E. Zinn 1970, 57.
[2] E. Fraenkel 1957, 154–178 (on *carm.* 1. 14; 1. 37; 1. 10; 1. 32; 1. 9; 1. 18).
[3] D. A. Campbell, Horace and Anacreon, AClass 28, 1985, 35–38.
[4] E.g. *carm.* 1. 5; 28; 30; 3. 22; 26.

composer of philosophical hexameters. The tradition of the *diatribe*[1] is recalled by allusions to natural appetites, the interpretation of punishments in the underworld, and the motif of the pilgrimage to hidden sources. There are also elements of Stoicism and Cynicism.[2] Horace explicitly refers to Bion of Borysthenes (*epist.* 2. 2. 60), though the influence of the diatribe, too, is not to be taken as absolute. For individual themes, the poet may have looked further for inspiration. In the area of gourmet taste (*sat.* 2. 4; 2. 8), he may be in debt to Archestratus of Gela (period of Alexander the Great) and Ennius. The beginning of *t.* 2. 4 actually echoes Plato's *Phaedrus* (228 b).[3]

Lucilius had already written letters in verse, but with his *Epistles* Horace created an entirely new literary genre which allowed the treatment of a variety of themes of daily life and ethical struggle from a personal point of view. Horace knew the Stoics[4] and Epicureans, and it was to the latter that he was more sympathetic (e.g. *epist.* 1. 4. 16). But he was far from any dogmatic attitude. His aim was to communicate practical guidance for living.

In the *Ars poetica* Horace depended, according to Porphyrio, on Neoptolemus of Parium, but it is difficult to establish secure parallels.

Literary Technique

To a satire belong dialogue, narrative, reflection and sermon, though the proportions in which these ingredients are mixed vary. The *Satires* are largely conceived as conversations (*sermones*). Dialogue may serve as a framework for a lecture or a narrative.

Conversely, reflections or sermons may be enlivened by the interventions of an imaginary interlocutor. In the 1st book there are satires in which sermon or narrative stands indisputably in the foreground. In the 2nd book dialogic and dramatic treatments prevail, a type already realized in the masterly 9th poem of the 1st book. This means that the centrifugal elements are united in a whole. A high point is reached in the late *Satire* 2. 1, in which even reflections on literature are cast in the shape of a lively dialogue.

In conformity with the conversational character of the genre, the

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1 On the diatribe motifs: U. Knoche, Betrachtungen über Horazens Kunst der satirischen Gesprächsführung, Philologus 90, 1935, 372–390; 469–482; W. Wimmel 1962.

2 A. Barbieri, A proposito della *Satira* 2, 6 di Orazio, RAL 31, 1976, 479–507.

3 E. Fraenkel 1957, 136–137.

4 E.g. *sat.* 1. 3; 2. 3 (with critical remarks); *epist.* 1. 16.

themes appearing within a given satire are not always harmoniously reconciled. There may be discrepancies between the frame and the heart of the poem. The introduction may announce a somewhat different theme which then surprisingly takes an unexpected turn (disguised introduction). Thus the beginning of the 1st *Satire* discusses the dissatisfaction of mortals with their lot, the middle takes up avarice, while the end finds a causal connection between them both. Only attentive reading shows that the entire satire deals with what men say about themselves and their happiness. The 2nd *Satire* starts with a brief mention of extravagance, and then goes into detail about sexual matters. Both themes illustrate the golden mean.

The composition of the *Satires* displays gliding transitions, as well as abrupt endings and new beginnings. There is a dialectical tension between form and content to the extent that a particular variety of topic is offset by strictness of form (e.g. *sat.* 1. 5; 1. 9), while gliding transitions help to avoid a pedantic and overexplicit division into paragraphs (*sat.* 1. 3).[1]

The principle of the gliding transition prevails not only within the individual satire and ode, but also between successive poems. Between the satires there are connecting links. A basic motif of the 1st *Satire* is resumed at the beginning of the 2nd and set in relation with the new theme. The 3rd *Satire* starts like the 2nd with the person of Tigellius. The 4th recapitulates (25–32) the themes of the previous poems. The 6th *Satire* is connected with the 4th by its mention of Horace's 'mediocre faults', and its complimentary exaltation of his father.[2] The 5th and 6th *Satires* are linked by the names of those belonging to the circle of Maecenas. Similar thematic links also exist, for example, between the 'Roman odes'.[3]

The choice of the mask determines the effect produced. Sober moral instruction is notably refreshing when placed on the lips, not of a man of the world like Horace, but on those of candid spokesmen, such as the farmer Ofellus (*sat.* 2. 2), the slave Davus (*sat.* 2. 7) and even the poet's father (*sat.* 1. 4. 105–129).

Irony may result when the person of the speaker, even if not belying his own words, at least qualifies them. A particularly shrewd busi-

[1] W. Hering 1979.

[2] In this the fourth seems to presuppose knowledge of the sixth. Cf. also the mention of *ambitio* (1. 4. 26; 1. 6 passim, esp. 129).

[3] M. von Albrecht 1988.

nessman is enthusiastic for obvious reasons about happy country life (*beatus ille qui procul negotiis*... 'happy the man who, far away from business cares...' *epod.* 2. 1). As a preacher of Stoic morals in succession to the eminently wise Stertinius, there appears on the scene—the bankrupt Damasippus (*sat.* 2. 3).

Conversely, comedy may be found in the fact that trivial and even detrimental advice may assume the guise of profound wisdom (*sat.* 2. 4 and 5).

The poetic technique of the *Odes* can be deciphered only to a limited extent, since in them for the most part several levels and facets of meaning combine to produce a complex effect. This is not the place for individual interpretation, and hints must suffice. In the arrangement of the poems (s. Survey of Works), apart from external principles (such as the relative eminence of the addressees and metrical similarity or difference), the continuity of themes is also important. Thus within the 'Roman odes' on several occasions one poem is linked by content with its predecessor.[1]

In turning to the structure of the individual odes, the reader notes that the poet often proceeds from a concrete idea, to which he may return after the development of the thought. This is true of *carm.* 1. 16, where the beginning and end form a palinode framing a section on anger in general. A weighty comparison may also serve as introduction (*carm.* 4. 4). At times the opening contains a programmatic echo of a famous Greek poem. Such quotations are intended to evoke, not so much a relation of content with a predecessor, as a mood or a particular stylistic level. Subsequently, the thought for the most part does not imitate the model.

The sequence of thoughts in a Horatian ode is guided, not so much by external paradigms or by any simple chronology, but by its own internal laws. The poet's gift for independent composition of convincing units is already revealed in the *Epodes*, where 9 and 16 show a remarkable artistry. Thematic orientation takes precedence for the poet over the coherence of the imagery or the uniformity of the background.[2]

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[1] *Carm.* 3. 1 end and 3. 2 beginning: narrowness of space; 3. 2 end and 3. 3 beginning: the unjust and just man; 3. 3 end and 3. 4 beginning: address to the Muse; 3. 4 and 3. 5 Jupiter and Augustus.

[2] In juxtaposition are found different pictures of beasts (e.g. in *epod.* 6) and different seasons (e.g. in *carm.* 1. 9).

Sometimes the thought proceeds dialectically. In *carm.* 2. 16, the 'even' strophes form a contrast of content with the 'odd'. Several odes revolve around a central point. Thus *carm.* 2. 14 is grouped around a central strophe (1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 1 strophes). The central strophes of *carm.* 3. 8 (3 + 1 + 3 strophes) and of *carm.* 4. 11 (4 + 1 + 4 strophes), contain an address to Maecenas.[1] Other odes are made up of two halves, such as *carm.* 1. 9 (3 + 3 strophes) and 3. 20 (2 + 2 strophes). The counter theme may also be introduced in the middle of a strophe, as is shown by *carm.* 2. 15, which consists of twice 2 1/2 strophes. The middle of the ode is the appropriate place for a change of theme or point of view, for important addresses or even gnomae.[2]

The conclusions of the odes are especially vivid and impressive. In *Odes* 1. 14, the idea of transience finally is condensed into the figure of an heir, carelessly spilling the precious wine which the dead man has so carefully guarded. *Carm.* 1. 9 culminates in a charming hide-and-seek of lovers, *carm.* 3. 20 in the graphic portrait of a beautiful boy, *carm.* 2. 19 in the picture of the surprisingly tame Cerberus. *Carm.* 3. 13 presents us at the end with the Bandusian Spring in all its picturesque beauty. A final vignette in *carm.* 1. 3 is offered by Jupiter as he hurls his thunderbolts. *Carm.* 1. 5 gives us a votive picture. The conclusions of poems are often distinguished also by striking, sententious utterances (*carm.* 4. 12; see also 3. 8 and 3. 9).

The above-mentioned discrepancies in space, time, and imagery are baffling enough for modern readers. But there is more: the poet's great boldness in his strongly realized presentations of miraculous events. Thus in *carm.* 2. 20, Horace confronts his reader directly with the naturalistic picture of his metamorphosis into a bird. The parallel in the previous poem (2. 19. 5–8), displaying a similar vividness and the same use of the present tense warns the interpreter against taking the easy step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Horace's daring imagination defies our professional wisdom which, faced with his diction, continually reacts with incredulity, and proclaims its perplexity by desperate efforts to introduce normality.

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[1] In *carm.* 2. 12 Licymnia's name occurs in the central strophe.

[2] Gnome in the center: *carm.* 1. 9. 13; 3. 16. 21–22; in 2. 10 from the central point on the poem becomes noticeably filled with gnomae.

Language and Style

A number of words are found in the *Odes* which elsewhere are characteristic of prose rather than of poetry.[1] Some of them are regarded as unpoetic, but two considerations should be borne in mind. Since most poetic texts in Latin are written in dactyls, numerous words are missing from them, not because they are in any way unpoetic, but because they are metrically intractable. In his lyric meters Horace may employ them easily. Moreover, Horace is fond of replacing abstract expressions with concrete. Thus instead of *ira* he uses *stomachus*; instead of *mare, Hadria*; instead of *vinum, Caecubum.* Metonymy almost appears to attract him more than metaphor, although metaphor is nowadays taken for the essence of poetry. Goethe perceived the down-to-earth nature of Horace's manner of expression, in finding in him a 'frightful reality'.[2] In this way of handling language, an elemental energy is manifest, unexpected in the alleged poet of urbane manners. An author who is so able to stir the feelings is a great poet.

Yet Horace also understands the virtuoso manipulation of metaphor. He speaks of masters in terms appropriate to slaves: a transference which gains a special charm (*sat.* 2. 7) when coming precisely from the mouth of slaves.[3] This gives the idea of the Saturnalia a linguistic reality. The so-called master is a slave on many counts (*totiens servus* 70), a runaway and lazybones (*fugitivus et erro,* ibid. 113). A common notion, relating both to literature and life, is that of the mean and of *modus* (which implies both moderation and modulation). In a way both bold and profound, the aging poet re-applies the musical metaphors of this theme to life (*epist.* 2. 2. 143–144): *Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,/sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae*, 'and not to search out words that will fit the music of the Latin lyre, but to master the rhythms and measures of a genuine life'.

The poet shows extraordinary subtlety in distinguishing, both stylistically and metrically, between the genres. Unlike Lucilius, he draws

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[1] B. Axelson, Unpoetische Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache, Lund 1945, 98–113; F. Ruckdeschel, Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz, Erlangen 1911, repr. 1972.

[2] The continuation 'without any genuine poetry' shows that Goethe felt the difference from the modern poetry of metaphor: Goethe, Artemis-Gedenkausgabe, ed. by E. Beutler, 22 (Gespräche 1), Zürich, 2nd ed. 1964, 423; November 1806 to Riemer; on this (with a somewhat different explanation) H. Hommel, Goethestudien, AHAW 1989, 1, passim, esp. 18; 30.

[3] This individual garb lends to the Stoic paradoxes the charm of novelty.

a strict line between the *iamb*[1] and the now purely hexametrical satire. In order to preserve an appearance of everyday, his satirical hexameters are constructed somewhat less strictly than those of his lyric poems. Just as from his *Satires* the refined *Epistles* developed, so it appears that his lyric grew from the seedbed of the *Iambi*. The *Odes* are divided at times, as were the *Epodes*, into strophes of two lines, although mostly into strophes of four.[2] Yet this division is not inflexible. An example is found in *carm.* 1. 5, with its fluent counterpoint between sentence and verse. Three paragraphs cover four strophes. Horace prefers the alcaic and sapphic strophes, in which the strict rules of his treatment of quantities and verbal structure find striking illustration.[3] Yet he also uses other meters, such as asclepiads and even ionics. It was with good reason that Ovid called him 'rich in rhythms' (*numerosus: trist.* 4. 10. 49). This made Horace unique in Rome.[4] By his tireless struggle with language, style, and verse, he succeeded in imparting a wholly appropriate garb to the genres he shaped.[5]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Horace's *Ars poetica* is the most significant document in Latin on the theory of literature. It is doubly valuable because its author was one of Rome's greatest poets. But we should not approach this work with false expectations. Disappointment may ensue because the genre chosen to illustrate the theories is one from which Horace held aloof: the drama, especially the satyr play. This may have been determined by the fact that drama, not lyric traditionally served as object lesson in ancient poetics, and in any case for satire there was no Greek theory. Moreover, it may perhaps have seemed embarrassing to the poet to elaborate overtly in a long didactic poem on topics which

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[1] In the *iambi* he does not confine himself to following the traces of the revolutionary poetry of the Caesarian period (*epod.* 17. 40; cf. Catullus 42. 24; 29. 7).

[2] K. E. Bohnenkamp, Die horazische Strophe. Studien zur *Lex Meinekiana*, Hildesheim 1972.

[3] E. Zinn, Der Wortakzent in den lyrischen Versen des Horaz, 2 parts, München 1940 (forthcoming: a reprint with a substantial new introduction by W. Stroh, Hildesheim 1997).

[4] Doubtless the luxuriance of meters in Plautus and the virtuoso play of Terentianus Maurus are in each case quite different.

[5] A word like *tauriformis* (*carm.* 4. 14. 25) is typical of the sublime style of the 4th book.

had engaged his own creative talent. Once again, Horace shows himself as a master of indirect presentation, parrying our curiosity. A second disappointment rests on another mistaken presupposition. The poet is not proposing a set of rules for poetry, even if he has often been wrongly interpreted in this sense. Horace remains true to himself. In a spirit of urbanity he clothes his teaching in the loose garb of the *sermo* and robs it of anything dogmatic. A third disappointment for readers who would like to look over the shoulders of a great writer lies in the fact that we hear hardly anything of inspiration. The crazy genius is actually made an object of ridicule. All the more is heard of self-criticism (*ars* 38–40; 385–390 al.), of willingness to learn, and hard work. However, natural talent and art must complement each other (408–411), and mediocrity is allowed in every sphere, except in poetry (372–373). But this is at least to touch the secret of greatness, if not to reveal it altogether. The reader who frees himself from all three false expectations is richly rewarded by the study of the *Ars*. He rediscovers in a thousand forms the principles of wisdom (*sapere*), and of decorum (*aptum*) which count among the recurring features in the poet's life and work. Horace does not talk of genius, but by its achievement his poetry established standards. It is rewarding therefore to investigate his poetics in his other works as well.

Critical discussion of Lucilius occupies much space in Horace's work.[1] In this, the defensive attitude of a modern author needing to assert himself against tradition (*sat.* 1. 4) modulates into the considered verdict of a literary historian (*sat.* 1. 10) and finally into a sympathetic evaluation (*sat.* 2. 1). For Horace, his *Satires* are close to everyday speech. If the meter is removed, the result is prose (*sat.* 1. 4. 39–63; *sermones* is also found at *epist.* 2. 1. 250). With self-irony, the poet refuses to decide whether in fact they are poetry at all. He emphasizes their lowly stylistic level not only to defend himself against claims on the part of Augustus (*repentes per humum*, 'crawling along the ground', ibid. 251–252).

In spite of the aloofness evinced by *epist.* 2. 2. 100, Callimachus[2]

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[1] M. Puelma Piwonka, Lucilius und Kallimachos, Frankfurt 1949; M. Coffey, Roman Satire, London 1976, 3–10; P. L. Schmidt, Invektive – Gesellschaftskriti – Diatribe? Typologische und gattungsgeschichtliche Vorüberlegungen zum sozialen Engagement der römischen Satire, Lampas 12, 1979, 259–281; C. J. Classen, Die Kritik des Horaz an Lucilius in den *Satiren* 1. 4 und 1. 5, Hermes 109, 1981, 339–360.

[2] Cf. also *carm.* 4. 15 (following Callimachus *Aet. frg.* 1. 21–28 Pfeiffer; *hymn. Apoll.* 105–112).

inspires the keen sensitivity of the artist. His aim is to abide by the verdict of a small audience of experts (*sat.* 1. 10. 78–91). He sets a high value on the labor of the file (*limae labor et mora: ars* 291), and the toil of the bees (*carm.* 4. 2). He despises the 'muddy stream' (*sat.* 1. 4. 11; *epist.* 2. 2. 120–121) and the envious crowd (*carm.* 2. 16. 39–40). He cherishes the *spiritus tenuis* (*carm.* 2. 16. 38; cf. 1. 6. 9). The *Ars poetica* shows that Horace's care and untiring diligence extend even to the individual word (e.g. archaisms and neologisms) and to skilful linkage of words (*callida iunctura: ars* 47–48).

In Horace's apparent undervaluing of his own poems, a Socratic irony is at work. Conversely, his Callimachean apologetics often aid him to introduce exalted themes into the 'modest' genres of the ode or epistle.[1] Even when he rejects for himself Pindaric claims (*carm.* 4. 2), and remains aware (*carm.* 1. 6. 9–10) of the contrast between a lofty military theme and the simple, unwarlike lyre (or his 'slight' talent), early Greek lyric undoubtedly assisted him in surpassing the small-scale Hellenistic art which formed his first point of departure.[2] His encounters with Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Sappho enabled him to develop his own talent and freed his genius. This applies to both his content and his form.

He may therefore frankly and justifiably boast that it was he who introduced the iambic and aeolian lyric to Rome (*carm.* 3. 30. 13–14; *epist.* 1. 19. 23–24). He is right to be proud of the brilliance with which he has performed this difficult task (cf. *carm.* 3. 30; 4. 2. 31–32).

Yet, in his accomplishment, Horace sees more than the technical side. He describes himself as a *vates* (*carm.* 1. 31; 4. 3. 15; 4. 6. 44; cf. *Romanae fidicen lyrae: carm.* 4. 3. 23). He is conscious at times, above all when handling lofty themes, that he is divinely inspired (*carm.* 3. 25). Yet he is aware of the dangers of imitating Pindar recklessly (*carm.* 4. 2) and warns against it while preparing to do so. The 4th book of *Odes* attests a further stage in the evolution of his literary thought, continually making more subtle differentiations in genres. Just as in his youth Horace developed *Epodes* and *Satires* as separate literary genres, so in his maturity he developed the *Odes*, and at the end, in a new refinement, the 4th book of the *Odes* and the *Epistles*.

In his view of himself as an author, Horace for the most part shows a surprising sobriety. Open to the demands of his fellow men,

[1] E.g. *carm.* 1. 6; 4. 2; 4. 15; Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom.

[2] G. Pasquali 1920.

he regarded the poet as a useful member of society (*utilis urbi: epist.* 2. 1. 124) and speaks, not without some irony at his own expense, of his pedagogic tasks (*os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat*, 'the poet fashions the tender, lisping lips of childhood' *epist.* 2. 1. 126). Occasionally, he proves with a smile that the reading of Homer may, in Stoic fashion, serve the purpose of moral instruction (*epist.* 1. 2). It is significant in general for Horace's interpretation of his writing that he prefers younger contemporaries as his addressees (*carm.* 3. 1. 4), and it is these he seeks to guide (Lollius: *epist.* 1. 2; 1. 18; Florus: *epist.* 1. 3; 2. 2; Vinnius: *epist.* 1. 13; Scaeva: *epist.* 1. 17. 16; the Pisones: *ars*).

The lofty demand to establish respect and piety and to restore a good relationship between the state and the gods (cf. *epist.* 2. 1. 132–138) was met by Horace in the *Carmen saeculare* (cf. *carm.* 4. 6). In the Roman odes and in poems such as *epodes* 7 and 16, he felt himself to be the teacher of his people. The restraining advice of the Muses is valid even for the emperor (*carm.* 3. 4. 36–42), although at the outset a courteous reference is made to poetry's restorative influence.

Elsewhere, too, Horace emphasizes the relaxation afforded by lyric, modestly enough, although in accordance with Epicurean aesthetics (cf. *carm.* 2. 10). Song dissolves cares (*carm.* 4. 11. 35–36). It softens suffering (*carm.* 1. 32. 14). It is a comfort in old age (*carm.* 1. 31. 19–20). The poet offers sincere gratitude to the Muse (*carm.* 4. 3). This reference to divine grace finds a creative counterpoint in the poet's proud claim on grounds of his own merit, which guarantees his immortality (*carm.* 3. 30; 2. 20). The poet is even more powerful than the statesman, since he is able to give or deny immortality to the latter. The poet is even capable of creating gods (*carm.* 4. 8 and 9): a majestic declaration of the poet's independence in the Augustan period.

Horace's thoughts on literature are never fixed. Their interplay necessarily draws them towards constantly new reflection, refinement, and metamorphosis. Just as in the 4th book of *Odes* lyric comes more and more to depart from its personal roots, so in the *Epistles* literature, shaped by reflection, goes beyond what is specifically literary. This remark may be substantiated by reference to a basic theme, that of relationship to truth. As a satirist, Horace's aim is 'to tell the truth with a smile' (*sat.* 1. 1. 24). Thanks to his love of truth, a rare quality in Roman society, he has gained the friendship of Maecenas (*sat.* 1. 6. 60). Even in *Epistles* 1. 7 it may be seen that the poet demands much from his patron in this respect. In his literary activity, the author is even less inclined to compromise than in life. *Dicere*

verum is and remains in its different literary forms a token of Horace's poetry, although not in any too crudely assertive fashion. And yet in this area the *Epistles* mark a new phase.

Slyly, Horace describes poetry as one of his minor faults (*sat.* 1. 4. 139–140). It would be better for him to leave it alone, but he cannot sleep (*sat.* 2. 1. 7) and he will never abandon writing (*sat.* 2. 1. 60). Later, in the *Epistles*, he will try to let fall this habit in order to turn to practical philosophy, right living. But his literary commitment is stronger than his will. 'I said that I would not write any more, but more of a liar than the Parthians—I demand at early morn my writing tablets' (*epist.* 2. 1. 111–113). Paradoxically in this way, with his 'turn away' from literature, he has ascended to a new stage of literary achievement. This does not justify the reader in using literary considerations to rob the poet's preoccupation with ethics of its force. Horace was winning for literature areas of life which for Romans were of basic significance. The mastering of real life, by being given superb formulation, was confirmed in its reality. After all, where the word is lacking, nothing exists.

Ideas II

Horace began with quite sharp criticism of contemporary society. In the course of his satiric poetry, philosophical and aesthetic themes came to receive greater emphasis. Then he dropped the satirical genre, and turned to the more serene *Epistles*. The development from *Epodes* to *Odes* is comparable. With the 4th book of the *Odes* there arose again a type of lyric, novel even from the political standpoint. And yet, in spite of all, the poet remained extraordinarily true to himself.

In considering the content of his poems, it is not sufficient to declare that, in conformity with the 'bourgeois' spirit of his time and class, the poet celebrated carefulness, prudence, and personal modesty.[1] Certainly, after decades of civil war, it was urgently necessary to find an equilibrium in all areas of life. To Roman knights, who did not cherish lofty political ambitions, *moderatio* in this regard did not pose problems. And yet this is only a partial truth, for, if Horace had reflected the thoughts of so broad a segment of readers, he would inevitably

[1] On the social background H. Mauch 1986.

have been more popular in his time than he actually was.

His independent greatness and intellectual significance are to be understood rather by recalling that, neither under Augustus nor on other occasions, is moderation the gift of a particular class or audience. It is a difficult task and something equally unpopular with representatives of all ranks. Now Rome had to meet the historical challenge and establish a new political order based on a rising group of property owners; consequently, Horace's generation was especially tempted to overvalue material goods. Here the poet emerged to offer an unwelcome reminder. His nature was not at all tranquil, but sensitive and vulnerable. Yet he championed aims that were both aesthetic and ethical, and for their realization fought a remarkably consistent battle in all areas.

The theme of measure is found throughout his works, and given concrete expression in every sphere of life. Its formulation in each case is both individual and yet extraordinarily diverse. In the *Satires* an easily detected play on words leads him to urge what is *satis*. In the *Epistles* he is concerned with *recte vivere*. Both points of view are also continually present in the *Odes*. For example, *carm.* 2. 10 masterfully develops thoughts known from Greek popular wisdom, poetry, and philosophy. Here too the reader should be careful not to trivialize. The only reason why such thoughts are often on men's lips is because they are so seldom realized. In his poems Horace traverses practically all spheres of human life, and sheds continually fresh light upon them from his personal point of view, with different circumstances and readers in mind.

To his feelings about life as an individual, the views of the Epicureans corresponded in many respects. He belonged to no particular school[2] (*epist.* 1. 14) and wavered, as he himself admits, between the Stoa and Hedonism. Of Stoic philosophy he had a good knowledge. The recognition of one's own particular capabilities was an aim of the Middle Stoa represented by Panaetius, and Horace accepted this also as a basic premise of poetics (*ars* 38–40). This is a sign of the convergence between his understanding of literature and of life. Yet the dogmatic rigidity of the traditional Stoa was something he found amusing, as also its paradoxes, such as that all sins are equal (*sat.* 1. 3. 96); that only the wise man is king (*sat.* 1. 3. 124–142); that all

[1] On Horace's independent attitude R. Mayer 1986.

fools are mad (*sat.* 2. 3); and that all fools are slaves (*sat.* 2. 7). He makes no secret of his opposition to the intransigence of the Cynics, and prefers Aristippus' accommodation to the mighty (*epist.* 1. 17), although this must not be purchased at the cost of freedom. He wittily calls himself a pig from Epicurus' sty (*epist.* 1. 4. 16). Epicurean wisdom also speaks in his *vixi* (*carm.* 3. 29. 41–43); and his disbelief in the *Manes* (*carm.* 1. 4. 16) and the irony of his ode about Archytas (*carm.* 1. 28) point in the same direction. As prescribed by the ancient rules of meditation, he daily examined his conscience. His feeling that he should enjoy every day as a gift in the face of death, so that he could leave life's table like a guest who has eaten to the full, is Epicureanism rooted in a life.

Horace is well aware of his own weaknesses, and makes no effort to conceal them.[1] Yet he also continually emphasizes that he has only moderate foibles. He does not share the zeal shown by some Christians in presenting themselves as the greatest of sinners. He wins his readers' sympathies by stating that he is content with modest good fortune but perfectly ready to appreciate greater comfort (*epist.* 1. 15. 42–46). As a moral teacher, Horace occasionally compares himself with a blind man who tries to show another the road (*epist.* 1. 17. 3–4). By revealing such human traits he not only makes his doctrines more palatable to his listeners, but also in a unique way transfers elements of Socratic irony into the sphere of Roman *humanitas.*[2]

Among the themes of his poetry, apart from these basic principles of moral philosophy, are found those of friendship (an especial note of sincerity sounds in *carm.* 2. 17, addressed to Maecenas) and love. Love is not experienced with the passionate surrender of the elegists (cf. *carm.* 1. 5), but rather suffered in silence. But his lines, which at times seem so lightly thrown off, must not lead to insensitive conclusions. Horace's love is less possessive than that of Propertius, yet in him there is no lack of sincere tones, and he also knows what it is to fall victim to passion, though he does not raise this into a principle for living (*carm.* 3. 9; 4. 11). The themes of danger and death permeate all his work. The somewhat self-ironic manner (e.g. 2. 13) adopted at times must not deceive the reader about Horace's being in earnest.

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[1] Hor. *sat.* 2. 3. 300–326; *epist.* 1. 8. 3–12; 1. 20. 25.

[2] E. Zinn 1970, 53.

The gracefulness of Horace's lyric defies any dissecting analysis, as does the poet's ability in few words to communicate atmosphere and mood (already found in *epode* 13) or to destroy it. Horace's *Odes* as a collection are a unique reflection of the world found in an individual soul. Gods, nature, state, friends of both sexes, and the poet's own ego form concentric circles. The mature capability of Latin lyric to discharge such a wide-ranging task was proved by Horace for the first and only time. It was he who conquered for Latin poetry quite new territories.

Transmission

The transmission of Horace on the whole is good, which means that the study of its history is unlikely to produce revolutionary improvements of the text. At the same time, the richness and complexity of the *traditio* present almost insoluble problems. In spite of devoted efforts by generations of scholars, it seems impossible at this time to classify the numerous manuscripts, some of which go back to the 9th century. Investigation and critical understanding of the transmission are deeply indebted to editors such as Keller, Holder, and Vollmer. Building on their results, in his edition F. Klingner distinguished two strands of transmission reaching back to antiquity (Ξ and Ψ) along with a mixed recension, Q. This division has now been shown to be untenable by the edition of S. Borzsák. A new edition, not yet in prospect, would contribute considerably to the credit of classical philology. For all these reasons, editors of Horace are especially thrown back on their gift of divination. If they believe at times that they must prove this at the boldest and best passages of Horace's poetry, this is part of the risks of their profession.

Influence[1]

Horace found imitators as early as Ovid, yet a genuine Roman lyric poet after Horace does not exist. Statius created his own genres of

[1] E. Stemplinger, Das Fortleben der horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance, Leipzig 1906; E. Stemplinger, Horaz im Urteil der Jahrhunderte, Leipzig 1921; G. Showerman, Horace and his Influence, Boston 1922, repr. 1963; Orazio nella letteratura mondiale, Roma 1936; Highet, Class. Trad., index s.v.; M.-B. Quint, Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Horaz-Rezeption, Frankfurt 1988; England: M. R. Thayer, The Influence of Horace on the Chief English Poets of the 19th Century, New Haven 1916; C. M. Goad, Horace in the English Literature of the 18th Century,

poetry, and is not to be compared. Prudentius played the role of the Christian Horace.

In satire Persius and Juvenal each came to their own independent terms with Horace. Seneca took up his idea of writing philosophical letters, but he did so in prose and his quotations of Horace's *Epistles* are surprisingly scarce.[1] By contrast, the authors from whom Boethius drew consoling maxims include Horace.

Horace also became, as he had feared (*epist.* 1. 20. 17–18), a school author. Of the lively activities of commentators in antiquity, we possess survivals in the commentary of Porphyrio, the scholia of pseudo-Acro, and the *Commentator Cruquianus*. Porphyrio is less attentive to historical matters than to grammar and sense, poetic beauty and the correct method of delivery.

Alcuin, who called himself 'Flaccus', knew at least the *Ars poetica*[2] and the *Satires*. In the Middle Ages Horace was valued as a moralist,[3] receiving the sobriquet *ethicus*. From the 8th century on, excerpts of his work frequently appeared in florilegia.[4] This meant that the focal point of interest lay in his *Satires*. Jean de Meung (d. about 1305) in his *Roman de la rose* cites the *Satires* and *Epistles* but not the *Odes*.[5] Dante (d. 1321) mentions *Orazio satiro* as the second greatest poet after Homer (*inf.* 4. 89), but does not show himself well acquainted

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New Haven 1918; F. Stack, Pope and Horace. Studies in Imitation, Cambridge 1985; D. Hopkins, C. Martindale, eds., Horace Made New, Cambridge 1993; Germany: G. Rückert, Mörike und Horaz, Nürnberg 1970; W. J. Pietsch, Friedrich von Hagedorn und Horaz, Untersuchungen zur Horaz-Rezeption in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jh., Hildesheim 1988.

[1] Among the rare allusions to Horace, those to the *Odes* seem to prevail.

[2] Moreover, a Carolingian commentary on the *Ars poetica* is known.

[3] To him, for example, the epic in hexameters about beasts *Ecbasis cuiusdam captivi per tropologiam* (c. 1040) is indebted. Sextus Amarcius Gallus Piosistratus (11th–12th century) composed four books of satiric *sermones*.

[4] E.g. *Exempla diversorum auctorum* (8th century): 74 quotations; Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou tresor* (c. 1260): 60 quotations (Highet, Class. Trad. 634; also important for what follows).

[5] Hugh of Trimberg (d. after 1313) speaks expressly of the slight value set on the *Epodes* and *Odes* in his day (*Registrum auctorum* 2, 66–71). Recent scholarship has shown that before that time (i.e. in the 11th–12th centuries) the *Odes* enjoyed more attention than in the 13th century (K. Friis-Jensen, in: Horace. Entretiens [Fondation Hardt] 39, 1992, 257–298); Horace in the Archepoet's works: H. Krefeld, ed., Der Archipoeta, Berlin 1992, esp. 17–18; 20; 96–99; a musical composition of the *Ode to Phyllis* (4. 11) dates from the 10th century. In the 12th century, Metellus of Tegernsee imitated Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* in his polymetric praise of St. Quirinus (Conte, LG 318).

even with the *Satires*. Petrarch (d. 1374) quotes Horace almost as often as Virgil. A lyric poet himself, he shows an excellent knowledge of the *Odes*, and in him the taste of the new age makes itself felt. His lyric poetry in Italian is, however, un-Horatian. Spenser (d. 1599) knew the *Epistles*, *Odes*, and *Epodes*.

In the Renaissance Horace continued to be a school author, and was read as a moralist. Montaigne (d. 1592) cites him, for example, in Latin. Along with Lucretius, he was Montaigne's favorite poet. Both are quoted 148 times. Montaigne's freely drawn picture of himself is reminiscent of Horace's comment on Lucilius.

Complete translations of the *Satires*[1] and *Epistles*[2] appeared earlier than of the *Odes*. Yet in the 16th and 17th centuries, many individual poems were translated. The imitation by Milton (d. 1674) of the ode to Pyrrha may be mentioned. Complete translations were attempted by the French author Mondot (1579) and the Italian Giorgino (1595). The *Ars poetica*, which occupied a key position in Renaissance literary theory, was translated into Italian by Dolce (1535) and paraphrased by the important critic Robortelli (1548). In French Grandichan (1541) and Peletier du Mans (1544) made the *Ars poetica* accessible, followed by T. Drant in English (1567) and Luis Zapata in Spanish (1592). The earliest German translation of Horace was made by A. Buchholtz (Leipzig 1639).

In Italian satire, which is of pioneering importance, Juvenal takes precedence over Horace, although in Ariosto's seven satiric discourses (between 1517 and 1531) Horace is duly noted.

Mathurin Régnier (d. 1613), the creator of verse satire in French, remained faithful to Horace's gentle humor even when claiming to succeed Juvenal (*sat.* 2). The same may be said of Boileau (d. 1711), from whom there are also *Epistles* and the celebrated *Art poétique*.[3]

Many English satirists gave preference to Juvenal. Yet Horace's influence was felt, as in John Donne (d. 1631) and in the '*toothless*' group of Joseph Hall's *Satires* (d. 1656). Alexander Pope (d. 1744) composed *Imitations of Horace* and, like Boileau in France, may pass as the Horace of his time and nation.

Satire in debt to antiquity, while at the same time critical of its age, was less prominent as a typical Renaissance phenomenon in

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[1] Italian: Dolce 1559; French: Habert 1549; English: T. Drant 1567.
[2] Italian: Dolce 1559; French: 'G.T.P.' 1584; English: T. Drant 1567.
[3] Diderot (d. 1784), too, wrote satires in the vein of Horace.

countries like Spain and Germany. In his *Narrenschiff*, Sebastian Brant (d. 1521) also made use of the ancient satirists, though without taking over the generic style. Abraham a Sancta Clara (d. 1709), as preacher, was still firmly anchored in the medieval tradition. Rabener (d. 1771), who composed prose satires, could not however rival those of France and England.

In the Renaissance Horace's *Ars poetica* exercised strong influence on the theory and practice of drama. In the Baroque period Horace commanded almost more respect as a literary critic than as a poet. A direct line of descent links Aristotle and Horace with Julius Caesar Scaliger (*Artis poeticae libri septem* 1561) and goes down to Opitz (*Buch Von der deutschen Poeterey* 1624) and Boileau (*Art poétique* 1674). It was only with the 'storm and stress' of the pre-Romantics that Horace's treatise lost importance.

The influence of the *Odes* was no less significant. Neo-Latin poets down to Balde (d. 1668) and Sarbiewski (d. 1640), the 'Christian Horace', gave fresh life to the ode, and Horace's lyric meters also affected those used in Latin school plays. Gradually Horace found imitators in the vernacular languages. Their lyric at first had followed late Medieval and mainly southern French models and so, unlike drama, had developed independently of ancient influences.

Italy discovered Horace the lyric poet. Landino and Politian chose the *Odes* as their model. Tasso's father, Bernardo, published Horatian odes in 1531, soon followed by Spanish efforts in modern meters; for example, those of Garcilaso de la Vega (d. 1536), Luis de León (d. 1591) and Fernando de Herrera (d. 1597). To some degree, the ancient meters were adapted to the modern languages, a fascinating process of creation at which here it is only possible to hint.[1]

[1] From Italy may be mentioned Chiabrera (d. about 1638)—and even Carducci (d. 1907; alcaics: *Per la morte di Napoleone Eugenio*; sapphics: *Piemonte, Ode alle fonti del Clitumno, Miramar* etc.), from Spain for example Villegas (d. 1669), from Rumania Eminescu (d. 1889; von Albrecht, Rom 473–490); efforts are also known from France (D. P. Walker, French Verse in Classical Metres, and the Music to which it was Set, of the Last Quarter of the 16th Century, Oxford 1947). In England, e.g. Watts (d. 1748) wrote religious hymns such as *Day of Judgment* in sapphic strophes. The meter, as in the case of the Italians, observes the normal Latin word accent. The same is true of German hymns such as *Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen* by J. Heermann (d. 1647). The change to *quantitative* reading of Latin verse in Latin schools (putting an *ictus* of stress on long syllables) is reflected in the quite different treatment of Horatian meters in later German poets, e.g. Klopstock (d. 1803) and Hölderlin (d. 1843); W. Stroh, Der deutsche Vers und die Lateinschule, A&A 25,

Ronsard (d. 1585) was the creator of a lofty lyric not only for France, but for Europe. He and Du Bellay (d. 1560) expressed their proud experience as founders of a new poetry in verses which at times sound almost like translations, but which, because of their rivalry with Horace, give utterance to the highest poetic self-confidence. Ronsard's late lyric, in turning away from Pindar, is close to that of Horace in spirit.

In England Ben Jonson (d. 1637) was both in theory and practice the first Horatian. To him and Milton (d. 1674) the ode in England owed a rebirth. Herrick, Marvell, Collins, Pope, and Keats were other followers of Horace.

In Germany Weckherlin (d. 1653) independently of Opitz (d. 1639) consciously raised the Horatian claim of wishing to please only a few, and thus, in Ronsard's wake, he became a reformer of German poetry. In the course of his many travels he wrote in German, Latin, French, English, and Swabian. Hagedorn (d. 1754), who like Weckherlin experienced English influence, saw in Horace his 'friend, teacher, and companion'. It was Horace and Anacreon that he followed in his *Odes*. Under Horatian inspiration J. P. Uz (d. 1796) became, from a devotee of Anacreon, the founder of the philosophical ode in Germany. Ramler (d. 1798) proved his abilities as a careful court poet and particularly as a translator of Horatian lyric. Klopstock (d. 1803) was educated at Schulpforta, where Latin was still spoken, and always carried quotations from his favorite Horace on his lips. Nourished at the spring of antiquity, he conquered new dimensions for German lyric both in form[1] and content. Lessing (d. 1781) was a profound student of the *Odes*.[2] Herder (d. 1803) and Wieland (d. 1813), the latter the author of the standard German translation of the *Satires* and *Epistles* in blank verse, were sensitive to Horace's 'humor' or 'irony'. For Schiller (d. 1805), Horace was the true founder and the still unsurpassed model of the 'sentimental' style of poetry.[3] Johann Heinrich Voss (d. 1826), in his complete translation in meter, gave

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1979, 1–19; idem, Wie hat man lateinische Verse gesprochen?, in: Musik und Dichtung, FS V. Pöschl, Frankfurt 1990, 87–116.

[1] Predecessors in the use of Horatian meters were Lange and Pyra.

[2] *Rettungen des Horaz*; see also his annihilating review of Lange's Horace.

[3] Herder, *Adrastea*, vol. 5: *Briefe über das Lesen des Horaz, an einen jungen Freund* (1803): Sämtliche Werke, ed. Suphan 24, 1886, 212; Wieland, *Horazens Satiren*, Leipzig, 2nd ed. 1804, part 2, 6–7; Schiller, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795): Werke ed. R. Boxberger, vol. 12, 2, 360; cf. E. Zinn 1970.

an impression of the poet's art. He did not spare his readers the difficulties of the original, especially in the *Odes*, but he did succeed, in spite of many forced renderings, in outshining with his subtle music many of his successors.

Pushkin (d. 1837), Russia's greatest poetic genius, and Eminescu (d. 1889), the Rumanian Horace, nourished a deep sympathy for the poet and expressed their consciousness of their poetic mission in Horatian terms.[1] Horace's role as reviver of lyric began in Russia in the 18th century with Lomonosov (d. 1765) and Derzhavin (d. 1816). It continued down into the 20th century with Blok, Bryussov, and Yevtushenko.

Even at the time of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Horace was still treasured for his maxims, and was excerpted several times in the collection of quotations made for himself by President Jefferson (d. 1826). In Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* there is an aging gentleman who is continually recalling quotations from Horace on all possible and impossible occasions, which however he keeps to himself to avoid seeming pedantic. In his older years Goethe shared much with Horace, as, for example, the striving for inner balance. But a romantic poetics, guided by the *young* Goethe, could make little of the Roman poet, since at that time he labored for the younger generation under the double disadvantage of being both a courtier and a poet of art. The 19th century therefore, by and large, could not boast of any particular sympathy with the poet. The demands of education required that he should be studied and read in the original, but since such study was often unenjoyable, it was only rarely that it bore fruit. There were exceptions among educated Italians and Englishmen of the day, who still felt the direct presence of antiquity or who sought to restrain romanticism by a search for a new Renaissance. Ugo Foscolo (d. 1827) actually began one of his sonnets with a quotation from Horace: *non son chi fui* (cf. *carm.* 4. 1. 3), and Carducci (d. 1907) adopted the proud *odi profanum vulgus*, 'I hate the uninitiate crowd' (*carm.* 3. 1. 1). But Victor Hugo (d. 1885) never recovered from the experience in his schooldays of once being required to copy out 500 lines of Horace instead of keeping a date with a young lady.[2] Byron (d. 1824) too found that his pleasure in

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[1] W. Busch, Horaz in Rußland, München 1964; von Albrecht, Rom, ch. 11 and 14.

[2] *Contemplations* 1, 13 (*À propos d'Horace*).

Horace[1] was spoiled by unhappy recollections of school; he nevertheless imitated the third Roman ode.[2] Tennyson (d. 1892) was compelled by his father to learn all Horace's odes by heart. His respect for the poet seems to have survived this trial. Platen (d. 1835) imitated Klopstock and Horace, his constant companion, in his *Odes*. Nietzsche (d. 1900) wrote a trenchant evaluation of the verbal structure of the Horatian ode, preparing the way for a fresh understanding.

In France *poésie absolue* seemed to open a new path towards Horace. There are parallels with the moderns in strictness of form and the equal status given to poetry and reflection on poetry. But Horace does not annihilate reality. In him an equilibrium of intellect and feeling prevails. Nor does he take for granted the isolation of the lyric ego.

In his *Horatius travestitus* Christian Morgenstern (d. 1914) shifted Horace's lyric into the present age, using contemporary place and personal names. This was an ingenious contribution to the understanding of a characteristic peculiarity of Horatian diction.[3] The translation of Horace's lyric poems by R. A. Schröder (d. 1962) is capricious in its use of language, but it signals a new German appreciation of the poet. The same may be said of the *Jamben* of R. Borchardt (d. 1945). Brecht (d. 1956) came to critical terms with Horace and aimed in his own work to link *prodesse* and *delectare*. Horace also influenced Heiner Müller.

The echoes of Horatian lyric in European music are especially wide-ranging.[4]

In his *Epodes* and *Odes*, Horace realized many of lyric's features, and this means that every generation and every reader may discover new treasures in him. To reduce Horatian lyric to a single notion would be an impoverishment. And how great is the range of a genius who could write *Odes* as well as *Satires* and *Epistles*! An evaluation of the *Epistles* as a work of art—something hardly as yet begun—would

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[1] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 4, 74–76.

[2] *Translation from Horace.*

[3] The same is true of Anna Elissa Radke's transposition of Horation motifs into a modern university town.

[4] Draheim 41–99; 184–208; J. Draheim, G. Wille, eds., Horaz-Vertonungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart, Amsterdam 1985; W. Schubert, Elemente antiker Musik im Werk Georg von Albrechts, in: M. von Albrecht, W. Schubert, eds., Musik in Antike und Neuzeit, Frankfurt 1987, 195–208, esp. 207; R. Wiethoff, Horaz-Vertonungen in der Musik des 16.–20. Jh., Köln 1990.

be a step forward in the correct assessment of the complex unity of his rich achievement.

What is the significance of Horace for Europe? Along with Aristotle he influenced the theory and practice of drama; along with Juvenal, he set his mark on satire; along with Seneca, he provided the moralists with words of gold. Principally, however, along with Pindar, he inspired the development of *sublime* lyric in the vernacular languages by setting artistic standards for poets, compelling them to exercise extreme concentration, and at the same time communicating to them the highest conceivable notion of their activity. The vocation and mission of the poet are learned from Horace, whose own spiritual independence here exercises a liberating influence on the greatest minds.

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C. ELEGY

ROMAN LOVE ELEGY

General Remarks

We begin with some formal characteristics of elegy. The meter is elegiac distichs. Solon calls them ἔπη, but, unlike the epic hexameter, the elegiac favors the development of the thought in parallelism or antithesis: 'In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column;/In the pentameter aye falling in melody back' (Coleridge). In principle elegies have wider scope than epigrams, though there is overlap. Typical of elegy is association of ideas and ring-composition.

In their content, whether sincerely or fictitiously, elegies often serve as a vehicle to secure a particular purpose, whether personal or political. Unlike the epic poet, the elegist may present a personal attitude to his theme. His aim may be instruction or the arousal of sympathy (Catullus 38. 8; Hor. *carm.* 1. 33. 2–3). Although in classical Greece ἔλεγος was thought to denote a poem of lament, regardless of its form (Eur. *Helen* 184–185; Aristoph. *Birds* 218), the derivation of ἔλεγος from ἒ ἒ λέγειν, however, is no more than a popular etymology.[1] It is only secondarily that the notion of lament eventually comes to play a part in the understanding of the elegy, and even then such a theme is not universal. The oldest Ionian elegies cannot be subsumed under the idea of lament.

For the description of the Roman love elegy as a genre s. Roman Development and Reflections on Literature below.

Greek Background

The first elegiac poets made their appearance in Ionia. Callinus (7th century B.C.) summoned his audience to battle. Archilochus (7th century) wrote confidently of war, peace, love and death. Mimnermus

[1] Perhaps the word is connected with the Armenian *elegn* ('pipe,' 'flute') unless it originated in Asia Minor.

(7th century) emphasized life's brevity and challenged his listeners to the enjoyment of love. His book is said to have taken its name from his beloved (*Nanno*), a practice which continued later. Propertius subsequently appealed to Mimnermus as a poet of love (1. 9. 11), though the Greek poet, so far as may be seen, lacked the subjective element.

Tyrtaeus (mid-seventh century) and Solon (ca. 640–560) were the first elegists from the Greek mainland. Solon conferred on elegy a wide-ranging subject matter, addressing an audience of all Athenians. His poems may be regarded as political pamphlets.

Xenophanes (6th–5th century) clothed his philosophical notions of reform in elegiacs. Theognis (6th century) gave to his elegies and epigrams, not to be too clearly distinguished, a paraenetic purpose. Elegy in this older period aimed to persuade and to communicate useful knowledge, though it also strove to immortalize the beloved.

Antimachus (ca. 400) dedicated to his dead wife Lyde a series of erotic mythical narratives. This was the ancestor of the tradition, important at Rome, of elegiac narrative.

In the Hellenistic period, elegy enjoyed a brief efflorescence under Ptolemy II (d. 246 B.C.) and Arsinoë II. Hellenistic elegiac poetry was learnéd, to which was added myth, both to provide erotic subject-matter and to give aetiological explanation. What we know of longer elegies suggests that they did not deal subjectively with love in the Roman fashion.[1] This is true of the *princeps elegiae* (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 58) Callimachus (3rd century), of Philetas (2nd half 4th century; Prop. 2. 34. 31–32; 3. 1.1), and of Phanocles, as well as of the miniature epics of Eratosthenes (3rd century) and Euphorion (3rd century). Hellenistic epigrams, however, like the *Garland* of Meleager, are a different case, for they do depict subjective feeling, and thus are important for the development of Roman elegy.

Roman Development

Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 93). The problem of the origins of Roman love elegy is unsolved. Its development at Rome seems to have been rather independent.

Generally, the 'subjective' Roman elegy of love is contrasted with the Hellenistic elegy and its mythological objectivity. This theory is

[1] The existence of an—unattested—subjective Hellenistic love elegy is assumed by Leo, Plaut. Forsch. 129.

defensible so long as no Greek papyri are discovered which would refute it. But it must be noted that in every case the 'subjectivity' of the erotic experience describes only the pose assumed by the speaker of the poem and nothing about the author's own experience. Numerous Hellenistic erotic epigrams of a 'subjective' character are preserved. In comparing them, the reader should not exaggerate the opposition which is sometimes apparent between 'Greek' playfulness and 'Roman' seriousness. The business of weighing souls is mostly artificial and of little profit to the scholar.

The considerable differences between the individual Roman elegists may prevent us from establishing the theory of a single source. So far as may be seen, Augustan elegy does not derive from any one specific Greek genre, but rather is made up from individual elements found in different genres. In their programmatic poems the Romans appealed to Mimnermus as a love poet, to Philetas and Callimachus as poets of Hellenistic art, and also to Euphorion. The influence of the epigram is important,[1] but it is not the sole model for Roman elegy.[2] The stock of elegiac characters bears some similarities to that of comedy, and resemblances go beyond parallels conditioned by circumstance. The influence of Menander's character portrayal and humanity was not limited to comedy. Even the pastoral leaves traces in elegy.

In Rome love elegy enjoyed only a brief heyday, lasting from Gallus to Ovid. Its social background was the discontent of a younger generation feeling alienated from the political circumstances of the late Republican and early Augustan period. Another factor was the experience of free love, partly inspired by the role of the *hetaera* in Greek society. Among Roman predecessors, along with some of the epigrammatists, we may note Catullus in particular, with his Allius elegy (poem 68) and poem 76. But Catullus did not publish a *book* of elegies and did not present the typical *topoi* of the Roman love elegy, so far as he was aware of them at all, with the provocative sharpness and one-sidedness of the later elegists. It is then Cornelius Gallus (d. 26 B.C.) who must be regarded as the real founder of the genre.

Who was Cornelius Gallus? He was a Roman knight who became the first prefect of Egypt, where he immortalized his achievements in proud inscrip-

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[1] F. Jacoby 1905, esp. 81–98.

[2] E. Schulz-Vanheyden, Properz und das griechische Epigramm, diss. Münster (1969) 1970.

tions, one of which was on the obelisk now adorning St. Peter's Square. He was accused of disloyalty and committed suicide in 26 B.C., an early victim to imperial jealousy. Of Gallus' poems, written perhaps around 40, we knew until recently only a single verse, along with the important evidence in Virgil's *Eclogues*.[1] There is some suggestion that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* may have been inspired by his poetry and its cosmic and erotic aspects. The modern reconstruction of a poem on Milanion,[2] deduced from Propertius and other authors, is fascinating and even convincing, and it sheds light on the history of the genre. Newly discovered papyrus fragments,[3] however, leave the reader with a disappointing picture of the celebrated poet's talents. Should this be a coincidence? However, in the text essential—for some suspiciously many—features of Roman love elegy appear in inchoate form.[4] Since the genuineness of the find can hardly be challenged, new questions arise: Are the poems of Gallus to be regarded as epigrams without point, or as elegies without coherence? Is it possible that Gallus was rightly forgotten? Was he merely an influential amateur? Or a talent incapable of exercising self-criticism publishing good and bad without distinction? Was Virgil's[5] sympathy (*ecl.* 6 and 10) inspired more by personal than literary motives, and Ovid's sincere posthumous admiration by political rather than poetic reasons?

In general, the particular constellation of motifs in Roman elegy may be regarded as the creation of Cornelius Gallus.[6] In all probability it was he who set his stamp upon the genre by putting at its center the notion of surrender to the beloved (*servitium amoris*) and the total

[1] Some of Virgil's admirers doubt the statement of Servius (*ecl.* 10. 1; *georg.* 4. 1) that Virgil wrote the Aristaeus episode found in the 4th book of the *Georgics* to replace a eulogy of Gallus after his disgrace.

[2] In the works cited, W. Stroh offers hints towards a convincing reconstruction. Bold hypotheses on works of Gallus are found in D. O. Ross 1975.

[3] Is the addressee Augustus or Caesar? The address to (Valerius) Kato (sic) rather suggests a dating in favor of the latter, which would make Gallus have written his poems in the 40's. The scandalous goings-on of Cytheris ('Lycoris') were at their height in precisely this period. See most recently M. Glatt 1990–1991, 23–33; Text: R. D. Anderson, P. J. Parsons, R. G. M. Nisbet, Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaṣr Ibrîm, JRS 69, 1979, 125–155; W. Stroh 1983; on the scholarship: N. B. Crowther 1983; G. Petersmann, Cornelius Gallus und der Papyrus von Qaṣr Ibrim, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1649–1655. The authenticity is doubted by F. Brunhölzl, Der sogenannte Gallus-Papyrus von Kaṣr Ibrîm, Cod Man 10, 1984, 33–40. His literary judgment is better than his arguments which are expressly refuted by J. Blänsdorf, Der Gallus-Papyrus—eine Fälschung?, ZPE 67, 1987, 43–50 (with bibl.).

[4] W. Stroh 1983.

[5] Does Virgil intend to give a survey of his friend's poetry? So F. Skutsch 1901, 18; a more cautious account in N. B. Crowther 1983, 1635–1636.

[6] W. Stroh 1983.

obedience of the lover (*obsequium*). Whereas in Greek poetry for the most part the woman appears as the slave of the man, in Roman elegy the relationship is reversed. Among the Greeks at most male lovers were represented as slaves of favorite boys. In Roman society the woman as *domina* enjoyed great respect, and yet slavish subjection to the will of a woman of questionable repute must have been seen as a provocation even at Rome. A further characteristic of Roman love elegy, which we no doubt also owe to Gallus, is the *topos* of 'utility'[1] which must be discussed again later in connection with the views of the elegists on poetry. The evolution in Propertius' creativity is also examined later.

Ovid described Cornelius Gallus as the founder of the genre, and declared that Tibullus, Propertius and he himself were Gallus' successors. In the *corpus Tibullianum*, the passionate missives of Sulpicia offer a fascinating insight into the possible roots of the genre, while the respectable craftsmanship of the worthy Lygdamus permits the reader to estimate the artistic level of the *tresviri amoris*. In Ovid Augustan love elegy reached a point from which further advance seemed impossible, and Ovid himself opened new paths for elegy. The newly created genre of the *Heroides* gave speech not to the man, but to the woman and selected a mythical garb. In these two respects love poetry returned to its Greek pattern. A novel element was the union in elegy of epistolary style, dramatic monologue and features of the rhetorical *suasoria*. The *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris* were the logical culmination of the road from the subjective to the objective, already foreshadowed by the self-irony and distance exhibited in the *Amores*. The choice of meter was suggested by the erotic subject, and was not wholly inappropriate to a didactic poem, since from the outset didactic features had formed part of the elegiac genre. The *Metamorphoses* returned to a mythical subject matter and even to the epic meter. The *Fasti*, in the tradition of Callimachus' *Aetia* and Propertius' 4th book, again revived aetiological elegy. In the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* the elegiac epistle, which at first had been cast by Ovid in mythological form, was once again filled with personal content, and at the same time the old purposefulness of elegy now reappeared. On the whole it may be said that Ovid took Augustan love elegy as his point of departure, perfected it and then set it on

[1] Stroh, Liebeselegie.

new paths in different ways, partly by a return to Hellenistic or even older traditions, partly by the use of rhetoric, and partly by the continuance of Roman personal poetry.

In the Christian period Lactantius (early 4th century) in his *Phoenix* elegy produced a new justification of the aesthetic.[1] Ausonius (4th century) and Claudian (ca. 400) employed the elegiac meter in different minor forms, though more or less within a traditional framework. The pagan Rutilius Namatianus (early 5th century) composed a travelogue in elegiacs which he linked with a eulogy of Rome. The Christian Maximian (first half of 6th century) busied himself once more with love elegy in the strict meaning of the word, setting his poetry about love against a contrasting background of old age, and thus gaining new effects. The Middle Ages later read him as *ethicus*.

Literary Technique

Roman love elegy was made up of typical characters and situations. The erotic theme as well as the method of literary treatment resulted in many parallels with comedy: e.g. the soldier as rich lover, the advice given by the *lena*. Even closer is the relationship to epigram, and some elegies of Propertius may be understood as expanded epigrams. One feature affecting the overall structure of elegies is the Hellenistic principle of centrality.[2]

Each poet displays a personal preference in the forms he chooses. Tibullus and Ovid are two extremes. The former, inspired by Hellenistic models, aims for a composition touching on many themes, in which the different topics are linked through association. Ovid presents a single theme and handles it with a certain rigor. Propertius stands between these two, though many of his elegies, like those of Ovid later, are thematically self-contained and resemble extended epigrams. The poets infused the modest Hellenistic-style poem with personal feeling, and developed it into something monumental.

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[1] A. Wlosok, Wie der Phoenix singt, in: Musik und Dichtung FS V. Pöschl, Frankfurt 1990, 209–222 (with bibl.).

[2] Cf. A. Wlosok, Die dritte Cynthia-Elegie des Properz (Prop. 1. 3), Hermes 95, 1967, 330–352; now in: W. Eisenhut, ed., Antike Lyrik. Ars interpretandi, vol. 2, Darmstadt 1970, 405–430; about 60% of Propertius' elegies obey such structural principles.

In Propertius myth serves as 'gold background', elevating the significance of the private realm. Tibullus does without learned mythology, and instead, in the shape of an exaltation of country life and peace, nurses a personal 'myth', though in places he deliberately robs it of its magic (Tib. 2. 3).

In his handling of the myth Ovid unites Propertian technique with an effort, reminiscent of Tibullus, to secure intelligibility, and a concern, peculiar to himself, for visual and conceptual acuteness.

The employment of the first person has important consequences for literary technique. The elegiac 'I' is subjective in the author's intention, but in fact there are so many topical and typical situations, combined with improbabilities and contradictions, that a biographical interpretation of the elegies is ruled out. Of course this does not mean that we should deny personal experience, for the inspiration it gave was perhaps irreplaceable. But, in the subjectivity of the Roman love elegy, it is hardly more than the indispensable speck of dust around which the work of art crystallizes, and which then disappears into it. Tibullus' immediacy is often overestimated.[1] In Propertius, as we proceed through the poems, the distance between the poet and his subject-matter grows, and even in the 1st book a certain 'absence of distance' is the product of a consciously maintained literary program, and therefore equally artificial. It is not the task of the interpreter either to reconstruct or refute a biography, but to study the literary means of subjective representation and their changes from author to author and within each work.

Within Augustan elegy, and especially within Ovid's work, we can trace a development in elegiac narrative,[2] which should not, however, be stringently opposed to that of epic. Rather, the elegists understand how to give elegy a subjective color and, at the same time, how to enrich it with epic elements. Thus it is not a question of establishing lines of demarcation, but rather of the mutual complementarity of the two genres.

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[1] Good remarks in W. Kraus, Zur Idealität des 'Ich' und der Situation in der römischen Elegie, in: Ideen und Formen, FS H. Friedrich, Frankfurt 1965, 153–163.

[2] A treatment going beyond that of R. Heinze (Ovids elegische Erzählung, SSAL 1919) is particularly found in B. Latta, Die Stellung der Doppelbriefe (*Heroides* 16–21) in Gesamtwerk Ovids. Studien zur ovidischen Erzählkunst, diss. Marburg 1963; H. Tränkle, Elegisches in Ovids *Metamorphosen*, Hermes 91, 1963, 459–476. Thorough-going rejection of Heinze is found in the arguments of D. Little, Richard Heinze: Ovids elegische Erzählung, in: E. Zinn, ed., Ovids *Ars amatoria* und *Remedia amoris*. Untersuchungen zum Aufbau, Stuttgart 1970, 64–105.

Language and Style

Roman elegy employs the highly cultivated language of Augustan poetry, though there are considerable differences. Undoubtedly Propertius, even in language, is the most colorful and difficult of the three great elegists. His style is unconventional. The arduousness of the reader's task, which is not merely the consequence of poor transmission, lends to Propertius' elegies the charm of the mysterious and personal.

Tibullus is a purist in his very choice of words. Even his treatment of meter—for example, his decided preference for the disyllabic pentameter ending—gives to his poetry a noble, pure, and profoundly musical ring.

Metrically Ovid follows Tibullus. He strives to outdo both his predecessors in language and style by his search for precision and clarity, and it is to this that he owes, for example, the pleasure he takes in antithesis.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The predecessors of Augustan love elegy—Cornelius Gallus and Catullus—have quite different notions of the role of poetry in life. Though Catullus does write about his personal experience, for example in the Allius elegy, elsewhere he emphasizes with surprising sharpness the distinction between poetry and life (16. 5–6). This sets him in opposition to later love elegy, even if the poet's remark, made in a particular context, is not to be taken as programmatic. Gallus on his side champions, as the young Propertius was later to do, a 'total' *servitium amoris*. Poetry is entirely subordinated to love as a lifestyle.[1] The 'utility' of poetry—persuasion, transformation of reality—is retained in love elegy as a fiction. In this genre the fascination therefore lies in the tension between its literary character and the emphasis laid on its 'unliterary'—'utilitarian'—character by the poets.[2]

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[1] In their 1st books, Tibullus and Propertius do not maintain that the poet's life is the essential content of the existence they long for or actually enjoy, and even less that poetry ennobles their private life. W. Steidle 1962, 118–120 is right against E. Burck 1952, 183.

[2] Stroh, Liebeselegie 194.

In the course of his development Propertius supplements elegy as courtship by a loftier theme. He promises his beloved immortality and thus ascribes to poetry, in spite of all, the power to grant immortality. Elegy not only forms a counterpart to epic; it rivals it and even outdoes it. From his 2nd book on, Propertius gives stronger emphasis to his link with Callimachus and Philetas. In the 4th book he becomes—however this may be interpreted in detail—the Roman poet of *aetia*. Cynthia is present now only as a shadow.

Tibullus hardly finds room for any theoretical discussion of his poetry. He is aware of the elegiac topos of 'utility' (Tib. 2. 4. 15), but as an Augustan he sometimes interprets his poetic activity as a priesthood, and ascribes to himself the role of *vates*. Of all the Roman poets Ovid makes the most frequent use of the idea of inspiration.[1] Similarly he often speaks of his *ingenium*, and in this had been preceded by Propertius (3. 2. 25–26). The subjective self-awareness of the elegist is united in Ovid with the objective social claim of the *vates*. Thus he is able to oppose the power of his *ingenium* even to the central political authority (*trist.* 3. 7 passim).

Yet he again emphasizes the difference between art and life, as once Catullus had done, when he is thrown onto the defensive (*trist.* 2. 353–354).

Next to the claims to inspiration stands the interpretation of poetry as play in the Callimachean and neoteric tradition. Even in his epitaph Ovid still describes himself as *tenerorum lusor Amorum* (*trist.* 3. 3. 73; 4. 10. 1).

In his poetry of exile, elegy, in conformity with a theory known at Rome, returns to its own sphere, that of lament. Since Ovid's aim is to change his external situation by his poems, he does not write disengaged elegy in the modern sense. Rather, following a well-established ancient tradition, he uses elegy as a vehicle to secure a particular purpose.

Yet the more the poet confronts the immutability of his exile, the more he emphasizes another function of poetry. The Muse appears to him to give comfort. It is she who enables him to do spiritually what is otherwise forbidden, to change his milieu. With that, writing is reduced to a means of passing time. This last observation is also meant to arouse sympathy.

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[1] *Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli* (*ars* 3. 549); *est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo* (*fast.* 6. 5); *deus est in pectore nostro; haec duce praedico vaticinorque deo* (*Pont.* 3. 4. 93–94).

Ideas II

The elegists ostentatiously part company with the social norm. Basic to the genre is the notion of love as a lifestyle, of a βίος ἐρωτικός. This novel system of values challenges and confronts the claims of traditional Roman society. The elegist can describe himself as the 'poet of his own naughtiness (*nequitia*)' (Ovid *am.* 2. 1. 2). The serious *servitium amoris* shown by the man in his love for his *domina* is, so far as may be seen, a novelty on the part of Roman elegy. Greek literature shows men reduced to erotic slavery only in comedy and in love for the same sex.

Not only poetry but all other values are subordinated to love and defined only by it. This is true—to cite an extreme example—even of Tibullus' ideal of country life. As soon as Nemesis asks him to earn money, the elegiac lover is ready to abandon all his ideals and to follow her wishes (Tib. 2. 3).

Yet from this unconventional system of values some path, however artificial, may still be traced which bridges the way to Augustan peace and its praise. The elegist and his beloved take part in the military victories of the mighty in their own way. They welcome them as occasions for merry-making and feasting. Thus the *pax Augusta* is incorporated into the peace of the elegy, unmilitary and even antimilitary though it may be.

Roman elegy enjoys a relationship of fruitful tension with the Augustan state. What is personal and private gains in interest in a society where the individual can no longer find fulfillment in politics, and this explains why the Augustan period was love elegy's natural seedbed. On the other hand, the poets at first take up a critical attitude to political reality. In the bloodbath instituted by Octavian at Perusia, Propertius had lost a relative (1. 21), and he declares with determination that no son of his will ever be a soldier (2. 7. 14). Ovid was proud that in the Social War his homeland had been the center of resistance to Rome (*am.* 3. 15. 8–10) and criticizes the divinization of Caesar (*am.* 3. 8. 51–52). Gallus and Tibullus were the only elegists to perform military service. In their later years Propertius and Ovid became poets of Roman *aetia*, seeking in this way to make their peace with the regime without surrendering their identity as elegists.

The values of the elegists are moreover not at all out of sympathy with the mood of the times. Elegiac lovers endeavored to understand their partners, something particularly clear in the latest elegist Ovid, who strives—and not simply in the *Heroides*—for empathy with the

feminine heart. In many areas of the Roman society, compromise and harmonization of opposites were felt to be the need of the moment. A rediscovery of the humanity of Menanders comedy of bourgeois life seemed to be a logical response.[1] Examples are Livy's picture of Roman *concordia* or the kind of sympathy with an opponent displayed by Virgil's Aeneas in his encounter with Lausus.

The effort to summarize 'Roman' features of Augustan love elegy[2] reveals a direct juxtaposition of elements both old and new: loyalty and frivolity, action and inaction, war imagery and love of peace, modesty and boastfulness, levity and religious feeling, liberation and self-subjection, joy in life and mortal pain. To some extent, old Roman categories are boldly transferred to a new 'un-Roman' context.

Inner conflict is expressed in different ways. In Tibullus, a tension prevails: in theory he condemns a way of life from which in practice he cannot free himself.[3] Conversely, already in his 1st book Propertius has committed himself irrevocably to a private lifestyle, a lifestyle that for him is exclusively determined by love. This is perhaps the first considered renunciation of the conventional career of politics and soldiering on the part of a poet of the upper classes.[4]

The argument goes a step further with the assertion that the elegists (from Gallus on) were not merely compelled to express another ideal of life, but consciously aimed to shock, and to champion their attitude as an alternative morality.[5] Recently, scholars have been inclined to trace the affirmative remarks of late Propertius about the regime, not to any conviction, but to increasing political pressure.[6] Propertius' eventual silence would thus be an expression of protest. This is interesting idea, but an *argumentum ex silentio*. At least, the turning away of the maturing poet from elegiac love is a further factor which should be taken into account.[7]

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[1] This is the serious side of the proximity of the elegists to comedy, although analogies between elegy and comedy hardly suggest a lack of contact with reality. Daily experience is full of topoi.

[2] E. Burck 1952, 168.

[3] W. Steidle 1962, 109.

[4] W. Steidle 1962, 109–110.

[5] Stroh, Liebeselegie 222; W. Stroh 1983, 246; R. O. A. M. Lyne 1980, 65–81.

[6] H.-P. Stahl, Propertius: 'Love' and 'War.' Individual and State under Augustus, Berkeley 1985, 133–135.

[7] K. Neumeister, Die Überwindung der elegischen Liebe bei Properz (Buch 1–3), Frankfurt 1983.

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Myth and Personal Experience in Roman Love-Elegy. A Study in Poetic Technique, Göttingen 1983. * Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom. * M. Wyke, The Elegiac Woman at Rome, PCPhS 213, 1987, 153–178. * J. C. Yardley, The Elegiac Paraclausithyron, Eranos 76, 1978, 19–34.

TIBULLUS

Life and Dates

Albius Tibullus came from a well-to-do family of *equites*. Scholars doubt, whether he, like Virgil and Propertius, suffered from Octavian's confiscations of land in 41/40 B.C. (1. 1. 19). When he speaks of his poverty, he must not be taken too literally, since that is part of the elegiac program. Tibullus belonged to the circle around M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, and under his generalship took part in the expedition against the Aquitani[1] (1. 10) and celebrated (1. 7) Messalla's triumph (September 27 B.C.). He was prevented from accompanying Messalla to the east by illness (1. 3). The poet's year of birth is unknown. It is set between 54 and shortly after 50, since Horace addresses him as if he were a younger contemporary (*carm.* 1. 33 and *epist.* 1. 4), and the difference of age between him and Virgil must have been considerable.[2]

Tibullus died shortly after Virgil, either in 19 or at the beginning of 18. Marsus' epigram on the death of *both* poets (cf. the previous footnote) would lose its point if the lapse of time had been greater. The dating to 17 is therefore less probable, and the use of the *Aeneid* in 2. 5 does not compel us to date this elegy after the *Aeneid*'s posthumous publication, since private readings must also be taken into account.

The 1st book of elegies appeared after Messalla's triumph (1. 7) and therefore after September 27. The 2nd contains only six poems.

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[1] The dating of Messalla's campaigns in Aquitania and Asia Minor is disputed. Probably Messalla fought in Gaul and North Spain in 30 B.C. and travelled to Syria as governor in 28 (W. Wimmel 1968, 249). The early dating to 32 B.C. (P. Grimal, Les conséquences d'un *cursus*: Tibulle, Properce et Messalla, in: Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à J. Carcopino, Paris 1966, 433–444) is less probable. See now H. Tränkle 1990 (Appendix Tibulliana, see editions): activity in Syria in 30 or 29; Tibullus proconsul in Gaul 28 B.C.

[2] This is deduced from the addition of *iuvenem* in Domitius Marsus' epigram (*frg.* 7 Morel = *frg.* 7 Büchner).

Modern scholars are inclined to assume that this book, too, was published during the poet's lifetime.

The remainder of the poems gathered in the *corpus Tibullianum* derive from Messalla's circle but are more or less generally agreed not to have been written by Tibullus. Ovid at least in his funeral elegy for Tibullus (*am.* 3. 9) mentions only the mistresses occurring in the first two books, Delia and Nemesis.

In all probability, both the Priapean poems attributed to Tibullus are also spurious.[1]

Survey of the Work

1: Just like Virgil's *Eclogues* and the 1st book of Horace's *Satires*, Tibullus' 1st book is made up of 10 artistically arranged poems. The 1st, 3rd, and 7th elegies are addressed to Messalla and Messalla is also mentioned in the 5th. Delia is encountered in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th poems. A counterpoint is provided by the boy Marathus in the 4th, 8th, and 9th poems. Two of these elegies show didactic features: in 1. 4, the god Priapus instructs the poet how to court boys. In 1. 8, Tibullus advises a girl to requite Marathus' love. The 9th poem contains a farewell to the faithless boy. It is clear that in 1. 8 and 9 the themes of love for boys and women, presented separately at the beginning, are now juxtaposed. The 10th elegy, by way of conclusion, develops the theme of peace. The theme of 'social criticism' links 1. 10 with 1. 1 and 1. 3, though not exclusively. The themes of the 1st book are thus artistically entwined. The poems about Delia are complemented by elegies treating other topics, which also show a tendency to appear in groups of three.

2: The 2nd book begins with the description of a country festival, displaying close links with the opening and concluding poems of the 1st book. In second place there is a birthday poem addressed to Cornutus. Third comes a surprising farewell to the idealization of country life so far observed in the poet. Now Delia's successor, Nemesis, has gone off to the country with another. In a similar way, the 4th elegy emphasizes the poet's total subjection to Nemesis' dominance. The 5th poem honors Messallinus, while the 6th contrasts the poet's own hopes of love with the departure of his friend Macer for war. It seeks the source of the poet's own unhappiness, not with the beloved, but with the accursed *lena*. This means that in the middle of

[1] Text: G. Luck, ed., 108–110; on the *Priapea* E. M. O'Connor, *Symbolum Salacitatis*. A Study of the God Priapus as a Literary Character, Frankfurt 1989, 34–35; cf. further V. Buchheit, Studien zum *Corpus Priapeorum*, München 1962, 65, note 1; H. Dahlmann, *Priapeum* 82: Ein Gedicht Tibulls?, Hermes 116, 1988, 434–445.

the 2nd book there are two poems dealing with Nemesis (3 and 4). They are framed by two greetings to friends (2 and 5) and two programmatic poems (1 and 6), aiming to show Tibullus on the one hand as a poet of the gods of country life, and on the other as a lover. The theme of 'country life' is concluded in the book's first half (2. 3). The surrender to the beloved, treated independently in 2. 4, is also a main theme in 2. 6. The 2nd book is therefore constructed symmetrically.

Between both books there is an antithesis. In five poems of the 1st book, Delia[1] plays a part, and the poet dreams of a life with her in the calm of the countryside. The 2nd book is inspired by another mistress, Nemesis. The tone is more brusque and ironic than in the 1st book. Country life must now yield to the service of Venus. Besides the deliberate contrast in content there are certain formal correspondences. The opening poems (2. 1 and 1. 1) are related. The final elegy (2. 6) is in counterpoint to 1. 1, and the three festive poems of the collection—a further cycle of three—are spread over two books (1. 7; 2. 1; 2. 5). This makes it probable that the arrangement of both books stems from the poet himself, and that they were published in his lifetime. The 2nd book complements the 1st, although it was not necessarily conceived at the same time.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The origins of Roman love elegy were already discussed (cf. pp. 742–747). For Tibullus, Gallus was more important than Propertius. Literary shaping is unmistakeable even in the five poems addressed to Delia. Well-known types of poem, such as the *propempticon* (1. 3) or the *paraclausithyron* (1. 2), are varied. Literary inspiration is even clearer in the elegies addressed to the boy Marathus (1. 4; 8; 9), which may be compared with epigrams in the 12th book of the *Anthologia Palatina*. The type of 'festive poem' (1. 7) is twice represented in the 2nd book (2. 1; 2. 5). In comparing his *inertia* with the soldierly service he has performed for Amor, Tibullus picks up a motif of Roman comedy, found perhaps already in Hellenistic poetry.[2] He views Aeneas and Rome (2. 5) through Virgil's eyes.[3] We can even feel the presence of

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[1] According to Apul. *apol.* 10 a pseudonym for Plania.

[2] J. Veremans 1983.

[3] V. Buchheit, Tibull 2, 5 und die *Aeneis*, Philologus 109, 1965, 104–120; H. Merklin, Zu Aufbau und Absicht der Messallinus-Elegie Tibulls, in: W. Wimmel, ed., Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 301–314; W. Gerressen 1970; D. N. Levin, Reflections of the Epic Tradition in the Elegies of Tibullus, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 2000–2127; A. Gosling 1987.

Lucretius, both as philosophical source and as literary model.[1] Etymological plays on words point to a knowledge of Varro,[2] whose love for Rome's pious rural past marked the mood of the age. Tibullus' refined technique of imitation, which can be shown with certainty where he is in debt to Virgil, allows us to form a high opinion of his intellectual approach to his art. The poet must also be credited with a considerable amount of Hellenistic learning.[3] Alexandrian standards of quality were normative for him, though his dislike for all that was contrived or exaggerated allowed him to follow his own path.

Literary Technique

Since Catullus there had been longer elegies showing a typically Roman 'mimesis of excited first-person speech'[4] on the lips of a lover. In this regard, Tibullus marks a high point. The fluency of his emotionally charged discourse is so convincing that its transitions deceive even experts. A principal problem of Tibullan scholarship, therefore, is that of the structure of his poems. At first scholars found him so baffling that they violently transposed lines, or declared the poet to be a dilettante, or indeed expressed doubts about his capacity for logical reasoning. Progress was marked by the sensitive understanding of his elegies as series of thoughts unfolding in dreamy association.[5] Finally, the effort to understand Tibullus as a 'composer'[6] who develops many themes in a single elegy allows the reader to sense the hidden calculation beneath the surface, finding expression, for example, in symmetries.[7] The subtle counterplay of emotional feeling and intellectual order is a token of 'lyrical meditation'.[8]

At the beginning of the poems a situation may be sketched in the style of the epigram, likewise a feature of Hellenistic tradition. In what follows, any sharpness in the contours is smoothed away. Unlike Ovid, Tibullus avoids an emphatically rhetorical development,

[1] A. Foulon, Les *laudes ruris* de Tibulle 2, 1, 37–80, REL 65, 1987, 115–131.
[2] Convincing arguments in F. Cairns 1979, 90–99.
[3] F. Cairns 1979.
[4] C. Neumeister 1986, 152.
[5] F. Klingner 1951; U. Knoche 1956.
[6] M. Schuster 1930.
[7] G. Lieberg 1988. Illuminating remarks on the structure are found in W. Wimmel, Zur Rolle magischer Themen in Tibulls Elegie 1. 5, WJA n.s. 13, 1987, 231–248.
[8] A. La Penna, L'elegia di Tibullo come meditazione lirica, in: S. Mariotti, ed., Atti... 1986, 89–140.

both of details and of the poetic structure as a whole. The reader is surprised by the lack of any display of mythological learning, in comparison, for example, with Propertius. As a master of refined simplicity, Tibullus is close to the creator of the *Eclogues*.

Language and Style

Tibullus' language and style[1] are distinguished by an unobtrusive elegance. The poet's metrical mastery, and notably his preference for disyllabic words at the end of the pentameter, were regarded as exemplary already by Ovid. Tibullus worked with a limited store of words and ideas, again and again combined in new ways, and here he may be compared with an Austrian poet like Trakl. Of all the Roman elegists he has the purest, the finest and the most controlled style. Just like Caesar among prose writers, Tibullus must count as a master of classical Attic elegance among the elegists. *Tersus atque elegans* were the accolades he received from Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 93).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Tibullus never lays aside the literary fiction in which he disguises himself, and rarely expresses any opinion of his own craftsmanship. In principle he subordinates poetry to love, understanding by love the service of Venus. Without his beloved Nemesis he cannot write a single verse (2. 5. 111–114). 'Off with you, Muses, if you are of no avail to the lover' (2. 4. 15). In his final poem (2. 6) he still professes to be a love elegist, using the topoi of the apology.[2] In conformity with the so-called 'tearful' character of his genre (*flebilis* 2. 4. 22; cf. 1. 4. 71–72), the elegist weeps before the closed door, and elegy is thus interpreted as *paraclausithyron*. But Tibullus also understands *indirect* courtship: boys should gratify poets, for poets have the power to confer immortality (1. 4. 61–66). Tibullus seems to have been the first Roman love elegist to develop this aspect of immortality.[3] After

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[1] F. Cairns, Stile e contenuti di Tibullo e di Properzio, in: S. Mariotti, ed., Atti..., 47–59; C. Neumeister 1986, 17–34 (with bibl.).
[2] J. Veremans, Tibulle 2. 6. Forme et fond, Latomus 46, 1987, 68–86.
[3] Stroh, Liebeselegie 110–125; C. Neumeister 1986, 137–138.

all, he does have a high opinion of poetry. He is aware that he enjoys divine protection, and at a festival he describes himself even as a holy seer (2. 5. 113–114).

Ideas II

Tibullus was not a philosopher. The essential content of his poetry can be deciphered partly from its principal themes, and partly from the dialectical development of polar aspects. As a lover, Tibullus is the servant of Venus. In a number of elegies he handles the typically elegiac topic of the *servitium amoris*. He links this motif with the topos of *inertia*, life spent in perpetual *otium*, and with the ideal of *vivere parvo contentum*.[1] Everything must yield to the service of Venus; this is true even of romantic Augustan notions of country life, although it is with this ideal that many readers of his 1st book have too quickly identified him. A reading of 2. 3 enables us to realize how soon the poet is ready to curse the country which he has previously glorified. If his mistress in the company of another man vents the country or if she makes great demands on his purse, the country loses all its appeal to the poet.

The possession of two mistresses is of itself enough to distinguish Tibullus from the other elegists, but in addition he deploys the theme of homosexual love,[2] which he links with erotic didacticism. His criticism of his age is given more independent treatment than in the other elegists. Examples are his rejection of wealth and greed (e.g. 1. 1) and the glorification of peace (1. 10). Merchant and soldier, figures resulting from the progress of civilization (a Lucretian theme), represent a counterworld, standing in the way of the lover's happiness. Tibullus dreams of the return of a primitive age with all its freedom. The multiplicity of themes both in the work as a whole and in individual elegies justifies us in regarding Tibullus not simply as a poet of love, but as a poet of his own world.

To ask about the reality of Delia-Plania, of Nemesis and Marathus is pointless, particularly when judgment is based on personal sympathy, with Delia considered real, but Nemesis and Marathus dismissed as inventions. Scholars' views, both positive and negative, on this

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[1] J. Veremans 1983.

[2] M. J. McGann, The Marathus Elegies of Tibullus, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1976–1999.

topic intervene roughly in the poet's tender poetic world without succeeding in shedding light on it.

In his relationship to Augustus, Tibullus held himself more aloof than the other Augustan poets. This attitude conforms with his membership in the circle of M. Valerius Messalla. In the *corpus Tibullianum*, the names of Caesar and Augustus never appear. The only elegy in which political questions play a significant role is the homage to Messallinus (2. 5), written on the occasion of his entry to the college of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. The poet's numerous allusions to the story of Aeneas and the prodigies of the Civil War remain locked in the past. Tibullus does not name Augustus as Aeneas' descendant, nor does he mention Caesar's death, although in Virgil (*georg.* 1. 464–514) it was this death which provided occasion for recounting the prodigies.

The list of divinities appearing in Tibullus is telling. Gods of love play the most important role. In second place come the gods of poetry, and in third those of home and country toil. Last of all are found Isis and Osiris as harbingers of the religion of the Empire. Allegorical figures are Pax and Spes, who in Tibullus enjoy particularly high esteem.

Tibullus' elegies encompass quite different realms of reality and give more emphasis to social criticism than other works of the same genre. Tibullus, who had himself seen military service, was not a convinced pacifist like Propertius, but he reflected seriously on peace (1. 10). A surprising feature of Tibullus in comparison with Propertius is his ability to empathize with different aspects of life and to play different parts. Examples are the dialectical tension between the poems dealing with Marathus and Delia, or that between the construction of a system of country values in the 1st book and its destruction in the second. The creation of this multifaceted and tension-filled work presupposes a special kind of poetic gift, one which combined empathy and distance with a high degree of intellectual self-control.

Transmission[1]

The first two books were probably published in succession during the poet's lifetime. The approximately 150 manuscripts—all of them recent—often

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[1] See the prefaces to the editions: G. Luck, Studien zur Textgeschichte Tibulls, in: J. Dummer (and others), eds., Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung, Berlin

contain as well either Catullus or Propertius or both. The transmission is not satisfactory. In places medieval florilegia can help. In the late Middle Ages, two or three different texts or a manuscript with *variae lectiones* may have existed. It is impossible to establish a stemma. Modern editors rely chiefly on: Ambrosianus R. sup. 26 (A; 14th century); Guelferbytanus Aug. 82, 6 fol. (G; 15th century), Vaticanus 3270 (V; 15th century). From the Bruxellensis Bibl. Reg. 14 638 (X; 15th century) G. Luck established at 1. 2. 81 the reading *violavit*.

The nature of the transmission allows criticism wide freedom. The peculiar structure of the elegies was for a long time misunderstood. Scholars transposed lines (Scaliger), or made textual conjectures (Muretus), or presupposed lacunae (Heyne). The edition with commentary of the *corpus Tibullianum* by C. G. Heyne (Lipsiae, 2nd ed. 1777) was a milestone. J. H. Voss proved that the Lygdamus poems are not by Tibullus.[1] The *recensio* of manuscripts was completed by K. Lachmann in 1829, although on the basis of insufficient material.

Influence[2]

The respect enjoyed by Tibullus in antiquity is attested by the poems Horace addressed to him (*carm.* 1. 3; *epist.* 1. 4), by Ovid's poetic *in memoriam* (*am.* 3. 9) and by his frequent imitation of Tibullus, even in his didactic poetry and in his epic. Velleius (2. 36) regards Tibullus along with Ovid as among those who are *perfectissimi in forma operis sui*, 'those who achieved perfection in their own branch of literature'. Quintilian praises his style (s. above). Martial (14. 193) shows that in his time both books of Tibullus were offered as presents. Tibullus is also cited by Sidonius Apollinaris (*carm.* 9. 260; *epist.* 2. 10. 6).

In the Middle Ages the *corpus Tibullianum* was little read. In France it was known to the Latin poet Hildebert de Lavardin (d. 1133), who opened the age of courtly culture. In the late Middle Ages, Tibullus was known from collections of excerpts, originating for the most part in France.

1987, 331–349; U. Pizzani, Le vite umanistiche di Tibullo, Res publica litterarum 5, 1, 1982, 253–267; J. G. Taifacos, A Note on Tibullus' Indirect Tradition, Philologus 129, 1985, 155–159.

[1] *Musenalmanach* 1786, 81 (note) and translation of Tibullus, Tübingen 1810, pp. xvii–xx.

[2] Highet, Class. Trad., Index s. v.; M. von Albrecht, De Ovidio Tibulli imitatore, in: De Tibullo eiusque aetate, Academia Latinitati fovendae, Commentarii 6, Romae 1982, 37–45.

In the modern period Jacopo Sannazaro (d. 1530) imitated Tibullus in his pastoral poem *Arcadia* in passages which include his description of country life and landscape. The Calabrian humanist A.J. (= Gi.) Parrhasius (d. 1522) composed a commentary on Tibullus.[1] In Italy, Tibullus' influence extended from the Renaissance[2] to Carducci (d. 1907). Once again, however, it was France that became a focus for the influence of the elegists,[3] and, in French poetics of the 16th century, Tibullus' poems are taken as a model for the elegiac genre. Tibullus also enjoyed general popularity with the poets of the Pléïade, who mention his name and draw on his elegies for both motifs and language. He exercised his greatest influence on the work of Pierre de Ronsard (d. 1585). Tibullan ideas were also developed by Rémy Belleau (d. 1577).

La Fare (d. 1712) translated some of Tibullus' elegies. A novel about Tibullus, with many imitations and free adaptations of poems from the *corpus Tibullianum*, was published in 1712–1713 by Jean de La Chapelle (d. 1723). Voltaire (d. 1778) showed skepticism towards the poet. In the second half of the 18th century, because of the sincerity of his expression of feeling, Tibullus was preferred to the other Roman elegists. Motifs and lines from Tibullus' elegies were included in their own poems by: the Duke of Mancini-Nivernais (d. 1798); Ponce Denis Ecouchard Le Brun (d. 1807); Jean-François de la Harpe (d. 1803); Evariste-Désiré de Forges de Parny (d. 1814), called by his contemporaries 'Tibulle français'; Antoine de Bertin (d. 1790), and André Chénier (d. 1794). Chateaubriand (d. 1848), as a young man in love, discovered his own problems in Tibullus.[4]

German poetry was affected by Tibullus as well, for example Goethe's *Römische Elegien.* Goethe had the translation of Tibullus by the German poet and physician J. F. Koreff (1810) read to him, and compared it with the original. The most beautiful tribute comes perhaps from the pen of Eduard Mörike (d. 1875).[5]

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[1] L. Castano, Il commento di A. J. Parrasio a Tibullo, Vichiana 14, 1985, 117–121.

[2] E.g. Luigi Alamanni, *Felicità dell'amore* (15th century), and Pietro Bembo's (d. 1547) elegies in praise of Lucrezia Borgia (Conte, LG 329).

[3] M. Eckle, Tibull in der französischen Versdichtung, typescript, diss. Tübingen 1955.

[4] *Mémoires* 2. 3; Conte, LG 329.

[5] Mörike wrote a memorable epigram on Tibullus; he also took five elegies of Tibullus (1. 1; 3; 4; 8; 10) and six poems concerning Sulpicia and Cerinthus (4. 2; 3; 5; 6; 7; 11) into his *Classische Blumenlese* (1840).

It is difficult to find a place for Tibullus in the history of literature. It is probably correct to view him as continuing in the tradition of Cornelius Gallus (Ovid *trist.* 4. 10. 53). Unlike Propertius, Tibullus sets more than one mistress at the center of his poetry, and allows mythological adornment to assume a lesser role. He does not usurp (as Propertius does in 1. 11. 53–54) the values of the Roman family. Augustan elements in any political sense are also less prominent. Country life plays a greater part than in other elegists. Themes of peace are handled more independently. Tibullus' elegy is no longer that of the neoterics and does not yet show strong rhetorical influence. His achievement was to contain Hellenistic thematic variety in a universe of language and ideas whose classical status depends on strict selectivity.

Among the great Augustan poets, Tibullus is the one so far least understood. The deep contrasts and contradictions in his nature are, because of the elegance of his style, often overlooked. In spite of the apparently easy accessibility of some facets of his poetry, he is one of the most difficult and enigmatic of Latin authors.

Corpus Tibullianum

Since the time of the Humanists, the 3rd book transmitted under Tibullus' name has often been divided into two (books '3' and '4'). It is not by Tibullus. J. H. Voss proposed the commonly accepted assignment of the first six poems of the 3rd book to a certain Lygdamus. The *Panegyric on Messalla* (3. 7) and the poems dealing with Sulpicia and Cerinthus (3. 8–12) are also regarded as spurious.[1]

Poems 3. 13–18 indicate that they are letters of Messalla's niece Sulpicia.

Lygdamus

The six elegies by a poet from Messalla's circle calling himself Lygdamus[2] deal with his love for Neaera. His beloved has left him and he hopes to win her back by the gift of his book of poems (3. 1). If Neaera does not become

[1] K. Büchner, Die Elegien des Lygdamus, Hermes 93, 1965, 65–112.

[2] K. Büchner, ibid. (Lygdamus predates Ovid). Contrary arguments in O. Skutsch, Zur Datierung des Lygdamus, Philologus 110, 1966, 142–146 (spurious poetry of Ovid's youth). Stroh, Liebeselegie 126–140 (bibl.); E. Courtney, Problems in Tibullus and Lygdamus, Maia n.s. 39, 1987, 29–32; L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1461–1467; M. Parca, The Position of Lygdamus in Augustan Poetry, in: C. Deroux, ed., Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History 4, Coll. Latomus 196, Bruxelles

his wife, Lygdamus sees death as his only recourse (3. 2). A modest happiness with her is more precious than all riches. Once again, death lurks in the background (3. 3). In a dream, Apollo appears to the poet with the message that Neaera loves another, but may be won over by flattering laments (3. 4). Suffering from illness, the poet bids life farewell (3. 5). The conclusion of the cycle is formed by a prayer to Bacchus. Lygdamus strives in vain to forget Neaera (3. 6).

The elegies show points of contact with Tibullus and Ovid. The year of birth (43 B.C.), 'in which two consuls fell victim to the same fate' (3. 5. 17–18), is reminiscent of Ovid (*trist.* 4. 10. 5–6), though the line has also been connected with the year 49 B.C., requiring the reading *cessit.*

Some scholars consider an even earlier year of birth,[1] and regard the name Lygdamus as a Greek version of Albius, that is, Tibullus. In spite of many points of contact with Tibullus however, this identification causes problems. The elegies of Lygdamus on average are considerably shorter than those of Tibullus. In content they adhere more strictly to a single theme. Their formulations are often sharper and display epigrammatic point, even rhetorical organization in places, which seems to point to Ovid. Yet Lygdamus is distinguished from Ovid by a certain naiveté and strength of feeling. The poems can hardly be one of Ovid's youthful works. Certainly there were more authors in Rome than professors dream of, even in Ovid's year's class. There are metrical differences, too, from Tibullus' and Ovid's technique; for example not avoiding trisyllabic and polysyllabic words at verse end. A date in the 1st century A.D.—a forgery of a youthful poem of Ovid?—also presents problems because of the apparent 'earliness' of the motifs and language. At any rate, because of their freshness these poems deserve to be rescued from oblivion.

The *Panegyric of Messalla*

The *Panegyric of Messalla* (3. 7)[2] elaborates in its introduction the themes of the author's modesty (1–27) and the greatness of Messalla who surpasses his

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1986, 461–474. According to H. Tränkle (s. below under Editions) 2; 58–63 Lygdamus wrote later than Ovid (1st century A.D.).

[1] L. Pepe 1948.

[2] L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, esp. 1453–1461; J. Hammer, Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Panegyricus Messalae.* The Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, New York 1925; R. Papke, *Panegyricus Messallae* und *Catalepton* 9. Form und gegenseitiger Bezug, in: P. Krafft, H. J. Tschiedel, eds., Concentus hexachordus. Beiträge zum 10. Symposion der bayerischen Hochschullehrer für klassische Philologie in Eichstätt 1984, Regensburg 1986, 123–168; H. Schoonhoven, The *Panegyricus Messallae.* Date and Relation with *Catalepton* 9, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1681–1707.

ancestors (28–39). His achievements in war and peace are evenly matched (40–44). Before the people and before the courts he is more eloquent than Nestor and Ulysses, whose adventures are enumerated in an excursus (45–81).[1] No less worthy are Messalla's soldierly abilities (82–105), as a list of the peoples he has conquered proves (106–117). Favorable omens promise Messalla further victories and triumphs over the world; this gives occasion to a cosmological digression (118–176). In a kind of ring-composition, the personal introduction and epilogue correspond (1–39 and 177–211), and the first and last main sections are each expanded by an excursus (52–78; 151–174). The author shows special subtlety by his initial refusal to write a cosmological poem (18–23), which he is then forced to compose because of Messalla's world renown. The motif of the *recusatio* also acts as a frame (18 and 179–180), developed in the second instance into a compliment to the poet Valgius. It is no coincidence that the listing of Messalla's actual victories begins precisely in the middle of the panegyric (106). As for the unknown author, we learn from the poem that, although he was prosperous in earlier days, he now depends on Messalla's help. The time of composition[2] is perhaps to be set between 31 and 27 B.C., since there is no mention of Messalla's triumph.

Sulpicia and Cerinthus[3]

A special charm, united with unobtrusive learning, characterizes the poem in which Sulpicia celebrates the festival of the 1st of March (3. 8). Sulpicia's concern for Cerinthus, who is absent on the hunt, is set in counterpoint with a barely indicated parallel to the legend of Venus and Adonis (3. 9). The poet entreats Phoebus on behalf of the ailing Sulpicia and consoles Cerinthus (3. 10). On Cerinthus' birthday, Sulpicia begs the gods that Cerinthus will show her love and faithfulness. With particular elegance, Sulpicia turns to advantage the circumstance that Cerinthus' shyness has put her in the role of suitor: 'Why does it matter whether silently or aloud he courts me?' (3. 11). Sulpicia celebrates her birthday. She has made herself beautiful,

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[1] D. F. BRIGHT, The Role of Odysseus in the *Panegyricus Messallae*, QUCC n.s. 17, 1984, 143–154.

[2] A survey of the problem of date is given by B. RIPOSATI, 2nd ed., 1967, 62–63. According to H. TRÄNKLE (s. below 'editions' 2; 179–184 certainly later than Ovid (early 2nd century A.D.)).

[3] R. ZIMMERMANN, Die Autorschaft Tibulls an den Elegien 2–6 des 4. Buches, Philologus 83, 1928, 400–418 (against Tibullan authorship); R. FEGER, W. WILLIGE, Albius Tibullus, Cerinthus und Sulpicia (3. 8–12), Gymnasium 61, 1954, 338–345; R. W. HOOPER, A Stylistic Investigation into the Third and Fourth Books of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, diss. New Haven 1975; J.-P. BOUCHER, A propos de Cérinthus et de quelques autres pseudonymes dans la poésie augustéenne, Latomus 35, 1976, 504–519; S. C. FREDERICKS, A Poetic Experiment in the Garland of Sulpicia (*Corpus Tibullianum* 3. 10), Latomus 35, 1976, 761–782.

however, for more than the goddess, and secretly prays for the fulfillment of her love (3. 12).

The five poems dealing with Sulpicia and Cerinthus are remarkable for their brevity, thematic coherence and delicate sympathy with the feminine heart. They must be by a genuine poet. They are not merely literary play by distinguished amateurs.

Sulpicia

Poems 3. 13–18, which display similarities with epigram, are mainly regarded today as works of Sulpicia.[1] The allusiveness of the language and the difficulty of reconstructing the context suggest that these are 'occasional' poems. They have the charm of immediacy. Poem 18 is an expression of regret for the fact that its writer left her lover alone the night before without showing her true feelings. The 1st of the Sulpicia poems also bears witness to a praiseworthy honesty. Her happiness in love fills the poetess with pride and joy, and she rejects all concealment. In these quickly thrown off lines, as well as in difficult passages, which still display a struggle with language, we constantly come across striking expressions, as at 13. 9, *peccasse iuvat*, 'my offense fills me with joy'. The struggle of Roman pride against convention is also visible: *vultus componere famae/taedet; cum digno digna fuisse ferar*, 'I loathe to wear a mask for rumor. Let all hear that we have met, each worthy of the other' (13. 9–10). Here the direct juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine of the same adjective is telling. A hyperbaton reflects the clash of feelings: *ardorem cupiens dissimulare meum*, 'wishing to hide the fire within me' (18. 6).

The adroitness with which poems 3. 8–12 are set before the epigrams of Sulpicia is remarkable. The last elegy of that group can clearly be regarded as a preparation for the first epigram of Sulpicia. The final words *adsit amor* (3. 12. 20) may be compared with the introductory words *tandem venit amor* (3. 13. 1); or the prayer to Venus (3. 11. 13–16) may be compared with its fulfillment (3. 13. 5). Similarly two sets of birthday poems (3. 14 and 15 compared to 3. 11 and 12) correspond to one another, as do the illness poems (3. 17 and 10). The correspondence between 3. 3. and 3. 19 also perhaps shows that the book does not lack coherence, although the antithesis between the concern of the loving girl and the pledge of faithfulness

[1] *Bibl.*: H. Harrauer 1971, 59–60; E. Bréguet, Le roman de Sulpicia. Élégies IV 2–12 du *Corpus Tibullianum*, Genève 1946; H. MacL. Currie, The Poems of Sulpicia, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1751–1764; D. Liebs, Eine Enkelin des Juristen Servius Sulpicius Rufus, in: Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di A. Guarino, Napoli 1984–1985, vol. 3, 1455–1457; N. J. Lowe, Sulpicia's Syntax, CQ 38, 1988, 193–205; M. S. Santirocco, Sulpicia Reconsidered, CJ 74, 1979, 229–239. H. Tränkle (s. below 'editions') 2; 258–260; 300 dates 3. 13–18 between 25 and 20 B.C.; 3. 8–12 soon after Ovid; cf. S. and V. Probst, Frauendichtung in Rom. Die Elegien der Sulpicia, AU 25, 6, 1992, 19–36.

by the lover does not require us to identify the *Tibullus* of 3. 19[1] with Cerinthus. 'The partner's infidelity' is treated both from the point of view of the woman (3. 16) and of the man (3. 20).

It is not impossible, then, that poems 3. 7 to 20 form a cycle. The epigrams of Sulpicia are the nucleus of invention. A sensitive poet (Tibullus?) produced counterparts to them and set them in a larger context. At any rate, the 3rd book of the *Corpus Tibullianum* bears witness to the lively exchange among talented poets in Messalla's circle. It is testimony to Messalla's tolerance that not only the panegyric but also Sulpicia's somewhat shrewish dig at him (3. 14) were accepted into the collection. The discussion of the first two books already established Tibullus' talent at empathizing with other persons and situations, switching his standpoint, and depicting a world of his own. The 3rd book's richness of characters and the multiplicity of voices and viewpoints, as well as the extraordinary sensitivity shown in the cycle centering on Cerinthus (3. 8–12), match well this ability and make understandable why such collective poetry was linked to Tibullus' name.

Editions: Editio princeps: Vindelinus de Spira, Valerii Catulli Veronensis, poetae clarissimi, carmina. Albii Tibulli Equitis Romani poetae elegiae. Aurelii Propertii Umbri Mevani Carmina. P. Papinii Statii Surculi Sylvarum liber ad Stellam, Venetiis 1472, fol. 37a–65a. * First single edition: Florentius de Argentina, Albii Tibulli carminum libri IV et Ovidi Epist. Sapphus ad Phaonem, probably Venetiis about 1472, fol. 1a–42b. * C. G. Heyne (TC, ind.), Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1777. * C. Lachmann, Berlin 1829. * K. F. Smith (TC), New York 1913, repr. 1964. * J. P. Postgate, Oxford 1915. * R. Helm (TTrN), Berlin 3rd ed. 1968. * M. C. J. Putnam (C), Norman 1973. * F. W. Lenz (= Levy) et G. C. (= K.) Galinsky, Lugduni Batavorum 2nd ed. 1974. * G. Luck, Stutgardiae 1988. * J. P. Postgate, G. P. Goold (TTr), London 1988. * G. Lee (TTrN), Leeds 3rd ed. 1990. * *Book 1*: P. Murgatroyd (C), University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg 1980. * *Book 2*: P. Murgatroyd (TC), Oxford 1994. * *Book 3* (*Appendix Tibulliana*): H. Tränkle (C), Berlin 1990 (authoritative). ** *Ind., concordance*: S. Govaerts, Le *Corpus Tibullianum*. Index verborum et relevés statistiques. Essai de méthodologie statistique, La Haye 1966. * E. N. O'Neil, A Critical Concordance of the Tibullan Corpus, New York 1963. * H. Morgenroth, D. Najock, A. Nowosad, Concordantia in Corpus Tibullianum, Hildesheim 1995. ** *Bibl.*: H. Harrauer, A Bibliography to the *Corpus Tibullianum*, Hildesheim 1971. * G. Radke, Auswahlbericht zur augusteischen Dichtung (1952–1959),

[1] W. Eisenhut, Die Autorschaft der Elegie 3. 19 im *Corpus Tibullianum*, Hermes 105, 1977, 209–223 (in favor of Tibullan authorship); according to H. Tränkle 3. 19 is a fake; it is improbable that 3. 20 was written before Tibullus' 2nd book (ibid. 2; 323 ff.; 335).

Gymnasium 66, 1959, 319–347. * Id., Augusteische Dichtung (Auswahl), (1957–1963), Gymnasium 71, 1964, 72–108. * R. J. Ball, Recent Work on Tibullus (1970–1974), Eranos 73, 1975, 62–68. * H. Dettmer, The *Corpus Tibullianum* (1974–1980), ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1962–1975. L. Alfonsi, Albio Tibullo e gli autori del *Corpus Tibullianum*, Milano 1946. * R. J. Ball, The Politics of Tibullus: Augustus, Messalla, and Macer, GB 10, 1981, 135–142. * R. J. Ball, Tibullus the Elegist. A Critical Survey, Göttingen 1983. * D. F. Bright, *Haec mihi fingebam.* Tibullus in his World, Leiden 1978. * F. Cairns, Tibullus. A Hellenistic Poet at Rome, Cambridge 1979. * J. M. Fisher, The Life and Work of Tibullus, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1924–1961. * H. Geiger, Interpretationen zur Gestalt Amors bei Tibull, Zürich 1978. * W. Gerressen, Tibulls Elegie 2. 5 und Vergils *Aeneis*, diss. Köln 1970. * A. Gosling, Tibullus 2. 5 and Augustan Propaganda, EMC 31, 1987, 333–339. * M. Henniges, Utopie und Gesellschaftskritik bei Tibull. Studien zum Beziehungsgeflecht seiner dichterischen Motive (*Corpus Tibullianum* Buch I und II), Frankfurt 1979. * F. Klingner, Tibulls Geburtstagsgedicht an Messalla (1. 7), Eranos 49, 1951, 117–136. * U. Knoche, Tibulls früheste Liebeselegie? (Tibull 3. 19), in: Navicula Chiloniensis, FS F. Jacoby, Leiden 1956, 173–190. * H. Krefeld, Liebe, Landleben und Krieg bei Tibull, diss. Marburg 1952. * G. Lieberg, Strukturalistische Analyse von Tibull 1. 5, Arezzo 1988. * D. Little, Politics in Augustan Poetry, s. Augustan Literature. * G. Luck, Studien zur Textgeschichte Tibulls, in: J. Dummer and others, eds., Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung, Berlin 1987, 331–349. * R. O. A. M. Lyne, The Latin Love Poets, s. Roman Elegy. * S. Mariotti, ed., Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in Albio Tibullo (Roma-Palestrina 1984), Roma 1986. * C. Meillier, La composition numérique de Tibulle I et II, Eos 73, 1985, 269–276. * H. Merklin, Zu Aufbau und Absicht der Messalinus-Elegie Tibulls, in: W. Wimmel, ed., Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 301–314. * P. Murgatroyd, Possible and probable etymologising in Tibullus II, LCM 18, 1993, 121–122. * F.-H. Mutschler, Die poetische Kunst Tibulls. Struktur und Bedeutung der Bücher 1 und 2 des *Corpus Tibullianum*, Frankfurt 1985. * C. Neumeister, Tibull. Einführung in sein Werk, Heidelberg 1986. * C. Neumeister, Tibull in der Reihe der vier Elegiker, in: V. F. Roland, ed., Ainigma, FS H. Rahn, Heidelberg 1987, 219–240. * C. Neumeister, Tibulls Rom-Elegie (2. 5), in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. Della Corte 3, 1987, 157–172. * L. Pepe, Tibullo minore, Napoli 1948. * M. D. Reeve, L'elegia 2. 6 di Tibullo, in: S: Mariotti, ed., Atti ..., 61–67. * B. P. Powell, The Ordering of Tibullus Book I, CPh 69, 1974, 107–112. * B. Riposati, Introduzione allo studio di Tibullo, Milano 2nd ed. 1967. * U. Schmitzer, Satiren zur Ehre Messallas. Die literarkritische Bedeutung von Tibulls Elegie 2.1, WS 106, 1993, 111–132. * M. Schuster, Tibull-Studien. Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik Tibulls und des *Corpus*

Tibullianum, Wien 1930. * Simposio Tibuliano. Conmemoración del Bimilenario de la muerte de Tibulo, Murcia 1985. * STROH, Liebeselegie 110–125. * H. TRÄNKLE, Zu Tibulls erster Elegie, MH 42, 1985, 174–182. * J. VEREMANS, Le thème élégiaque de la *vita iners* chez Tibulle et Properce, in: H. ZEHNACKER, G. HENTZ, eds., Hommages à R. SCHILLING, Paris 1983, 423–436. * R. WHITAKER, Myth and Personal Experience in Roman Love Elegy, s. Roman Elegy. * M. WIFSTRAND SCHIEBE, Das ideale Dasein bei Tibull und die Goldzeitkonzeption Vergils, Uppsala-Stockholm 1981. * W. WIMMEL, Der frühe Tibull, München 1968. * W. WIMMEL, Tibull und Delia. Erster Teil: Tibulls Elegie 1. 1, Wiesbaden 1976. * Id., Tibull und Delia. Zweiter Teil: Tibulls Elegie 1. 2, Wiesbaden 1983.

PROPERTIUS

Life and Dates

Sextus Propertius was born around the middle of the 1st century B.C. at Assisi (4. 1. 125). It is believed that his house has been discovered there, among the remains of a Roman structure whose walls are adorned with frescoes and Greek verses.[1] Except for Horace's Sabine villa this would be the only home of a Roman poet we know of. Propertius' father, who belonged to a distinguished family, died prematurely (4. 1. 127–128). Among the most painful experiences of the poet's youthful years was the Perusine War (cf. 1. 21 and 1. 22).[2] In 41 B.C., he lost a portion of his estate to the land distribution of the triumvirs (4. 1. 130). He abandoned thoughts of a public career.

His first collection of poems, the so-called *Monobiblos* (Mart. 14. 189) celebrated his love for Cynthia. This pseudonym, concealing (according to Apul. *apol.* 10. 2) Hostia,[3] brought his mistress close to the sphere of Apollo. The book can hardly have appeared later than 28 B.C., since the dedication of the Temple of Palatine Apollo is mentioned only in the 2nd book. The poet quickly became known,

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[1] M. GUARDUCCI, La casa di Properzio a Assisi, in: Bimillenario... 137–141.

[2] Propertius' use of autobiographical details is illuminated by S. DÖPP, Properzens Elegie 1. 22. Eine unvollständige Sphragis?, in: FS F. EGERMANN, ed. by W. SUERBAUM, F. MAIER, G. THOME, München 1985, 105–117.

[3] In the 2nd book, conventional and literary elements in Cynthia are more strongly evident: M. WYKE, Written Woman. Propertius' *scripta puella*, JRS 77, 1987, 47–61. Of course, the *topoi* of 'utility' and 'realism' in the 1st book are also literary conventions.

and from his 2nd book on was a member of the circle of Maecenas (2. 1; 3. 9). Of the later books, the 2nd appeared shortly after the death of Gallus, and therefore after 26 B.C. (2. 34. 91–92, cf. 2. 30. 37–40). The 3rd came out soon after 23: Marcellus was no longer alive, and the book draws upon Horace's *Odes.* The 4th book was published only after 16 B.C.

Propertius' friends play an important part in his poetry, for example, Tullus, who is addressed in four poems of book 1 (see also 3. 22). Propertius also mentions Bassus, in all probability the writer of iambs, and the epic poet Ponticus. Two further poets are indicated by pseudonyms: the tragic writer Lynceus, who has fallen in love with Cynthia (2. 34), and a Demophoon—perhaps Tuscus—who celebrates a certain Phyllis (Prop. 2. 22; cf. Ovid *Pont.* 4. 16. 20). Postumus and Galla must also be noted (3. 12). Galla was probably a relation of Propertius. In 1. 5; 10; 13 and 20 a Gallus is found (probably Aelius Gallus) as a close confidant of Propertius. Later, he disappears from view. It was he who succeeded Cornelius Gallus as prefect of Egypt. Propertius speaks of Virgil with respect. He makes no mention of Horace, though in certain passages he may follow him more closely than has been previously supposed (cf. 4. 1 b with *Epode* 17).

Propertius was dead at the latest by the turn of the millennium. The allusions made to him in lists of poets by Ovid (*ars* 3. 333; 536; *rem.* 764) almost certainly presuppose his death, in conformity with ancient practice in these matters (cf. Ovid *trist.* 2. 465).

Survey of the Work

1: The 1st book presents Cynthia at its beginning (1 and 2), and Propertius at its end (22). The first and last poems are addressed to the book's dedicatee, Tullus, as are elegies 6 and 14. Addresses to Tullus, therefore, frame the first (1–6) and last (14–22) thirds of the book.

The middle third (7–13) consists of two unified groups: two elegies to Ponticus (7 and 9) surround the double poem 8 a and b. Similarly, the elegies directed to Gallus (10 and 13) frame the pair of poems dealing with Cynthia's absence (11 and 12).[1]

The third section of the book forms in several respects a counterpart to the first. In both cases, elegies addressed to Tullus precede and follow (1 and 14). In both cases, an exhortation to the beloved stands in second

[1] On 8 A and 11 as counterparts: E. Burck, *Mutat via longa puellas*: Properz 1, 8 A und 1, 11, Gymnasium 95, 1988, 193–206.

position (2 and 15). The lament before the closed door (16) forms a counterpart to the visit (3).

In content, there is an antithesis between the indivisibility of the lovers in elegies 4, 6, and 8, and the absence of Cynthia in 11 and 12, and that of Propertius in 17 and 18. Towards the end, the theme of death forms a new climax (19–21). In the 1st book therefore there is a tendency to bring together pairs of related poems and to use a dedication to friends as a frame. The *Monobiblos* is a Cynthia-book, but also a 'book of friends', even if, in accordance with the poet's own pugnacious nature, the boundaries among friends, rivals and enemies are fluid.[1]

2: The structure of the 2nd and 3rd books, though in both cases symmetrical in principle, is more complex. The 2nd book consists of a sequence of thematically related pairs of poems: elegies 6 and 7 lead up to a protestation of loyalty; elegies 8 and 9 to thoughts of death. There may also be groups of four, bound together by tension: elegies 14 and 15, love's happiness; elegies 16 and 17, love's sufferings. A framework is provided by the first and last elegies,[2] in which Propertius defends his decision for love poetry and against epic. Recently, the old proposal[3] to divide the 2nd book into two halves has been revived. Thematically and structurally the first 12 poems belong together. Poem 13 has programmatic features and marks a division.[4]

3:[5] Some similarities in the structure of the two central books should be emphasized. The programmatic poems on poetry (2. 1; 2. 34; 3. 1) and the farewell poems to Cynthia (3. 24 and 25) serve as flanking pillars. The two last named elegies again confirm the tendency to treat a theme in two successive poems. It is often unclear whether we are dealing with elegies in two parts or pairs of elegies. But along with this, in Hellenistic style, goes the separation of related themes as well as the juxtaposition of disharmonies. For example, the memorials of Paetus (3. 7)[6] and of Marcellus (3. 18) are separated; and the latter stands next to an elegy about the passionate nature of women (3. 19), just as the praise of Augustus (4. 6) follows the

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[1] J.-P. Boucher, Properce et ses amis, in: Colloquium Propertianum, Assisi 1977, 53–71.

[2] G. Wille 1980. The close links between elegies 2. 31 and 32 are emphasized by T. K. Hubbard, Art and Vision in Propertius 2. 31/32, TAPhA 114, 1984, 281–297.

[3] Sexti Aurelii Propertii Carmina emendavit ad codicum meliorum fidem et annotavit C. Lachmannus, Leipzig 1816, repr. 1973, pp. xxi–xxii.

[4] J. K. King, Propertius 2. 1–12; His Callimachean Second *libellus*, WJA n.s. 6 b, 1980, 61–84. A different view in G. Wille 1980, 257, who combines 2. 12 and 2. 13 in a single group.

[5] Cf. also C. Meillier, La composition numérique du livre III des Élégies de Properce, REL 63, 1985, 101–117.

[6] On the Paetus elegy cf. T. Walsh, Propertius' Paetus Elegy (3. 7), LCM 12, 5, 1987, 66–69.

instructions given by the *lena* (4. 5). The finale of the 3rd book is made up of a group of poems surrounded by farewells to Cynthia (3. 21; 24 and 25). The turning away from love poetry is evinced by the insertion of two symbolic pictures: the poet has lost his writing tablets (3. 23), and he advises the recipient of his 1st book, Tullus, to find a wife (3. 22).

4: The 4th book[1] shows an especially clear structure. Roman (1; 2; 4; 6; 9; 10; 11) and erotic (3; 5; 7; 8) themes are treated alternately. In the 1st and last poem, as in the 3rd and 4th, both themes are linked in different ways. Augustus occupies the central place in the book (4. 6). A dissimilar pair of poems is formed by the elegies about Cynthia (7 and 8). One of the 'double-poems', of the type the poet favored, is 4. 1. In conformity with the Janus-like character of the book, Propertius presents himself as a Roman poet of aetia, but also as an incorrigible elegist of love.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Parallels in the 1st book to Tibullus and to Virgil's 10th *Eclogue* point to Gallus as a possible common model. In the 2nd book, besides Gallus, Propertius also mentions Catullus, Calvus, and Varro Atacinus, who celebrated his mistress Leucadia. Among Greek predecessors, Propertius cites Mimnermus with reference to his erotic themes and elegiac form, though this has more programmatic than practical significance. From his 2nd book on, Propertius refers to the Greek poets Callimachus and Philetas. The scholarly M. Terentius Varro (Reatinus) must be assumed as a source for the Roman legends in the 4th book. Though not expressly mentioned by Propertius, the influence of Greek epigrams is clearly identifiable. A comparison with the *Garland* of Meleager of Gadara (beginning of 1st century B.C.) furnishes essential insights into Propertius' methods of work, without necessitating that all Roman elegy derived from Greek epigram.[2] From the 3rd

[1] Cf. now G. D'Anna, Il quarto libro delle Elegie di Properzio, C&S 25, 1986, No. 99, 68–74. Just like Horace's 4th book of Odes, Propertius' 4th book is separated by a gap from its predecessors: H. Haffter, Das Gedichtbuch als dichterische Aussage—Überlegungen zu den Elegien des Properz, in: D. Ableitinger, H. Gugel, eds., FS K. Vretska, Heidelberg 1970, 53–67, esp. 54; K.-W. Weeber, Das 4. Properz-Buch. Interpretationen zu seiner Eigenart und seiner Stellung im Gesamtwerk, Diss. Bochum 1977.

[2] E. Schulz-Vanheyden, Properz und das griechische Epigramm, diss. Münster 1969; G. Giangrande, La componente epigrammatica nella struttura delle elegie di Properzio, in: Bimillenario ... 223–264. Allusions to Hellenistic poetry in the 1st book: P. Fedeli, Allusive technique in Roman Poetry, MPhL 7, 1986, 17–30; D. Sider, The Love Poetry of Philodemus, AJPh 108, 1987, 310–324.

book on, Propertius also takes note of Horace's *Odes*, for example in his 'more modest' adaptation of *Exegi monumentum*, 'I have finished a monument' (*carm.* 3. 30). Propertius has erected his 'memorial' not to himself, but to his beloved (3. 2. 17–26).[1] His appropriation of epic is also critical. He uses its mythical resources to exalt the value of his beloved and his love. Thus in the 2nd book Helen and Troy point to Homer and Virgil. In the 3rd book (3. 3), Propertius comes face to face with Ennius, whose epic he summarizes (3. 3. 3–12).

In some elegies subjective feeling is less emphasized, for example in 3. 14 (women's sports) and 3. 19 (feminine sensuality). In these cases the thought is developed along rhetorical lines, and in general rhetoric plays a far greater part in Propertius than in Tibullus. A certain inclination to rhetorical studies is expressly announced by the poet (3. 21. 27). It is significant that in the same breath he mentions Menander (ibid. 28), for it is with Menander's characters and situations, as was already noted in the discussion of Tibullus, that elegy possesses a certain kinship. At the same time, he also takes up Roman comedy (4. 5).[2] The problem of 'role' (*persona*) in elegy is more important than often assumed. The *persona* of the elegist is not to be identified with his person. Since, by his own admission, Propertius is a man who thinks in visual terms,[3] it is necessary finally to take account also of inspiration received from art.[4]

Literary Technique

More than any other Roman elegist, Propertius is marked by the Hellenistic ideal of the *poeta doctus*. In comparison with Tibullus, his preference for mythological examples is striking. It is true that Ovid also resorts to myth, but in him the content and function of mythological elements are easier to decipher. Myth in Propertius is meant in the first place to indicate the importance which he attaches to his beloved and to his love.

In this regard, the Trojan legend is an ever-present point of reference. Playfully, the poet emphasizes the contrast of elegy with epic,

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[1] The echoes of Horace in 3. 2 are discussed by J. F. Miller, Propertius 3. 2 and Horace, TAPhA 113, 1983, 289–299.

[2] J. C. Yardley, Propertius 4. 5, Ovid *Amores* 1. 6, and Roman Comedy, PCPhS 213, n.s. 33, 1987, 179–186.

[3] 3. 21. 29–30; 2. 15. 11–20; cf. also 3. 14.

[4] E.g. 1. 3. 1–8; cf. also 2. 26a.

but he also lets it be known that in his eyes, private themes have equal and even higher value. In his triumph over Cynthia's reserve (2. 14) his delight is greater than that of the son of Atreus in his victory over Troy.[1] For him Cynthia, after Helen, is the 'second beauty' on earth (2. 3. 32), and it would have been better for Troy to have been destroyed for Cynthia's sake (2. 3. 34). He substitutes the lover's couch for the soldier's camp as the scene of his *Iliads* (cf. 2. 1. 14; 45; 3. 8. 32). At first it is not so much his poetry as his love-making that enters into rivalry with Homer. But his poetics must be discussed later.

In the case of mythical elements which have parallels in the plastic arts—such as the sleeping Ariadne of 1. 3[2]—the poet is less concerned with antiquarian precision than with the magic exercised on the viewer by the sight of perfect beauty. The comparison with Ariadne blends with the following picture of a maenad into a Dionysiac frame. Propertius comes to his beloved 'drunk with much Bacchus'. But unfortunately he is not a Dionysus, and Cynthia welcomes him, not like a loving Ariadne, but as a scolding mistress. The image of Argus (20) heralds disenchantment. The newly arrived lover, who is fearful of Cynthia's reproofs, plays the role of a guard condemned to mere looking, instead of that of the divine spouse. At the same time, Cynthia is elevated to the status of Io-Isis. In verse 42, Propertius mentions Orpheus' lyre, making Cynthia appear as a *puella docta.* Along with sculpture and music, he introduces the weaver's art. The aesthetic realm is also present in the play with the sleeping girl (21–26). In general, myth here is intended to enhance the status of the beloved, her beauty, and her musical talents, but also to emphasize the interplay between high expectation and disappointment. The first function may be compared with that of a gold background, while the second is dramatic. The mythical parallels arouse expectations in the reader: the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of these expectations offer a measure by which the reader may judge the poem, and help him find an observer's distant vantage-point.

Propertius cleverly transforms the literary clichés found in tradition.

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[1] On the significance of mythology in 2. 14 cf. E. Burck, Mythologisches bei Properz (2. 14), in: Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. FS K. Schauenburg, ed. by E. Böhr, W. Martini, Mainz 1986, 213–221.

[2] F. Klingner, Catulls Peleus-Epos, SBAW 1956, 6, 32–43; repr. in: Klingner, Studien 156–224; F. Felten, Neuerlich zur Portlandvase, MDAI(R) 94, 1987, 205–222.

In his 1st book, he heightens the notion of erotic serfdom, which he met in Gallus, the founder of Roman love elegy. The criticism of luxury normal in elegy receives in 1. 2 an original twist by being linked with the question of the beloved's identity. Is she a woman who obscures her natural beauty with cosmetics and all kinds of adornment, or does she dislike such frippery and instead practise the arts bestowed on her by Phoebus, the Muse, Venus, and Minerva? Thus Propertius varies an old topos to some extent as if in a mirror, which he holds up to his mistress. It is left to her—and the reader—which of the two identities is to be taken as real. When in 1. 14 the true riches of love are contrasted with worldly wealth, the originality lies in the boldness with which each single treasure (and the search for it) is brought into relation with Propertius' love.

In the structure of the individual elegies[1] different principles sometimes cross. In 1. 3 a development turning around a central point[2] is matched by a structure proceeding in a straight line. It is evident that such tensions contribute both to the vividness and, at the same time, spatial depth of the presentation. To this is added a pronounced sense of drama. More than Tibullus, Propertius possesses the gift of narrative. But even in non-narrative sections he builds up expectations in order suddenly to disappoint them and to advance the development of the thought in a surprising fashion. The much-deplored jumps and obscurities in his poetry are connected with this peculiarity in his literary technique.

To a certain extent Propertius is inclined to another equally polyphonic method of presentation. Just as in 1. 2 the verdict on Cynthia is left hanging in the air, so in the story of Tarpeia (4. 4) we find an unresolved tension, this time spanning political condemnation of the traitress and deep human sympathy for the loving woman.

Language and Style

Propertius' language is as full of contrasts as are his thought and poetic structures.[3] His vocabulary diverges perceptibly from that of

[1] E. Lefèvre, La struttura dell'elegia properziana, in: Bimillenario... 143–154.

[2] On symmetries in all the books: P. Tordeur, Structures symétriques chez Properce, Latomus 47, 1988, 105–107.

[3] H. Tränkle 1960; H. Tränkle, Die Sprache des Properz und die stilistischen Tendenzen der augusteischen Dichtung, in: Bimillenario... 155–173; G. Pascucci,

Tibullus. Even and precisely in particularly serious poems, Propertius surprises his readers by words drawn from everyday language. Dead Cynthia's head rests on a broken rooftile (*tegula curta*) with a sharp edge (4. 7. 26). Naturalistic descriptions in serious contexts are characteristic of Propertius, of a kind not necessarily expected in an Augustan poet. An example is Cynthia's request to the poet to clear from her grave the ivy which is entwining her soft bones with the tendrils of its roots (4. 7. 79–80; cf. 93–94).

Propertius' style makes a more concentrated but less fluent impression than that of Tibullus. Whereas Tibullus' language strives for *elegantia*, Propertius often seeks the greatest possible 'concreteness', precise expressions, efforts which at times lead him into the sphere of colloquialism. In this he is like Horace, who is often—not wholly correctly—described as his antipodes in love poetry. Another link between the two is found in a tendency towards reflection.

Propertius' language takes its liveliness and drama from the polar tension between opposites which are often directly juxtaposed. Undoubtedly he is one of the most difficult Latin poets, but the longer the reader spends in his company, the more he is brought under his sway. The obscurity of certain passages is not always the mere consequence of our ignorance. It often stems from Propertius' way of writing. An enjoyable example illustrating the other side of this peculiarity is the brief epigrammatic expression: e.g. *Cynthia, forma potens; Cynthia, verba levis*, 'Cynthia, beauty of power; Cynthia, faithless in words' (2. 5. 28). Unlike Ovid, who arranges such parallel verses with parallel syntax, Propertius lends a rougher charm to the construction with a minor variation:[1] *forma* is nominative, *verba* accusative.

Within an elegy Propertius often avoids clarifying the connection of thought by conjunctions, but shows a liking for putting conjunctions at the start of his poems. This is a feature of refined literary technique which draws the reader immediately into the action.[2]

Il callimachismo stilistico di Properzio, ibid., 199–222; V. V. SANTANGELO, L'esametro di Properzio. Rapporti con Callimaco, Napoli 1986.

[1] Such parallelisms more of sound than syntax are found in Old Latin, as for example in Sempronius Asellio: *ad rem publicam defendundam* ... *ad rem perperam faciundam* (HRR 1, 1914, 179–180).

[2] J.-P. BOUCHER 1980.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature[1]

Along with Horace, Propertius is the Augustan poet who has thought most about his role as a poet. In his 1st book, poetry is set at the service of love as a way of life. Thus Propertius describes Cynthia's abandonment of a journey to Illyria as a result of his flattering poems (1. 8. 40). Thanks to the Muse, therefore, Cynthia is his. The double elegy 8, showing the usefulness of elegiac poetry by a practical example, is surrounded by two poems addressed to the epic poet Ponticus. Ponticus is writing a *Thebaid*, whereas Propertius' life and poetry are wholly determined by his love (1. 7). Soon after, the epic poet has himself fallen in love (1. 9). His earlier genre is now of no avail. Propertius points out to him emphatically the superior power of elegy in matters of love (1. 9. 11): 'In love, Mimnermus' verse has more power than that of Homer.' While in 1. 7 the effectiveness of elegy is seen in its power to sway the cruel mistress, in 1. 9 Propertius principally thinks of the fact that his poems are pleasing, and that his girl takes pleasure in listening to them.[2] The conclusion of the same elegy is no longer today taken as a summons to confessional poetry, but rather to liberating utterance.

In the 2nd book Propertius develops further his interpretation of his poetic vocation. Now he compares himself with Orpheus and Linus, the great singers of antiquity (2. 13. 5–8). His fame rests on his ability to enchant someone like Cynthia. A second important feature appears in his rivalry with Homer.[3] Cynthia is revealed as material on which he wishes to confer fame. Just as, thanks to Catullus' verses, Lesbia became more famous than Helen, so did the mistresses of the other elegists, including Propertius' Cynthia, and this is the final note of the 2nd book (2. 34. 87–94). This poem also contains the well-known homage to Virgil, declaring that the *Aeneid* surpasses the *Iliad*, along with the passage just mentioned, which raises a similar claim for the elegists (2. 34. 61–65). Thus, the themes of Troy and of Helen are found in passages which are particularly important in content and form.

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[1] Basic Stroh, Liebeselegie; G. D'Anna, L'evoluzione della poetica properziana in: Bimillenario ... 53–74; R. N. Mitchell 1985.

[2] Stroh, Liebeselegie 34.

[3] Cf. 2. 3; 8; 9; D. T. Benediktson, Propertius' 'Elegiacization' of Homer, Maia 37, 1985, 17–26.

Cynthia as object is the source of inspiration (2. 1). On the other hand, poetry grants her immortality (2. 34). The poet now achieves certain sovereignty over his theme (2. 34. 57–58). At the beginning of the 3rd book, the Homeric and Orphean aspects are presented (3. 1 and 3. 2). Along with this comes the statement of Callimachean principles, already adumbrated in the introductory elegy of the 2nd book in the sense of a courteous refusal to Maecenas' request for an Augustan epic. In the triumphant song at 2. 14, the previous doctrine of total subjection to the will of the girl is withdrawn (11–20). In the 2nd book, poems as presents are valuable to the beloved, and this makes possible the threat of allowing Cynthia to fall victim to oblivion.

The poet's new independence is also shown in his readiness to consider themes of war for his later years (2. 10). That ambition would actually be realized in the 4th book, although in a peculiar mixture of patriotic and erotic poems. The double character of the 4th book is reflected in its introductory elegy. In its first half Propertius elevates himself to the status of Roman Callimachus, while in the second the astrologer Horus reminds him that he is and remains a love elegist. This introductory poem is closely linked with the two elegies standing at the end of the 3rd book. In this assessment of Propertius' vision of his poetry, his withdrawal of his eulogy of Cynthia's beauty must be emphasized (3. 24. 1–8). The poet declares expressly that he is embarrassed to have glorified Cynthia in his verses (3. 24. 4). This means that Cynthia can no longer lay sole claim to being his inspiration, although even in the 4th book the poet is still sought out by Cynthia's shadow. In 3. 24 he bids farewell to poetry as courtship. This inevitably implies that what remains is to write in Callimachean fashion about themes independent of any 'erotic utility'. But in the 4th book, against the Callimachean background, a change is detectible. Previously Callimachus had supplied grounds—for refusing the idea of treating Roman and patriotic themes. Now, in the 4th book, Roman material and principles of Hellenistic art are harmoniously joined in the service of aetiological poetry. Conversely, the second half of the introductory elegy of book 4 makes use of the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* to summon Propertius back to love poetry.[1]

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[1] Propertius cites (4. 1. 135) the 13th Iambus of Callimachus (*frg.* 203, 30–33 PFEIFFER).

The rivalry between two notions of poetry leads to their encounter only in the 2nd and 4th books. In the 1st book, the topoi of utility prevail, while in the 3rd these and Callimachean themes are independent of each other. The different thematic groups of his poetry are not harmoniously interwoven in Propertius as in Tibullus. They appear projected in dramatic sequence. One parallel case, however, may be remembered: in his 2nd book Tibullus takes back the glorification of country life advanced in the first.[1] In conformity with his material and the varying attitudes of the poet to it, different types of poetic principle surface.[2] In the 1st elegy of book 4, which in its two contrasting halves develops two themes and two poetic approaches, form itself acts as a declaration of poetic intent.

Ideas II

The lifestyle of the elegist is diametrically opposed to that of the ancient philosopher. The philosopher seeks to withdraw from his feelings and to subject them to *ratio.* Conversely, the elegist plunges into his passion and subordinates to it all other expressions of his life. This attitude is developed in Propertius' 1st book with particular rigor. In his *Monobiblos,* Propertius shows himself a passionate adherent of a commitment to love in the manner of Cornelius Gallus. He lends depth and sharpness to the theme of servile subjection to the will of the mistress (*servitium amoris*), the unconditional fulfillment of her whims (*obsequium*). The expressed withdrawal from philosophy follows in the 2nd book (2. 34. 25–54). Lynceus has fallen in love in his old age. What is the profit to him now of all the wisdom that he has acquired from the Socratic writings and all his knowledge of the laws of nature? Roman girls do not ask questions about cosmology, about lunar eclipses, the immortality of the soul and whether it is really Jupiter who hurls lightning bolts. Here it is the mistress' taste which gives supreme guidance to her lover. This means that not only epic and tragedy are of no avail, but also philosophy and natural science. The cutting criticism made of Socratic wisdom has, in the case of Lynceus, the further special point that even his old age

[1] M. Wifstrand Schiebe, Das ideale Dasein bei Tibull und die Goldzeitkonzeption bei Vergil, Uppsala 1981, 120.

[2] A good comparison with Ovid and Persius: J. F. Miller, Disclaiming Divine Inspiration, WS n.s. 20, 1986, 151–164.

does not protect him from folly. As a philosopher and tragic poet, therefore, Lynceus is the best evidence for the irresistible power of love in general and of Cynthia in particular (cf. 2. 34. 1–4), for the superiority of elegy to other literary genres and of the lover's view of the world over all other views. Lynceus has been rejected by Cynthia (2. 34. 11), while Propertius, thanks to his talent, is the darling of all the girls (2. 34. 57–58). Yet the poet does not totally reject philosophy and natural science. A farewell elegy to Cynthia is at the same time a homage to reason (*Mens Bona* 3. 24. 19) and unmasks love, in philosophical retrospect, as an illness and suffering. In another farewell elegy, where Propertius declares his intention of traveling to Athens to liberate himself from his love, he mentions as his first possible employment the study of Platonic or Epicurean philosophy (3. 21. 25–26).[1]

As for the natural sciences, the poet hopes to be able to dedicate himself to them in later years (3. 5. 23–46). The list of such problems bears a certain resemblance to the account at the end of the 2nd book. Along with the explanation of natural phenomena, themes mentioned are god as ruler of the physical universe, eternal punishments, death, and immortality. These are vital questions, considered by Propertius as more important than military successes. In the present poem, therefore, the claim of politics on the poet is clearly rejected.

For ancient man physics and theology were more closely linked than to our modern mind. It may then be more than coincidence that in the 4th book, three elegies are dedicated to individual gods,[2] and that three further elegies are preoccupied with death.[3] Questions of astronomy and astrology are touched on by Horos in 4. 1, and Vertumnus (4. 2) is a god of nature. It may then perhaps be assumed that Propertius' ambition to pursue philosophical and scientific concerns with greater depth in his later years was not entirely casual.

Among divinities Propertius mentions Venus, Amor, Jupiter, Juno, the Muses, Apollo, and Bacchus with special frequency. This conforms to the overwhelming preference for erotic and poetic themes

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[1] The Epicurean and Lucretian elements in 1. 14 are examined by F.-H. MUTSCHLER, Ökonomie und Philosophie. Überlegungen zum 14. Gedicht der properzischen Monobiblos, RhM 128, 1985, 161–180.

[2] Vertumnus 4. 2; Hercules 4. 9; Jupiter Feretrius 4. 10; cf. C. SHEA, The Vertumnus Elegy and Propertius Book IV, ICS 13, 1, 1988, 63–73.

[3] The *lena*'s grave (4. 5), the apparition of the dead Cynthia (4. 7) and the speech of the dead matron Cornelia in the 'Queen of Elegies' (4. 11).

shown by the poet. The frequent mention of Jupiter is explained by the fact that Propertius likes to compare, in challenging language, his own happiness with that of the supreme god.

Within Propertius' system of values, loyalty (*fides*)[1] plays a prominent part. The Roman and political features of this virtue are emphasized in the elegy addressed to Maecenas (3. 9. 33–34) and particularly in the 4th book. But its private aspects equally rest on the notion of mutual obligation: 'One loyalty and one day will sweep away the two of us' (2. 20. 18). In practice more loyalty is demanded from the lover serving his mistress than from the beloved. But after Cynthia's death this basic quality is attributed to her also (4. 7. 53). In spite, therefore, of the passionate farewell to Cynthia at the end of book 3, there remains, even in the apparently un-Roman realm of eros, a Roman sense of human obligations, extending even beyond death.

A touchstone for the relationship between the private and political spheres is the connection with Rome. In the *Monobiblos* the name of Rome occurs only twice. Its frequent mention in books 2 and 3 is surprising. This means that the 4th book, in spite of its Roman and aetiological themes, does not hold an exceptional position. Propertius sets a higher value on the Italian countryside than on the city (3. 22). At the same time Rome supplies the framework equally for Propertius' fame and Cynthia's bad repute (2. 5). Rome will also in the future provide a judicious audience equipped to appreciate poems. Because of its greatness Rome at times, even formally, serves as a preparatory element within a climactic series (4. 11). So far as morals are concerned, Propertius' verdict on Rome is somewhat negative. In particular he criticizes luxury and the concern with profit. Attacks on contemporary society are not found in 4. 1, though they certainly occur in 3. 13. In the poet's attitude toward the civil wars his criticism in the 1st book, still rancorous because of his personal experience (1. 21–22), later gradually fades. The background to the poems concerned with Augustus shows its elegiac nature in the poet's refusal to take part in military campaigns, and to do more than play the role of spectator at victory celebrations. Only occasionally does Propertius claim to be an inspired bard of Rome (*vates*). In several poems, expressions friendly to Augustus are mingled with other statements, in a way that defies harmonization. The verdict is left hanging in the air. The enumeration of many Roman buildings linked

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[1] Cf. J.-P. Boucher 1980, 85–104.

with the name of Augustus in 4. 1, as well as the selection of themes in 3. 18, 4. 6,[1] 4. 10, and 4. 11, shows, however, that the poet sought to do justice to the *princeps*.

Yet he did this without confounding the *pax Augusta* with the elegiac ideal of peace and without doing violence to the limits of his genre. He never denied the harsh experiences of his youth.

Transmission[2]

The most important manuscript is the codex Neapolitanus, now Guelferbytanus Gudianus 224 (N; ca. A.D. 1200), which was acquired from the legacy of the Danish state councillor Marquard Gude in 1710 by Leibniz for the library at Wolfenbüttel. The remaining manuscripts are more recent, and are divided into two classes. All codices, including the Neapolitanus, are more or less marred by errors of transmission.

With its many transpositions of lines, the edition by Joseph Scaliger (Paris 1577) exercised a powerful though not always salutary influence. C. Lachmann (Lipsiae 1816) undertook a systematic review of the manuscripts and recognized the importance of the Neapolitanus, though unfortunately he preferred to it the more recent Groninganus. Many conjectures made in that edition were withdrawn by Lachmann himself in his second edition of 1829.

Influence

Propertius became famous as soon as his 1st book was published, and from his 2nd book on he was a member of the circle of Maecenas. Among his younger contemporaries, Ovid owes him essential inspirations.[3] Traces of his work are encountered in the 1st century A.D. and even as late as Juvenal; moreover Pompeiian wall inscriptions and *carmina epigraphica* in general attest to his influence. In his *Apophoreta* Martial also mentions Propertius' collection of poems, adding the

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[1] On the relation between Propertius and Augustus in 4. 6 cf. R. J. Baker, *Caesaris in nomen* (Propertius IV. VI), RhM 126, 1983, 153–174. General remarks in W. Nethercut, Propertius and Augustus, diss. Columbia University New York 1963; F. Cairns, Propertius on Augustus' Marriage Law (II. 7), GB 8, 1979, 185–204; M. von Albrecht 1982.

[2] J. L. Butrica 1984; cf. also idem, Pontanus, Puccius, Pocchus, Petreius, and Propertius, Res Publica Litterarum 3, 1980, 5–9.

[3] P. Grimal, Ovide et Properce, Notes au livre III de l'*Ars amatoria*, in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. Della Corte, Urbino 1987, vol. 3, 189–200.

following epigram: *Cynthia—facundi carmen iuvenale Properti—/ accepit famam, non minus ipsa dedit* 'Cynthia, the youthful song of eloquent Propertius,/ received fame, and herself bestowed it no less' (14. 189). Pasennus Paulus, a contemporary of the Younger Pliny, counted the poet among his ancestors, and imitated his elegies so skilfully that according to Pliny (*epist.* 6. 15. 1 and 9. 22. 1) they could be taken for Propertian poems. From late antiquity Claudian (about 400 A.D.) may be mentioned as a reader.

In the Middle Ages[1] traces of the poet are found particularly in France. Propertius' influence was felt more strongly from the time of Petrarch. In the second half of the 15th century his influence increased, especially among the Italian humanists.[2] In France he was studied by Mathurin Régnier (d. 1613) and by André-M. Chénier (d. 1794). The appearance of the dead beloved in the *Sogno* of Giacomo Leopardi (d. 1837) is reminiscent of 4. 7. Goethe's[3] admiration for the ancient poet was so great that Schiller called him the 'German Propertius'.[4] Goethe took part in the translation of Propertius made by C. L. von Knebel (d. 1834). A very free translation is contained in Ezra Pound's (d. 1972) *Homage to Sextus Propertius*, completed in 1917.[5] Pound stimulated the interest taken by W. B. Yeats (d. 1939) in Propertius, and the description of Cynthia's beauty influenced Yeats' poetry.[6]

Propertius centers his love poetry much more exclusively than Tibullus on a single object. Conversely, he enriches the genre by Roman aetiological elegies of Callimachean stamp. Propertius is also different from Tibullus in his fondness for myth. Formally the individual elegies in spite of many a surprising jump create a more thematically

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[1] See further G. C. Giardina, Echi tardo-antichi e medievali di Properzio, MCr 18, 1983, 241.

[2] D. Coppini, Properzio nella poesia d'amore degli Umanisti, in: Colloquium Propertianum, 1981, 169–201; G. Lieberg, De necessitudinibus quae Sannazario cum poetis veteribus, imprimis Propertio, intercedunt, VL 1987, 108, 18–24.

[3] *Römische Elegien, Der Besuch* (cf. Prop. 1. 3) and *Euphrosyne* (cf. Prop. 4. 7); H. J. Meissler, Goethe und Properz, Bochum 1987.

[4] Schiller, Die Horen, vol. 4, 12, Tübingen 1795, 43–44; *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, Nationalausgabe, ed. J. Petersen, vol. 20, *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. B. von Wiese, Weimar 1962, 465; cf. vol. 21, note to vol. 20, 305.

[5] M. Bacigalupo, ed., E. Pound, Omaggio a Sesto Properzio, Genova 1984; J. P. Sullivan, Ezra Pound and Sextus Propertius. A Study in Creative Translation, London 1964.

[6] B. Arkins, Yeats and Propertius, LCM 10, 1985, 72–73.

uniform effect than we find in Tibullus. Conversely, the structure of the books is perhaps less apparent.

To emphasize the proximity of Propertius' elegy to the epigram and partly also to Catullus, is to give an unsatisfactory description of the special nature of his poetry. His difference from Tibullus rests on a difference of temperament. In Tibullus we have stressed the twofold aspect of surrender and distance, as well as that poet's ability to empathize with other points of view. Propertius' strength, by contrast, seems to rest in the marked steadfastness and relative coherence of his character. Such persistence in preserving his own view of things may lead to dramatic conflicts with the people around him. Both as poet and as lover Propertius is by nature domineering and possessive. The standpoint of his partner is something which he has quite often to be informed of later, and emphatically. In Propertius there is a persistence which allows him to proceed relentlessly along his own path. He is also seen in frequent confrontation with the world about him and in recurrent struggles for victory and dominance. It is characteristic that even friends appear as rivals, whether in literature or love.

Yet Propertius is also capable of seeing himself in an ironic light, for example when he introduces himself in 1. 3 as drunk, or in 4. 8 allows himself to be caught out by Cynthia in a peccadillo. This is to say nothing of the sublime self-irony of 4. 1. This humor counterbalances the strong note of subjectivity distinguishing Propertius from Tibullus and Ovid.

The realism and even naturalism of some of his images, a difficult language which does not reject even common words, a pleasure in unsolved tensions both of content and form—all these features make Propertius the least 'classical' of the classics of Roman love elegy. His extraordinary combination of powerful emotion with literary reflectiveness and mythological learning stamp him as an Alexandrian among Romans, and as a Roman among Alexandrians. His liking for the ugly and even macabre as the expression of a dialectical unity of love and suffering, a self-tormenting that at times even verges on cruelty, allied with flights of 'black' humor, make him a predecessor of the moderns.

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M. von Albrecht, Properz als augusteischer Dichter, WS 95, n.s. 16, 1982, 220–236; repr. in: G. Binder, ed., Saeculum Augustum 2, Darmstadt 1988, 360–377. * L. Alfonsi, La divinità nel I libro delle elegie di Properzio, in: R. Altheim-Stiehl, M. Rosenbach, eds., Beiträge zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte, FS G. Radke, Münster 1986, 5–14. * A. W. Allen, *Sunt qui Propertium malint*, in: J. P. Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature. Elegy and Lyric, London 1962, 107–148. * C. Becker, Die späten Elegien des Properz, Hermes 99, 1971, 449–480. * M. Bettini, Properzio dopo duemila anni (considerazioni probabilmente eretiche), MD 18, 1987, 149–163. * Bimillenario della morte di Properzio. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi properziani (Roma-Assisi 1985), Assisi 1986. * J.-P. Boucher, Études sur Properce. Problèmes d'inspiration et d'art, Paris 2nd ed. 1980. * E. Burck, Liebesbindung und Liebesbefreiung. Die Lebenswahl des Properz in den Elegien 1. 6 und 3. 21, in: ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΝΗΜΗ, Gedenkschrift K. Vourveris, Athen 1983, 191–211; also in: E. Burck, Vom Menschenbild in der römischen Literatur, vol. 2, ed. by E. Lefèvre, Heidelberg 1981, 349–372. * J. L. Butrica, The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius, Toronto 1984. * F. Cairns, Propertius 1, 4 and 1, 5 and the 'Gallus' of the Monobiblos, in: PLLS 4, 1983, Liverpool 1984, 61–103. * Colloquium Propertianum, Assisi, 26–28 marzo 1976, Atti, a cura di M. Bigaroni, F. Santucci, Assisi 1977. * Colloquium Propertianum (secundum), Assisi, 9–11 novembre 1979, Atti, a cura di F. Santucci, S. Vivona, Assisi 1981. * Colloquium Propertianum (tertium), Assisi, 29–31 maggio 1981, Atti, a cura di S. Vivona, Assisi 1983. * V. Eckert, Untersuchungen zur Einheit von Properz I, Heidelberg 1985. * P. Fedeli, '*Propertii monobiblos*': struttura e motivi, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1858–1922. * D. Flach, Das literarische Verhältnis von Horaz und Properz, Gießen 1967. * R. Gazich, *Exemplum* ed esemplarità in

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Life and Dates

P. Ovidius Naso is the first Roman poet of whom an autobiography in verse is preserved (*trist.* 4. 10). He came from Sulmo, the modern Sulmona, in the territory of the Paeligni, and was the son of provincial

(equestrian) nobility. Born in the year of Cicero's death (43 B.C.), and a generation younger than Virgil, he was, at the time of the Battle of Actium, a mere twelve years old. His experience of the *pax Augusta* therefore was not that of a gift bringing an end to decades of trouble, but of something taken for granted. Along with his brother, his senior by one year, he received lessons at Rome from the admired masters of eloquence of the day, Arellius Fuscus and Porcius Latro, and even took up some of the latter's epigrams into his own poetry (Sen. *contr.* 2. 2. [10] 8). Excerpts from a speech before an imaginary jury (*controversia*) composed by him as a student (ibid. 9–11) throw light on the origins of his later predilection for epigram and antithesis. He was disinclined to any sort of argumentation, and valued only those *controversiae* in which psychology and character were on display. Another type of exercise was speeches of advice tendered to an historical or mythical character faced with a critical decision; such *suasoriae* trained his gift of sympathy and powers of language. The speeches composed by the youthful Ovid were, in Seneca's eyes, poems in prose. Later, the poet would, conversely, confer on literary devices of rhetorical origin the status of poetry.

His brother had felt drawn to a career as orator and lawyer, but, after his early death, Ovid disappointed his ambitious father's hopes. He had already held certain offices, such as that of *triumvir* (perhaps to do with the supervision of the mint) and *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis* (cf. *fast.* 4. 384). But now he abandoned thoughts of a senatorial career, though, like Shakespeare, Goethe and Heine, he may be considered a poet well versed in legal affairs. He did not in fact entirely abandon his concern with Roman law, and was later a member of the court of the *centumviri* and an individual judge in civil cases (*trist.* 2. 93–96). Soon however he dedicated himself exclusively to the writing of poetry.

Even when Ovid was young, his father had warned him against such penurious prospects, and the boy made good resolutions. But to no avail! What was intended as useful prose turned of its own accord into verse (*trist.* 4. 10. 25–26). Yet this was the miracle proving a vocation, not a matter of uncontrolled verbosity. At his first public recital Ovid had shaved his beard only one or two times. The attention of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus was drawn to this emerging talent. The circle of which he was patron, holding somewhat aloof from Augustus, included also Tibullus and Sulpicia. Tibullus' early death prevented any closer friendship on Ovid's part. All the deeper

was the poetic debt, which is by no means confined to a memorial in verse (*am.* 3. 9). The great Virgil was known to Ovid only by sight. He heard, however, Horace's recitals of the *Odes* and enjoyed a lively exchange of ideas with Propertius: evidently his manifold relationships both with authors and others were not confined to Messalla's circle. Apart from the older generation, among whom Aemilius Macer, the author of an *Ornithogonia*, deserves mention, a large group of younger poets made Ovid the center of attention. To his wide circle of friends the poet would eventually establish a memorial in the letters sent from his banishment.

In quick succession there appeared five books of love elegies (*Amores*), later reduced by the poet to three. Only this second edition survives. His tragedy *Medea*, highly esteemed by Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 98) is lost.

Already in Propertius and even more in Ovid, Roman love elegy had begun to move beyond its original scope—in several directions. The presentation of the lover's sufferings from the man's point of view demanded a complementary depiction from the woman's perspective. Ovid described himself as the founder of a new category of literature, the *Letters of the Heroides*. Here mythical women use the form of the letter to lay bare their feelings to their absent lovers. The chronological relationship between the comparable letter of Arethusa in Propertius (4. 3) and Ovid's *Heroides* is obscure. The collection of *Heroides* is supplemented by the *Letter of Sappho* (15), whose genuineness is disputed. It is followed by three sets of paired letters added by Ovid in later years (about A.D. 4).

A further development of love elegy is observed in the *Art of Love* (*Ars amatoria*), composed around the turn of the millennium. From the late objective form of the elegy to the systematic approach typical of didactic poetry is in fact only a small step. The external appearance of the work makes it plausible to assume that, to the first two books, containing advice to young men, a 3rd book addressed to women was added at a later date. Recently, however, a uniform plan for the three books has been suggested, which would even include the *Remedies for Love* (*Remedia amoris*), in which Ovid confronts the critics of the *Ars amatoria* and in some places actually outdoes its risqué sallies.

Even before the *Art of Love* Ovid had published a didactic poem on cosmetics (*Medicamina faciei femineae*), from which the preserved preface, taking the shape of a eulogy of civilization, still merits reading.

Some time between 2 and 8 A.D. Ovid was at work on two larger

masterpieces, the *Metamorphoses*—a mythological epic in 15 books on stories of transformation—and the *Fasti*, a poetic version of the Roman calendar, intended to occupy 12 books.

The *Metamorphoses* was finished and only lacking final revision, the *Fasti* only half finished, when Ovid was suddenly banished by an imperial edict to Tomi on the Black Sea. Juridically, the sentence was only that of relegation, which meant that the poet did not lose his civil rights or his property. Of the two causes, the poet mentions only one expressly: the *Art of Love*. We may well believe that Augustus, the originator of Roman laws of marriage, was anything but captivated by this lubricious little book. But even so, it had already been in circulation for eight years, and it cannot therefore have been the chief ground for the sentence.[1] Of the latter, Ovid merely says that it was familiar enough, and may not be mentioned by him. He hints that he may have witnessed something impermissible, though it is not known whether in connection with the adulterous behavior of the younger Julia, or with the efforts to secure the succession to Augustus for Agrippa Postumus. In favor of the latter possibility, we may recall the general experience that moral objections are usually raised in public life only when they are inspired by political reasons. Even Augustus' successor, Tiberius, refused to recall Ovid. His notorious loyalty to his predecessor's decisions may have been strengthened in this case by personal rancor.

On his way into exile the poet wrote the 1st book of the *Tristia*, a collection of elegies and elegiac epistles. In the course of time this work grew to fill five books. While in the *Tristia* the addressees are unnamed, in the succeeding *Epistulae ex Ponto* this precaution was abandoned. In his banishment Ovid took trouble with the publication of the *Metamorphoses* and adapted the available portions of the *Fasti* with the intention of dedicating them to Germanicus, undoubtedly the noblest representative of the imperial house. Unfortunately, once again in matters political the poet had taken the wrong tack. A completion of the second half of the Roman calendar could not be contemplated at Tomi, in the absence of the required libraries. Instead, in imitation of Callimachus, Ovid composed his long and obscure curse poem, the *Ibis*, whose recipient is never named. The *Halieutica*, a

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[1] The view advanced by W. Stroh (1979) deserves consideration, that Ovid was wrong to assume that using the love stories of myth as a vehicle for making fun of Augustus' laws on marriage could be done with impunity.

didactic poem dealing with Black Sea fish, is only partially preserved, and its authenticity is disputed. Ovid's laments, aiming to secure his recall to Rome or a milder form of exile, must not obscure the fact that the poet adapted quite well to his new surroundings. It is not to be doubted that he learned Getic and Sarmatian, and composed a eulogy of Augustus in Getic. This is quite in keeping with the character of a man who enjoyed tampering with taboos. Why should he not therefore protest against the blindness of the ancient Greeks and Romans towards the beauties of the 'barbaric' languages? As the poet grew older in his place of banishment, he received many tokens of recognition. His death occurred in A.D. 17 without his ever having seen Italy again.

Survey of Works

Amores

1: The 1st book of the *Amores* develops along two parallel lines (2–7 and 9–14). The 15th poem acts as a conclusion and displays points of contact with 1. 1, 2. 1, and 3. 15. In correspondence are: Amor's military triumph (2) and the lover's military service (9); courtship and the promise of immortality (3); the girl's request for presents and the poet's renewed allusion to his gift to her of immortality (10); the instruction of the beloved (4) and instruction of the serving girl (11); the fulfillment of love (5) and the farewell (12); the lament before the closed door (6) and the *aubade* before departure in the morning (13); the lover's ruffling of his mistress's hair (7) and the spoiling of her hair by dyes (14). Poems 1, 8 and 15 have programmatic import: 1 and 15 from the poet's point of view and 8 from the standpoint of the *lena*.

2: There is juxtaposition, at times of similar poems (2 and 3: to the *custos*; 13 and 14: abortion), and sometimes of contrasts. Thus in 2. 7 Ovid indignantly rejects Corinna's charge that he is in love with her maid, while in the following poem (2. 8) he begs the maid to reward him for his perjury. A contrast is also found between 2. 11, a farewell poem, and 2. 12, a celebration of love's fulfillment. Two poems of address are separated: the lament for the parrot (6) and the verses to his mistress' ring (15). Similar themes appear separately from an opposed perspective: for example, an appeal to the *custos* for lenient treatment (2) and to the poet's rival with a request for stricter surveillance of the girl (19). In spite of its literary content, elegy 2. 18 does not placed at the end of the book. This makes it obvious that Ovid was concerned with the separation and framing function of the *custos* poems.[1]

[1] 2. 1 and 2. 2–3 correspond to 2. 18 and 2. 19. In the outer poems of the book,

Symmetry is emphasized by the fact that around the center (2. 10) are grouped twice two pairs of elegies: 7 and 8, 9a and 9b, 11 and 12, 13 and 14. On their part these are framed by the address poems (6 and 15). The poem at the very center (2. 10) appropriately treats of a double love. It is dedicated to Graecinus, who also occupies a central place in the original collection of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (books 1–3), where poem 6 is the center of the 2nd book. This means that the structural principles in the 2nd book of the *Amores* are different from those in the first. Earlier there was parallelism, now we find chiasmus. First alternation was found, but now the juxtaposition of related themes.

3: If the spurious elegy 3. 5 is discarded, the 3rd book consists of fourteen poems. Unlike the elegies of the 1st book, these are organized not in parallel but in counterpoint. In the middle of the book there are two elegies with literary themes: the poet's life (3. 8), the poet's death (3. 9). The neighboring poems 7 and 10 treat disappointment in love. In the first case the reason is to be sought with the lover, in the second with the observance of religious abstinence by his mistress. The next pair of elegies deals with failed attempts: to reach the beloved (3. 6) or to be free of love (3. 11). Elegies 4 and 12 are addressed to the persons with whom Ovid must share Corinna: her 'husband' (4) and the general public (12). In 2 and 13, in both cases the poet is seen accompanying a lady at a public celebration. Appropriately at the beginning of the book the start of an affair at the Circus is described, while towards the end of the book the mention of his wife renders the poet's farewell to love elegy intelligible. Poems 3 and 14 both deal with the theme of 'infidelity and keeping secrets'. It is no coincidence that Ovid bids his audience of women farewell with this appeal for consideration for their lovers. It is the theme of 'keeping secrets' which would later prevail in the *Art of Love.* In the first half of the book, the lover's path leads him to his mistress. In the second, it leads away from her, a structure reminiscent of Propertius' 1st book. The change of direction is already prepared in 3. 7, where physical proximity cannot disguise distance of feeling. To this, 3. 10, with its theme of close feeling in spite of physical distance, forms a counterpoint. The turn away from the beloved then begins with 3. 11.

Each of the three books follows a different structural principle. In the 1st, there is parallelism, in the 2nd centrality and in the 3rd a mirror-like order, though a central focus is lacking.[1]

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unusually, the sequence of themes is set in parallel: 'program poem ~ *custos* theme.' This means that the dazzling pirouette may come at the end. There is a similar device in the 3rd book, where 3. 2 and 3 show the same sequence of themes as 3. 13 and 14 ('visit to a festive celebration' and 'infidelity and keeping secrets'). This subtlety in both cases brings some variation into the concentric structure of the books, without impairing it.

[1] Cf. also G. Lörcher, Der Aufbau der drei Bücher von Ovids *Amores*, Amsterdam 1975.

Ars Amatoria

1: The first two books are taken up with directions for men. An introduction is followed—in a humorous adaptation of rhetorical textbook principles—by the doctrine of 'invention' (41–262). Girls may be 'found' at various *rendezvous* in Rome, notably in the theater, at the Circus and amphitheatre, at staged sea-fights and triumphal processions, at parties, and even outside Rome.

This is followed by the doctrine of how to win the girl's sympathy (263–770): have confidence in yourself, make sure the lady's maid is on your side and choose the right moment. You must also learn the art of giving presents and writing letters. Not too much fuss by men over their appearance! Parties offer good opportunities. You must be a master of persuasion and promises. Methods of successful courtship include kisses and a not unwelcome use of force, as well as pretended reserve and an appearance that arouses pity. Keep a sharp eye on your men friends! Be a master of the art of transformation. Three mythological episodes divide this didactic section (289–326, 525–564, 681–704).

2: After the conquest the aim is to make sure the affair lasts. The fascination exercised by education is stronger than any magic. Show compliance, interpret love as military service, give thoughtful presents—but without bankrupting yourself. Do not be sparing with praise, and stand by the girl when she is unwell, although any bitter medicine should be tendered to her by your rival. Consider the advantages and dangers of separation, and use discretion in any escapades. Instead of harmful stimulants, jealousy may serve as love's sauce, though the best medicine is obviously love itself. Know yourself, and put your merits into play. The true cavalier controls his jealousy and his tongue. A rhetorical re-interpretation of the beloved's weaknesses as merits leads to praise of the mature woman. Brief hints about erotic play are followed by a conclusion.

3: Enjoy life, you women, and revel in the blessings of civilization! Pay attention to your hair, dress and toilet—but don't allow cosmetic jars to be too visible to the visitor. Your lover should only view the finished work of art, though he may be present when your hair is being done. Physical defects may be compensated for. Charm may be learned, just like music, literature, dancing, and social pastimes. Education lasts longer than beauty.

When visiting meeting points, beware of men who are too handsome and of other cheats. Love letters should be diplomatic. You should control your facial expressions, and always display a cheerful demeanor. Treat your lovers in a way suitable to their age and temperament. Do not be too accessible, and enhance the charm of love by encouraging rivalry. Outwit chaperones, and be on your guard against girlfriends. Play the part of the girl in love and do not be too credulous about news of infidelity. Watch your table manners. Know yourselves and, while making love, choose positions likely to show you off to best advantage.

Remedia amoris

This work is not a recantation, and aims to prevent only unhappiness and, in particular, suicide. If the heroines of myth had read it, they would have remained alive. Master passion at the beginning, or after it has passed its peak. Avoid leisure. Take up work as a lawyer, politician, soldier, countryman or huntsman. Keep your distance. Magic is useless. Painstakingly recollect the sufferings which your girlfriend has caused you. Consider her physical defects, and interpret even her advantages as defects. Give her the chance to show her less attractive sides. After a sally against moralizing critics of the *Ars*, further advice follows: blunt the pangs of passion by physical revulsion or by taking another mistress. Show yourself unsympathetic. Avoid jealousy. Seek forgetfulness, but steer clear of loneliness, and stay away from your mistress. Do not cherish the belief that she loves you and do not enter into any arguments. Never read her letters again. Avoid the places where you were together with her. Stay away from the theater. Do not read any love poems, not even mine. You are cured if you can kiss your rival. Follow a diet and drink no wine.

Heroides

Certain ladies of myth write letters to their absent lovers: 1. Penelope to Ulysses; 2. Phyllis to Demophoon; 3. Briseis to Achilles; 4. Phaedra to Hippolytus; 5. Oenone to Paris; 6. Hypsipyle to Jason; 7. Dido to Aeneas; 8. Hermione to Orestes; 9. Deianira to Hercules; 10. Ariadne to Theseus; 11. Canace to Macareus; 12. Medea to Jason; 13. Laodamia to Protesilaus; 14. Hypermestra to Lynceus.

A place apart is to be assigned to the disputed letter of Sappho[1] (15).

This is followed by paired letters: 16–17. Paris and Helen; 18–19. Leander and Hero; 20–21. Acontius and Cydippe.

Metamorphoses[2]

1: A short proem and the story of creation is followed by the four ages of the world, the flood and the reappearance of living creatures. This first main section (1. 5–451) culminates in Apollo's victory over the Python. Amatory adventures of the gods fill up the second half of the book.

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[1] In favor of authenticity, H. Dörrie, P. Ovidius Naso. Der Brief der Sappho an Phaon mit literarischem und kritischem Kommentar im Rahmen einer motivgeschichtlichen Studie, München 1975. Against authenticity (convincing): R. J. Tarrant, The Authenticity of the Letter of Sappho to Phaon (*Her.* XV), HSPh 85, 1981, 133–153; C. E. Murgia, Imitation and Authenticity in Ovid, *met.* 1. 477 and *Her.* 15, AJPh 106, 1985, 456–474.

[2] Cf. especially W. Ludwig 1965; A. Crabbe, Structure and Content in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ANRW 2, 31, 4, 1981, 2274–2327. On the overall structure, see now A. Bartenbach 1990; forthcoming C. Tsitsiou, Book 8 of the *Metamorphoses* (C and study), diss. Heidelberg 1997.

2: As in the 1st book, a world disaster forms the opening picture, the universal conflagration caused by Phaethon. This is followed by amatory adventures of the gods. The second half of the 1st book and the whole 2nd book are interpreted as the second main section of the poem.

3: The story of Cadmus, already prepared at the end of the 2nd book, frames a third main section, reaching to 4. 606. Individual episodes are provided by Theban stories: Actaeon, Semele and Pentheus, with the tales of Narcissus and the Etruscan sailors inserted as interludes.

4: The Theban legends continue with the story of the daughters of Minyas (who on their part narrate stories of love) and the tale of Ino and Melicertes. The ring closes with Cadmus and Harmonia. A fourth main section (4. 607–5. 249) takes up the theme of Perseus. He turns Atlas into stone, releases Andromeda, and describes his struggle with the Medusa.

5: The battle in the hall against Perseus' rival Phineus occupies the first part of the book. Then Perseus' patron goddess Minerva visits the Muses, from whom she hears the tales of Pyreneus, the Pierides, Proserpina, Arethusa, and Triptolemus. The fifth main section ('anger of the gods') is usually considered to last from 5. 250–6. 420, but the theme is not limited to this section, and the boundary with what follows remains fluid.

6: At the beginning of the second third of the work (books 6–10) stands the story of Arachne, an artist's tragedy like the death of Orpheus at the beginning of the 11th book. This throws light on the epilogue of the entire work, in which Ovid defies the anger of Jupiter—and of Augustus. The book begins with Minerva and then, after telling the stories of Niobe, the Lycian peasants and Marsyas, passes to Attic myths, with Philomela and Orithyia. A sixth main section ranges so broadly that practically the whole second third stands under Athenian auspices. At the very beginning of book 6 we already hear the tale of the city's foundation.

7: After the story of Medea, linked with Athens by Theseus, Ovid returns with Cephalus to Attic legends.

8: In combination with the 7th book, a chiastic succession of key figures is presented: Theseus—Minos—Aeacus—Cephalus—Minos—Theseus. With Minos are linked the tales of Scylla and Daedalus, with Theseus the Calydonian hunt and the stories told in company with Achelous.

9: The seventh main section (9. 1–446) is dedicated to Hercules. His struggle with Achelous forms a bridge to the preceding, since the main sections overlap. The encounter with Nessus prepares the way for Hercules' death. In a fascinating reversal of chronology, the hero's apotheosis is followed by the story of his birth, related by his mother. With Iole's sister Dryope, and with Iolaus, even what follows remains in Hercules' ambience. Two tales of unnatural love, that of the ill-starred Byblis and the pious Iphis, form a prelude to the next book. The eighth main section is usually calculated from 9. 447–11. 193.

10: In the portion devoted to Orpheus which now follows (10. 1–11. 84) themes of 'unnatural love' and 'piety' continue: love for boys (Orpheus, Cyparissus, Ganymede, Hyacinth), prostitution (the Propoetides), love for a statue (Pygmalion), incest (Myrrha and her father). A positive example of piety is provided by Pygmalion, and a contrary example by Hippomenes. Finally, Adonis makes a parallel to Orpheus.

11: It is not by coincidence that the death of Orpheus opens the last third of the work (see above on book 6). The punishment of the Bacchants and the events around Midas furnish an epilogue to the tale of Orpheus. A ninth main section (11. 194–795) begins with the key word 'Troy'. It gives an account of the generation before the Trojan War in interlaced order: Troy—Peleus—Ceyx—Peleus—Ceyx—Troy.

12: The tenth main section (12. 1–13. 622) tells the story of the Trojan War. The miracle of Aulis and Achilles' victory over Cygnus is followed by an episode describing the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, before and after which stand Nestor's tales of Caeneus and Periclymenus. At the end of the book—and at the same time in the middle of the main section—comes Achilles' death.

13: The contest for the arms of Achilles, Polyxena, Hecuba and a flashback to Memnon are still within the Trojan Cycle. The eleventh main section (13. 623–14. 608[1]) focuses upon Aeneas. Into his voyages the poet introduces the tales of the daughters of Anius and of Orion, as well as the stories of Scylla and Galatea.

14: Circe transforms Scylla, the comrades of Ulysses and also Picus. A similar fate is suffered by the comrades of Diomedes, the Apulian shepherd, the ships of Aeneas, and, of course, by the hero himself, turned into a god by Venus. At 609 the twelfth and last main section of the poem begins, containing the story of Alba Longa and Rome. Amatory interludes are provided by the narratives of Pomona and Vertumnus, Iphis and Anaxarete. The book concludes with the apotheosis of Romulus and Hersilia.

15: The book begins with the myth of Myscelos, founder of Croton. In southern Italy, Numa hears the doctrines of Pythagoras, 'scientific lore' recalling the 1st book. Numa's wife, Egeria, and Hippolytus, whose death leads to immortality, along with the selfless republican Cipus, form a prelude to the finale, which begins with a solemn invocation of the Muses. Apollo's son Aesculapius is introduced to Rome from abroad, but Caesar is a god in his own city and Augustus, Jupiter on earth, surpasses even Caesar. The poet, however, will live on in the memory of his readers through his work, which not even Jupiter's anger can assail.

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[1] W. Ludwig, 1965, 68, argues for a different conclusion (14. 440).

Fasti

A poetic treatment of the Roman calendar puts on display a motley variety of astronomical data, aetiological myths and explanations. The six surviving books are each dedicated to a single month (January to June). A continuous stream of narrative, such as is found in the *Metamorphoses*, is not the aim, but the structure is less mechanical than its underlying principle might lead the reader to expect.[1]

Tristia

1: The 1st book of the *Tristia* is framed by an address to the book (1) and an epilogue to the reader (11). In the center is found his eulogy of his wife (6), flanked by letters to his best friend (5) and to the future editor of the *Metamorphoses* (7). To this group of three corresponds another at the beginning of the book: the emotional scene of the departure from Rome (3) is surrounded by two pictures of storms (2 and 4). Poems 8 to 10 are related to the rest of the book in such a way that the prayer for the safety of the ship (10) forms a counterpart to the second poem, which corresponds to it in content and position, while the thematically contrasting elegies 8 and 9 are purposely juxtaposed. Altogether we find in the first third of the book two poems particularly relating to the sea voyage (2 and 4), but in the last third only one (10). In the first third, one elegy is mainly concerned with human relationships (3), while in the last there are two such pieces (8 and 9), of which 8 expressly refers back to 3 (1; 8; 11–26) and twice alludes to Rome (33 and 37–38).

2: The 2nd book of the *Tristia* is self-contained, consisting of a single apologia directed to Augustus. The first and shorter section (1–206) considers the genuine, though now unknown, reason for the sentence of banishment. It shows a structure centering around a passage dealing with Ovid's crime (97–108), with the essential query: *Cur aliquid vidi?* (103). Balancing around this are sections emphasizing Ovid's so far unchallenged honor as *eques* and judge (89–96) and his noble origin (109–114); the general hatred for Ovid after his fall from the emperor's favor (87–88) and his worldwide fame (115–120); the collapse of his house as a metaphor (83–86) and as a reality (121–122); the anger of the *princeps* in its devastating effect (81–82) and possible pardon after the fading of this mood (123–124); Ovid's fealty to Augustus (51–80) and the fealty of Augustus to Ovid, shown in the mildness of his punishment (125–154); the pardoning of earlier conquered enemies (41–50) and future victories over enemies (155–178); Augustus as a merciful *pater patriae* and as the image of Jupiter (29–40; 179–182). The introduction,

[1] On the artistic structure of the *Fasti*, see J. F. Miller, Ovid's Elegiac Festivals, Studies in the *Fasti*, Frankfurt 1991. Cf. also M. Kötzle, Zur Darstellung weiblicher Gottheiten in Ovids *Fasti*, Frankfurt 1991.

dealing with the harm his poetry has caused and yet the help expected from it by Ovid, who hopes to assuage Augustus' anger (1–28), finds its counterpart in a concluding plea for a milder exile, and an allusion to the dangers at Tomi and Caesar's obligation to protect his fellow citizens (183–206).

The second and larger main section of the book (207–578) follows two parallel lines of development: 1. The *Art of Love* has not misled anyone (207–360); 2. Ovid is the only one harmed by his poem (361–578). These two subordinate sections may be compared. In each case at the beginning stands a longer connected piece about reading. As the first shows, on closer examination Augustus must surely have noted that Ovid's teaching does not contain anything forbidden, and expressly excludes ladies of rank. In any case, no book is safe against misuse, unless ladies of high society are to be forbidden to read anything at all (207–278). The parallel second subordinate section shows that many authors have both written about love and composed playful manuals without being punished (361–496). To an ironic proposal of making away with the theater, circus, and other places of temptation (279–302) corresponds a reference to the unchallenged existence of public shows with erotic content, especially the mime so highly esteemed by Augustus himself (497–520). The assertion that reading or viewing something forbidden is not of itself a crime (303–312) is matched by a reference to erotic pictures and statues in private houses (521–528). With Ovid's abandonment of the composition of an epic about Augustus and his return to the love poetry more in keeping with his gifts (313–346) may be compared the allusion to erotic elements in the *Aeneid*, the long uncontested publication of the *Art of Love*, and the homage paid to Augustus in Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* (529–562). Ovid's moral integrity serves in the first subordinate section to prove that he could never have been able to preach adultery (347–350); in the second, that same quality assures him of the sympathy of all Romans (563–578).

This means that the first main section of the book displays chiastic structure, and the second, parallelism. The second is longer than the first, and the same is true of the two subordinate sections of the second. Both main sections are linked by the central motif of the first: the sight of something forbidden (103). That such behavior does not deserve punishment is established in general terms in sections 303–316 and 521–528, and this principle should also apply to Ovid. The unity of the book is found therefore—in spite of the separation of the two reasons for the banishment—in its implicit refutation of the main accusation.

3: The framework is formed by a speech delivered by the book (1) and a letter to the editor (14). As in the 1st book, the second and penultimate elegies both have in a sense the character of a prayer. Especially effective in the birthday poem (13) is the negation of prayer as a sign of mourning.

In the third and antepenultimate position are found two triptychs (3; 4a; 4b; and 10–12[1]). The heart of the book is an elegy to the young poetess Perilla (7) with important statements on poetry and political power. In the 1st book, letters to friends were concentrated in the second half, but in this book the reverse is the case, while now elegies about the poet's personal relationships are found in the second half of the book. The 1st and 3rd books therefore have a corresponding structure, framing the differently organized 2nd book.

4: The supporting pillars of the 4th book are formed by addresses to the reader (1) and to posterity (10). In sequence, the first half mentions the imperial house (2), the poet's wife (3), the eloquent young Messallinus (4) and a truly helpful friend (5). To these positive aspects, the second half opposes themes of: the destructive effect of time (6); a friend who fails to write (7); the antithesis between the old age once dreamed of and the real thing (8); a threat to an unnamed enemy (9)—a counterpart to the thanks to a friend in 5. Unlike the 1st book, the fourth reserves to its second half the poems presenting Ovid's real circumstances in the shape of meditations. But, unlike books 1 and 3, this book lacks a centerpiece. The contrast between the final poems of the first and third group of four is noteworthy (5 and 9), and in general the careful preservation of distinctions of rank in the sequence of those addressed.

5: The introduction (1), like 4. 10, consists of an address to the reader, and is set outside the balanced arrangement of the rest of the book, which is dedicated to the poet's wife. It is the letters to her which define the structure (2; 5; 11; 14). Between them in each case come an elegy on literary topics (3 and 12) and a letter to a friend (4 and 13). The middle is occupied by a letter to a vindictive enemy[2] (8), framed by letters to sincere friends (7 and 9) and poems about Ovid's situation (6 and 10). To the first poem to his wife Ovid attaches a new appeal to Augustus. He also attempts to gain support for his case from a circle of poet-friends (3).

Epistulae ex Ponto

1–3: The first three books of the *Letters from the Pontus* are made up of a collection[3] of 30 elegies. A frame is provided in each case by two letters to the editor Brutus (1. 1 and 3. 9), and to the influential Paullus Fabius Maximus (1. 2 and 3. 8), whose wife was on friendly terms with Ovid's wife.

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[1] To Brutus (4a), surrounded by two personal poems (3: Ovid's illness; 4b: Ovid's misfortune); cf. 10: winter; 12: spring; in between 11: to an enemy.

[2] Does this preferential position hint that the addressee is to be identified with that of the abusive *Ibis* (cf. also 4. 9)?

[3] H. H. Froesch, Ovids *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1–3 als Gedichtsammlung, diss. Bonn 1968.

The central section consists of epistles 2. 3–8. Letters to Salanus, Germanicus' teacher, and to Graecinus, a friend of Ovid's youth (2. 5 and 6) who was also the recipient of the central poem of the *Amores*, are flanked by two epistles to Curtius Atticus (2. 4 and 7), to whom Ovid is indebted for knowledgeable criticism of his verses, and to Cotta Maximus (2. 3 and 8). The latter was the younger son of Ovid's patron Messalla. Cotta Maximus is also the addressee of the 5th poem of the whole collection (1. 5) and of the fifth from its end (3. 5), as well as of the penultimate elegy of book 1 (1. 9) and the second poem of book 3 (3. 2), which means that, just like that of Tullus in Propertius 1, Cotta's name serves to articulate the structure. Places of honor are occupied by Germanicus at the beginning of the 2nd book (2. 1), and the poet's wife at the beginning of the third (3. 1). In both cases a mentor is juxtaposed to these important figures: the learned Salanus, whose central position in the collection is determined by his influence on Germanicus, and Rufus, the uncle of Ovid's wife, who concludes book 2 (2. 11) and thus stands at his niece's side (3. 1).

The 2nd book consists of eleven poems, but the 3rd only of nine. The reversal of expected proportions in this way is explained by the poet's intention of giving the 2nd book an uneven number of poems, to enable, as in the *Amores*, the elegy to Graecinus to stand in central place there. Simultaneously, a carefully pondered order determines the placement of the addressees. The articulating function of Cotta in the whole collection might have attracted criticism from his older brother Messallinus. As a counterweight, Messallinus is given in 2. 2 a highly flattering place, after Germanicus and before Cotta. But even in the 1st book, Graecinus has also an important position, since his name and that of his brother Pomponius Flaccus frame its second half.

As a whole, the collection shows a symmetrical structure, though devoid of any mechanical schema. A stimulus may have been provided by Horace's first three books of *Odes*.

4: It is possible that book 4 was edited from papers found after Ovid's death, though the sequence of the poems still permits the assumption that the poet himself had something to do with it. Even an editor might have set an elegy about the circle of Roman poets at the end (16), and framed the rest of the collection with two letters to Sextus Pompeius. But who, apart from Ovid, would have put Graecinus yet again at the beginning of the book's second half (4. 9)?

The structure of books of poems serves more than an aesthetic purpose. It reflects a whole pattern of human and social relationships. Just like Propertius' collection of elegies, Ovid's works are not merely books of love or grief, but also books of friendship (and enmity). Social considerations are indeed important, but cannot obscure the steadfastness with which the names

of old friends recur at places which the poet has saved for them with a certain obstinacy.

Ibis

The first third of the book (1–206) divides into an introduction (1–64) and a solemn curse (65–206). A characteristic conceit is that the description of Ibis' birth is placed after that of his ritual slaughter[1] (207–247).

The second main section has at its halfway point a remark (411–412) which alludes to 125, the center of the second subdivision of the first main section. As the height of doom, Ovid wishes on his enemy a fate like his own (635–636). The second half of the second main section begins with the wish that the poet's enemy may be stricken with poverty (413–424), a fate Ibis had in store for Ovid. At the corresponding position shortly after the beginning of the second main section (257–270) stands the prayer that Ibis may be struck blind. The prominent position assigned to the motif makes it plausible to suppose that Ibis had observed and reported something which turned out to be fatal for Ovid. The bloody punishment for gossiping (567) may also be compared.

Overall, the work consists of two sections of unequal length (1–206; 207–642). The first is mainly articulated in threes. The second in essence is made up of two series of curses. The beginning, middle, and end here are clearly indicated. The concluding lines pick up motifs from the introduction in reverse order (638, cf. 127–194; 639–640, cf. 89–90; 641–642, cf. 49–52).

Sources, Models, and Genres

The *Amores* is determined in the first instance by Roman tradition: Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius. Throughout his life Ovid never disclaimed Cornelius Gallus. He paid homage to Tibullus in *am.* 3. 9; in spite of the great differences between the two poets, the links uniting them are far broader. Even in the 3rd book of the *Tristia*, a poem about illness and death stands in third place, as does a similar poem in Tibullus' 1st book. With Propertius Ovid enjoyed lively personal interchange, so that it is difficult to establish the chronological relation between Ovid and late poems of Propertius. Influences of the Greek epigram, of comedy and of the plastic arts, everywhere present to the inhabitant of the capital, are also not to be excluded.

In writing the *The Art of Love* Ovid could find support in individual

[1] A positive counter example is the sequence of apotheosis-birth in the case of Hercules in book 9 of the *Metamorphoses*; forthcoming: H. Grombein, Untersuchungen zu Ovids *Ibis*, diss. Heidelberg 1996.

elegies of Tibullus and the teachings of the comic *lena*. At a level lower than his own was pornographic literature in the narrower sense, partly circulating under the names of women authors. Into higher spheres than that of Ovid doctrines of Platonic love could act as guides: examples are the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*. A more appropriate comparison would be with Xenophon, who allows his Socrates to talk with a hetaera about ways of catching men (*Mem.* 3. 11). Ovid unites here the topics and characters of elegy and comedy with the forms of didactic poetry, but using the elegiac meter.

Ovid himself declared that the *Heroides* were a new type of literature created by him (*ars* 3. 346).[1] There is the crossing of several genres: letter, elegy, dramatic monologue. Tragedy (e.g. Euripides in Ovid's letters of Medea and Phaedra) and epic (Homer, Apollonius, Virgil) exercise strong influence, along with Hellenistic poetry (Callimachus in the correspondence of Acontius and Cydippe). As in the *Amores* and the *Ars amatoria*, the rhetorical training of the author is also evident. The *Heroides* are not *suasoriae* in verse, but without that training they would not have taken the shape they do.

In their metrical form the *Metamorphoses* are an epic, though without unity of place, time, person, and action. The presence of Homer, Virgil, and Apollonius Rhodius is apparent, though the work is more reminiscent of Hesiodic and Hellenistic catalog poems. The subject matter is largely drawn from Hellenistic sources: Boios or Boio ('Ορνιθογονία, imitated in Latin by Ovid's older friend Aemilius Macer), Phanocles ("Ερωτες ἢ καλοί), Eratosthenes (Καταστερισμοί), Nicander ('Ετεροιούμενα), Parthenius (Μεταμορφώσεις). The last named lived in Rome and was on intimate terms with the Cornelius Gallus whom Ovid so admired. The song of Silenus in Virgil's 6th *Eclogue* bears a strong resemblance to the *Metamorphoses*. This sketch of a cosmological and erotic poem must have impressed Ovid no matter whether in fact Virgil had in mind a poem of Gallus or not. The assumption of a handbook of mythology as a stimulus for the division of topics in several parts of the *Metamorphoses*—though not for the literary treatment—is also plausible.

The psychological richness of the *Metamorphoses* stems from Ovid's experience as an elegist and his knowledge of Greco-Roman tragedy. The dispute over the arms of Achilles is set up as a rhetorical

[1] Propertius' Arethusa-letter (4. 3) was perhaps written later. It is also cast, unlike Ovid's *Heroides*, against a Roman background.

controversia. There is also the influence of pastoral and epigram. In his Philemon and Baucis Ovid followed Callimachus' *Hecale* and elsewhere adopted this poet's technique of conversation with the Muses; however, Ovid's conception of a wide-ranging, continuous poem (*perpetuum carmen, met.* 1. 4) contradicts the principles of the prologue to the *Aetia.* The attempt by the *Metamorphoses* to encompass universal history springs from Hellenistic historical writing. The upshot is an encyclopedic, collective poem *sui generis,* something perhaps possible in this manner only in Rome and only by Ovid.

The *Fasti* were written under the auspices of Callimachus and his Roman successor Propertius. Varro supplied material about ancient Rome, as he had done for the corresponding portions of the *Metamorphoses.* There was also use of historical sources such as Livy. The framework of the whole poem was furnished by the Roman calendar.

Among the *exile poems* Callimachean influence is particularly strong in the *Ibis.* The elegiac epistles of personal character must be regarded as a new creation. At the same time, by being written to serve a particular purpose they look back to the very beginnings of elegy (Solon). The description of his uncivilized place of exile often depends on literary *topoi.* Ovid's aim is not so much to reproduce the reality of his place of exile as to convince his Roman readers that life there for him was intolerable.

Literary Technique

In Ovid the structure of each *love elegy* is strictly determined by its theme. The Tibullan multiplicity of themes is foreign to him. Ovid often develops his subject along rhetorical lines; examples are the exploitation of themes such as *militat omnis amans,* 'every lover is a soldier' (1. 9) or *odi et amo,* 'I hate and I love' (3. 11. 33–52[1]).

In the individual letters of the *Heroides* rhetoric is made to serve the presentation of character. Accordingly, arguments are deployed, but often without any prospect of practical success. Instead, the reader receives a lively picture of the lady who is writing. From a means of persuasion, rhetoric has become a medium for artistic expression.

In mastering the task of organizing several short poems artistically to produce a well-articulated whole, Ovid took his cue from Horace.

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[1] Printed as an independent poem in many editions.

A particularly impressive example is the centrally arranged structure of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* books 1–3 (see Survey of Works).

In the *Ars amatoria* Ovid first suceeded in arranging a whole book as a continuous text. To achieve this he used mythological examples and consistently applied metaphors (e.g. chariot riding) as unifying and articulating elements.[1] As early as in this work we find a structural design reaching beyond the single book: the 3rd book of the *Art of Love* throws new light on the topics of the first two, this time from the woman's point of view. In the *Remedia*, the means and methods already familiar to the reader—mythological examples and rational mastery of psychology by rhetorical reflection—serve the opposite purpose from that of the *Ars amatoria.* It is no coincidence that the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedia* together comprise as many books as Virgil's *Georgics.*

In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid had to think in even larger units. Some books were linked by the very fact that at the end of one, as in some serial novel, a new narrative thread was already underway (as at 1. 747; 2. 836). Conversely, the main action of one book might be concluded only in its sequel (e.g. 11. 1–84). Ovid artfully connects the individual tales among themselves. Mostly he does not depend on external links, such as that of framing narrative, or the presence or absence of particular characters. Rather he often strives for thematic connections, such as the 'sight of the forbidden' in book 3. Throughout the entire work, genealogy, culture, and history form important links: Thebes in the first third of the work; Athens in the second; Troy and Rome in the third.

A large-scale design is evident in the parallel disposition of the first two books of the *Metamorphoses.* In each case here the description of a universal catastrophe (flood or conflagration) is followed by the narration of amatory escapades on the part of the gods. The work was conceived in three sets of five books (*trist.* 1. 1. 117); it is true that it lacks the external and internal coherence of the *Aeneid,* but there are remarkable analogies between the closing books of the three pentads.[2] It is only in these books that there is reference to the Muses, and only here that unusually long insertions, presented by prophetic characters, lend their stamp to the book: the Muses' song (book 5);

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1 M. Weber 1983.

2 A. Bartenbach 1990.

that of Orpheus (book 10); and the discourse of Pythagoras (book 15). Finally each of these books has an epilogue (6. 1–138; 11. 1–84; 15. 871–879), relating to the fate of an artist.

In Ovid's art of character portrayal direct speech plays the most prominent role. Monologues are characteristic;[1] they depend on tragic style and also recall Ovid's *Heroides*. In fact in his story of Byblis (*met.* 9. 523–565) Ovid employs directly the epistolary form he had himself invented in the *Heroides*. Subtle psychological observations are often added as marginal remarks, as when Atalanta declares in the main text that the beauty of Hippomenes leaves her unmoved, while conceding the opposite in parentheses (*met.* 10. 614). Byblis' confusion is vividly presented. Her initial search for the right word is reflected in her taking up and laying aside of her writing tablets, in her writing and erasing (*met.* 9. 523–525). At the end indeed she is so inspired by her theme that she even fills the margins (*met.* 9. 565).

We will come back on some details of the poet's narrative technique in the context of his language and style. Here we may particularly dwell on his skilful positioning of the epic simile:[2] in an early stage of the action, it may refer to the emotion which is its mainspring (e.g. *met.* 1. 492–496, love). In the middle of the story, it acts as retardation before the decisive moment (e.g. *met.* 1. 533–539 in the erotic chase). Towards the end of the story it may illustrate a metamorphosis (e.g. *met.* 2. 825–832). It may also serve to foreshadow events (*met.* 1. 492–496 stubble field: *sterilis amor!*) and may contain allusions to the present (*met.* 1. 200–205).

The author uses other methods to aid the reader's understanding. Often the basic theme (love, divine anger, and so on) is expressly mentioned in the transition or introduction. At important moments a key word may recur (such as: '*love* lent her the power to do this'). The ill-starred outcome of an event may be quite early indicated by precise signals: Daedalus gives his son a kiss 'which he will never repeat' (8. 211–212). Adjectives such as 'the unwitting', 'the unhappy', do more than express sympathy. They also guide the reader's expectations. The same may be said of tragic irony, which is more than a mere play with words. It underlines the contrast between the ignorance of the protagonist and the fate in store for him.

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[1] R. Heinze 1919, esp. 110–127.

[2] M. von Albrecht, Die Funktion der Gleichnisse in Ovids *Metamorphosen*, in: Studien zum antiken Epos, FS F. Dirlmeier, V. Pöschl, Meisenheim 1976, 280–290.

The art of fashioning gradual transitions[1] is highly developed in the *Metamorphoses*. On the small scale it is shown in the description of metamorphosis in progress; on the large scale in the linking of the stories. The description of metamorphosis[2] puts before the reader's eyes something irrational, contrary to nature and reason, and yet so persuasively that he seems to see it going on before him. Here Ovid seems to overcome the static feature shared by many ancient works of art and to anticipate possibilities which only the film would later be able to realize. Ovid of course does not make his reader a passive spectator, but stimulates him to develop for himself the corresponding images.

Allegorical descriptions of place, reflecting the nature of their denizen, are typical of Ovid. An example is the house of Fama (12. 39–63). Such passages show that rhetorical training is not in contradiction with poetry, but is able to stimulate poetic imagination and develop it systematically.

In the *Fasti* Ovid is not opposing to the 'epic' narrative of the *Metamorphoses* an 'elegiac' manner, but rather enriching each of these two genres with elements of the other. The development of his narrative art may be observed from the days of the *Amores*, and it by no means halts with the *Metamorphoses*. In the later works there are brilliantly cut jewels such as the story of Chiron (*Fasti* 5. 379–414).[3] Conciseness and concentration, the art of reducing a story to its quintessence, often found in the *Metamorphoses*, rises here to a new level.

The literary technique of the *poems of exile* moves between two poles: the elegiac epistle, already formed by Ovid in the *Heroides*, and the challenge to apply now to his own life the 'poetry of separation' which previously had been deployed on mythical themes. This was a cruel irony of fate, though it meant a great gain for literature. Techniques which had been practiced by Ovid since his youth, such as the rhetorical art of poetic speech, of ethos and pathos, of vivid and emotion-laden description of places and persons, even of the elegant refinement of one and the same theme with the aid of endless

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[1] Reinh. Schmidt, Die Übergangstechnik in den *Metamorphosen* des Ovid, diss. Breslau 1938.

[2] W. Quirin, Die Kunst Ovids in der Darstellung des Verwandlungsaktes, diss. Gießen 1930.

[3] M. von Albrecht, Zur Funktion der Tempora in Ovids elegischer Erzählung (*fasti* 5. 379–414), in: M. von Albrecht, E. Zinn, eds., Ovid, Darmstadt 1968, 451–467.

variations, now became a medium of Roman personal poetry. Ovid, who from early days had never been at a loss for words when writing on subjects that had little to do with him, now was obliged in his own case to test and experience the power and impotence of the poet's word. The literary refinement of his later works is often underestimated, since Ovid, as obliged by the epistolary style and the rhetorical appeal to the emotions, harps on the artlessness of these works and the decline in his powers.

Language and Style

Ovid's vocabulary appears to be that of everyday, and superficially his language runs smoothly. But we discover only on closer inspection how much power of invention is behind such 'naturalness'. There are numerous neologisms, for example, nouns in *-men*, adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger*.

The treatment of the hexameter and of the elegiac couplet shows equal virtuosity. The wealth of dactyls may be emphasized, along with the dancing rhythm, whose effect is enhanced by hyperbata, antitheses, and the frequent coincidence of sentence and verse end. Dissyllabic or trisyllabic words are normal at the end of the hexameter, and dissyllables at the end of the pentameter. The rare exceptions are justified by tradition or content, as with the weighty address to the coming generations (*posteritas, trist.* 4. 10. 2).

In syntax there is a striking preference for parentheses,[1] a device interrupting the normal flow of the sentence, and in this way opening possibilities for 'polyphonic' speech. Subjective remarks may be objectively confirmed: *visa dea est movisse suas—et moverat—aras*, 'the goddess seemed to move, nay, moved her altar' (*met.* 9. 782). Conversely, incredible elements of myth may be parenthetically called in question: *si credere dignum est* (3. 311). Here, with a wink, the author takes the enlightened reader into his confidence. Ovid likes to repeat the same word under ever changing aspects: the subjective cry (*fer opem! dixere*, 'help! they cried') is closely followed by the objective confirmation (*tulitque/muneris auctor opem*, 'and he who gave their gift did bring them aid') and the tragically ironic qualification (*si miro perdere more/ferre vocatur opem*, 'if you call it aid to ruin them by a

[1] M. von Albrecht 1964.

miracle' (*met.* 13. 669–671). Such shifts in perspective lend spatial depth to the scene and sharp contours to the characters.

Both incidental narrators and the author himself accompany their story, at times with intellectually detached satisfaction, and at other times with strong sympathy, and both attitudes carry with them their preferred stylistic methods. There is a long way to go to the pervasive pathos of Lucan, though Ovid already knows the excited address to his protagonist, comparable to the warning cry of a naive spectator in the theater (3. 432–436). On the other hand he may dampen an excess of feeling by a chilling antithesis. Thus he allows Orpheus, after he has bewailed his wife long enough in the world above, to try his luck with the underworld (10. 11–13). When Phaethon sets fire to the world, the sun god veils his face in mourning, but the fires give light instead, and so even this misfortune has its better side (2. 330–332). Antithesis serves as a vessel for Ovid's typical switch from pathos to irony.

Ovid is one of the most brilliant narrators known to world literature; he employs his linguistic tools with careful calculation. He often begins his description with a bird's eye view. The landscape is surveyed as a whole (present tense), and then the camera concentrates on an individual point. A character may be seen in one of his normal activities (imperfect). Then a particular moment is selected (historic present), the sequence of actions proceeds, until a decisive event occurs (historic perfect). Before that happens, suspense may be increased by retarding devices, such as a simile or a monologue. To enhance an effect of surprise, the decisive turn in the story may appear in a subordinate clause, with use of *cum inversum* or even *nisi*. Generally, after the main event, the pace of the narrative accelerates, matching the resolution of suspense in the reader's mind. By purposefully reserving particular artistic means for climactic points, Ovid attains a strong effect of contrasting relief. In this respect his art may be compared with that of Livy.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Ovid is quite precise in his statements about poetry. Its sources of inspiration are different in the case of each genre.

As an elegist Ovid continues the tradition of poetry as courtship (i.e. as a means to win a lady's love). He is wounded and conquered

by Amor, and it is Amor who dictates his poems. Here inspiration comes from the gods of love and the lady. If he grants his beloved fame, as is appropriate for an elegist, this may lead to a situation in which others value her equally, and in which he loses her: *ingenio prostitit illa meo*, 'my genius had made her common' (*am.* 3. 12. 8). In this way, Ovid presses his *topoi* home remorselessly to their conclusion.

At the beginning of the last book of the *Amores* the poet is standing, like Hercules, at the crossroads. Once again he chooses elegy, though promising later to devote himself to tragedy (*am.* 3. 1). In the final poem (3. 15. 17–18) Dionysus calls him to higher tasks, meaning to his tragedy *Medea*. The inspiring god is chosen in conformity to the new genre.

The *Art of Love* springs from practical experience (*usus: ars* 1. 29). Only Venus is invoked at the beginning (*ars* 1. 30: cf. 3. 43–58; 769–770). As expected in a didactic poem, she is the goddess appropriate to the subject matter.[1] A didactic writer wants to be believable, and for this reason Ovid at the beginning expressly skips the specifically poetic deities, such as Apollo and the Muses (*ars* 1. 25–28). At the end our author's knowledge and experience throw even the Delphic oracle into the shade (*ars* 3. 789–790). Within the books, however, the situation is somewhat different. As soon as the students are to be taught self-knowledge, the Delphic god, as appropriate, makes his appearance (2. 493–510). And in wishing to be read by girls, Ovid appeals to Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses (*ars* 3. 347–348)—rightly so, for here he is concerned with literature as literature.

Divinity dwells in poets: this is certainly one reason why girls should be kind to them (*ars* 3. 547–550). But Ovid affirms his belief in the divinity of poetic talent—and not only his own—even in a more serious context (*trist.* 4. 10. 41–42).[2]

Inspiration for the *Metamorphoses* is requested, as in the *Ars*, from the authorities appropriate to the theme (*met.* 1. 2), that is, from the gods, who have produced those metamorphoses. The Muses make their appearance later, and it cannot be a coincidence that they do this in the closing books of the three pentads. In the 5th book they appear as participants in the action and narrators. In the 10th book Orpheus, son of a Muse, appropriately calls, at the beginning of his

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[1] On the link between experience and Venus cf. also Tib. 1. 8. 3–4.

[2] *Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo* (*fasti* 6. 5); cf. *Pont.* 3. 4. 93–94; at *fasti* 6. 251–256 the epiphany of the divinity is replaced by an inner revelation.

song, upon his divine mother. Finally in the 15th book, before his weighty conclusion, the poet addresses himself solemnly to the Muses.

Ovid was thoroughly convinced of the poet's immortality already in the *Amores* (1. 15; 3. 15). The epilogue of the *Metamorphoses*[1] allows that same conclusion to be drawn from the work. The self-confidence of the elegist (cf. Prop. 3. 2) is raised to a cosmic dimension. At the same time the poet is aware that he is protected against human desire to destroy (*ferrum*) and 'Jupiter's anger'. By this, only the anger of the princeps can be meant. Ovid is entitled to the support of a world-wide company of readers.

From here the transition is made without obstacle to the affirmation of *ingenium* in the poems of exile, especially evident in Ovid's 'testament' to the young poetess Perilla (*trist.* 3. 7).[2] The imperishable nature of intellectual gifts and values was already preferred to transitory goods in the *Art of Love* (2. 111–112) and now wins an immediacy of application for the banished poet: *en ego, cum caream patria vobisque domoque,/ raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere mihi,/ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque:/Caesar in hoc potuit iuris habere nihil,* 'behold me, deprived of native land, of you and my home, reft of all that could be taken from me; my mind (talent) is nevertheless my comrade and my joy; over this Caesar could have no right' (*trist.* 3. 7. 45–48). Much though he may have lost, the poet remains in possession of his talent, which is beyond the scope of the ruler's power. Even a violent death, Ovid continues, cannot annihilate the poet, for he lives on in fame among his readers.

With this, in the poems of exile a further aspect gains in significance: poetry as consolation for the poet.[3] In his poetic autobiography (*trist.* 4. 10. 115–122) the Muse is addressed as guide and companion, consoler and healer. Does this make poetry a way to the inner man? By nature Ovid was expansive and outgoing. In his banishment his exchange of letters with his kinsfolk and his friends was for him an elixir of life. He was sustained by his awareness of his wide audience. Thanks expressed to the well-disposed reader and address to posterity are characteristic features at the birth of poetry written in exile and of poetic autobiography. Just like Livy, Ovid at times conveys to

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[1] Echoing Hor. *carm.* 3. 30 and Prop. 3. 2.
[2] von Albrecht, Poesie 219–230.
[3] W. Stroh 1981, esp. 2644–2647.

his reader the impression that he is witnessing the author writing, and even looking over his shoulder. But he can also produce a sense of distance. Ovid is the poet of *ingenium.* Reference to poetic inspiration is found more frequently on his lips than on those of any other ancient poet.

Ideas II

In all the literary genres which he practiced, Ovid's scope is wide. The *Amores* reflect all conceivable situations of love from the subjective angle, and the *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia* confer on them didactic system. In the *Heroides* Ovid created an encyclopedia of the feminine heart, and with the *Metamorphoses* one of myths of transformation. The *Fasti* aim to measure the passage of the Roman year, the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* exhaust the theme of exile. The *Ibis* is a curriculum of cursing.

Ovid's claim to universality bears typically Roman features and is reminiscent of the many-sided pioneers of old Latin poetry. The Hellenistic idea of Homer's universal knowledge, and the encyclopedic achievement of Varro made possible now at Rome the appearance of *poetae docti* such as Virgil and Ovid. It is not only in the first and last books of the *Metamorphoses* that the poets' mythological picture of the world coexists with the scientific perspective of the philosophers and with the state religion. These three complementary views[1] permeate each other throughout the entire work. Even in the mythical portions, the reader is continually concerned with understanding nature. Man produces his own environment, and from him, through metamorphoses, spring stones, plants, and animals. This is a Darwinism in reverse, recalling Plato (*Tim.* 91d–92c) and Posidonius.[2] Ovid expressly appeals (*met.* 15) to Pythagoras, though he colors his alleged doctrines with Platonic and Stoic ideas and enlivens them with observations drawn from ancient science, possibly under the influence of Sotion. Myth passes imperceptibly even into political history. Thebes, Athens, Troy are for Ovid stages on the way towards the universal city of Rome. He was aided in this concept by the outlook of Hellenistic universal history. It is a logical consequence

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[1] Cf. Varro's *theologia tripertita apud* Aug. *civ.* 6. 5.

[2] H. Dörrie, Wandlung und Dauer. Ovid und Poseidonios' Lehre von der Substanz, AU 4, 2, 1959, 95–116.

that Augustus appears as a Jupiter on earth. Only an author as late as Augustine would give up myth and *imperium* as independent approaches to the understanding of the universe, and even then without lasting impact.

The typically Roman desire to master whole areas of material is linked in Ovid with a further principle, peculiar to him in a special degree and conferring on his work both boundaries and depth: Eros. Ovid began as a love poet, and still on his epitaph describes himself as *tenerorum lusor amorum*, 'playful poet of tender love' (*trist.* 3. 3. 73; cf. 4. 10. 1). Even in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* he remains unrepentantly dedicated to Eros. The theme of transformation has itself erotic elements: the polarity of Eros and Thanatos lurks behind the comings and goings of existence. It is true that in the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*, by contrast with the *Art of Love*, personal links are more strongly emphasized. From a game, love becomes a destiny. In his *poems from exile* Ovid raises a memorial to his wife. The wealth of eulogy gains in life and conviction through an admixture of mild reproof, without losing credibility.

Along with love, friendship conditions the poet's life. Investigation of prosopograhy has been able in our day to lend a new voice to the letters from exile.

A further basic theme, spanning Ovid's entire work, is the separation of the individual from his ambience. The irony of fate decreed that after handling this problem in all its aspects in the *Heroides*, in his declining years he had to experience its truth in his own person. The line of communication, a necessity for the poet of the capital, was violently broken. This led to thoughts and feelings which seem to anticipate the modern world, and to make Ovid the secular patron saint of all authors who have written in exile.

Ovid's particular situation produced an unexpected melange of thoughts rooted in his time and others pointing to the future. A treatment of myth and religion in Ovid demands therefore subtle distinctions. Certainly myths were taken from their ritual context and radically anthropomorphized, but not divorced wholly from their original significance. Thus the poet enabled the world of ancient myth to be welcomed in other cultures, quite independently of the acceptance of their religious presuppositions. The deities of literature became the expression of a belief in genius and art. Ovid felt himself undisguisedly as dependent upon the emperor, and could therefore in the pagan sense quite correctly describe him as a god. He did not

question monarchy, and to this extent accepted its religious bases. But quite certainly he was neither a passionate admirer of Augustus nor a hero of the resistance. His sympathy for Germanicus rings true, but generally one should not look in him for personal political statements of faith where the cosmological context (*Metamorphoses*) or a rhetorical aim of securing his recall (*Tristia*) sets the tone for the treatment of imperial themes. Warmer religious tones may be detected in relation to the gods of the mysteries. Ovid's support for the worship of Isis found an echo in the hearts of many of his women readers, though running contrary to Augustus' own purposes. A profound and personal experience of the divine, as imparted by the mystery cults, may be regarded as a parallel to Ovid's *poetic* understanding of the divine as acting within a creative human mind: *est deus in nobis* ('there is a god in us').

Transmission[1]

The *love poems* enjoy the best transmission. Important manuscripts are Parisinus Lat. ('Regius') 7311 (R; 9th–10th century) and Berolinensis Hamiltonianus 471 (Y; 10th–11th century: *ars, rem., am.*).

For the *Amores* in addition must be mentioned Parisinus Lat. ('Puteaneus') 8242 (P; 9th–10th century; *epist., am.*) and Sangallensis 864 (S; 11th century). The recentiores have their own value as witnesses. For the *Amores*, RP and S comprise a single group.

For the *Ars* must be further noted: Londiniensis Mus. Brit. Add. 14 086 (A; 11th–12th century), Sangallensis 821 (Sa; 11th century) and Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. F. 4. 32 (O; 9th century; contains book 1). In this case, RSa and O belong together.

For the *Remedia* must also be considered: Etonensis 150. Bl. 6. 5 (E; 11th century), Parisinus Lat. ('Puteaneus') 8460 (K; 12th century). R and EK have a common origin.

epist.: The Puteaneus (P) is preeminent. The entire transmission has been studied by H. Dörrie (see his edition). The Sappho letter is independently transmitted.

met.: The text must be constituted eclectically. Apart from some older fragments, it rests chiefly on eight manuscripts: Marcianus Florentinus 225 (M; end of 11th century; breaks off after 14. 830: good, but often overvalued); Neapolitanus Bibl. Nat. IV F. 3 (N; 11th–12th century; book 15: 14th century., related to M); Vaticanus Urbinas 341 (U; 11th–12th century);

[1] R. J. Tarrant, in: Reynolds, Texts 257–286.

Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 1669 (E; early 12th century; often close to U); Marcianus Florentinus 223 (F; 11th–12th century; stands between MN and EU); Laurentianus 36. 12 (L; 11th–12th century; related to F and replaces F where this is lacunose); Parisinus Lat. 8001 (P; 12th century; often agrees with F; a particularly important witness for book 15); Vaticanus Lat. 5859 (W; A.D. 1275; related to M, especially useful for book 15). The question of double recensions is unsolved.[1]

fast.:[2] At least two strands of transmission go back to antiquity. A closely-knit group is formed by: Bruxellensis (Gemblacensis, Zulichemianus) 5369–5373 (G; 11th–12th century); Bodleianus (Mazarinianus) auct. F. 4, 25 (M; 15th century); Fragmentum Ilfeldense (I; 11th–12th century). From this group the most clearly divergent is Vaticanus Reginensis (sive Petavianus) 1709 (A; 10th century). Between A and GMI stand: Vaticanus Lat. (Ursinianus) 3262 (U; 11th century); Monacensis Lat. (Mallersdorfianus) 8122 (D; 12th century).

trist.: Laurentianus, olim Marcianus, 223 (L or M; 11th century) and two further classes.

Pont.: Hamburgensis, scrin. 52 F. (A; 9th century) and a second class.

Ib.: The archetype is reconstructed from eight manuscripts. Preference is given to the Galeanus 213, nunc Collegii Sanctae Trinitatis *apud* Cantabrigienses 1335 O. 7. 7 (G; early 13th century) and the Turonensis 879 (T; ca. A.D. 1200).

Hal.: Vindobonensis 277 (A; 9th century).

Influence[3]

Criticism lost no time in making itself heard: Ovid did not understand how to stop in good time (Sen. *contr.* 9. 5. 17), and he might have achieved more if he had mastered his *ingenium* rather than giving

[1] S. Mendner, Der Text der *Metamorphosen* Ovids, diss. Köln 1939; K. Dursteler, Die Doppelfassungen in Ovids *Metamorphosen*, Hamburg 1940; I. Marahrens, Angefochtene Verse und Versgruppen in den *Metamorphosen*, diss. Heidelberg 1971, is not concerned with the problem of double recension.

[2] On the establishment of a text of the *Fasti* see also H. Le Bonniec 1989, 33–60.

[3] von Albrecht, Rom, passim; H. Anton, Der Raub der Proserpina. Literarische Traditionen eines erotischen Sinnbildes und mythischen Symbols, Heidelberg 1967; M. Beller, Philemon und Baucis in der europäischen Literatur. Stoffgeschichte und Analyse, Heidelberg 1967; W. Brewer, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in European Culture, Boston 1933; M. Buonocore, Aetas Ovidiana. La fortuna di Ovidio nei codici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Sulmona 1994; A. Dinter, Der Pygmalion-Stoff in der europäischen Literatur. Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Ovid-Fabel, Heidelberg 1979;

way to it (Quint. *inst.* 10. 198). In spite of this, already in his own lifetime he was the most read poet. His literary influence on subsequent authors—Seneca, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Apuleius, Claudian—is considerable. Even Dante (d. 1321) sets Ovid as a matter of course at the side of the greatest writers: Homer, Horace, Virgil. He was read not simply on aesthetic grounds, but also on scientific, though this was a line of his influence which today is little noted. It reaches from Lucan into the scientific literature of the twelfth and 13th centuries, and even into the Romantic Period. As late as 1970, in his *Kosmogonia* for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, K. Penderecki used texts taken from Ovid.

The poetry of Ovid's exile would inspire poets who had made similar experiences. This was the case with Ermoldus Nigellus, for example, soon after Charlemagne's death.

It was the love poems which indirectly inspired the development of courtly love in the Middle Ages,[1] and perhaps the so-called 'Aubade' was derived from *Amores* 1. 13. Towards the end of the 11th century, an *aetas Ovidiana* began. Hildebert of Lavardin (d. 1133) and Baldricus (Baudri) of Bourgueil (d. 1130) wrote verses in succession to Ovid. 'Comedies' were popular, which both in matter and meter were to some extent dependent on Ovid. It was from Ovid that the rhythmic poetry of the *vagantes* (wandering poets) took its cue. The so-called *archipoeta* is an illustration. The strophes of the goliards often culminate in a quotation from Ovid. Popular legends clustered around

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H. Dörrie 1968; I. Gallo, L. Nicastri, eds., Aetates Ovidianae. Lettori di Ovidio dall'Antichità al Rinascimento, Napoli 1995; I. Glier, *Artes amandi.* Untersuchungen zu Geschichte, Überlieferung und Typologie der deutschen Minnereden, München 1971; C. Martindale, Ovid Renewed. Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century, Cambridge 1988; G. May, D'Ovide à Racine, Paris 1949; M. Moog-Grünewald, Metamorphosen der *Metamorphosen.* Rezeptionsarten der ovidischen Verwandlungsgeschichten in Italien und Frankreich im 16. und 17. Jh., Heidelberg 1979; F. Munari, Ovid im Mittelalter, Zürich 1960; Ovide en France dans la Renaissance. Avant-propos de H. Lamarque, G. Soubeille, Toulouse 1981; E. K. Rand, Ovid and his Influence, Boston 1925, repr. 1963; F. Schmitt-v. Mühlenfels, Pyramus und Thisbe. Rezeptionstypen eines Ovidischen Stoffes in Literatur, Kunst und Musik, Heidelberg 1972; K. Stackmann, Ovid im deutschen Mittelalter, Arcadia 1, 1966, 231–254; W. Stroh 1969; S. Viarre, La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Poitiers 1966; H. Walter, H.-J. Horn, eds., Die Rezeption der *Metamorphosen* des Ovid in der Neuzeit: Der antike Mythos in Text und Bild, Berlin 1995; L. P. Wilkinson 1955, 366–444; see also at the end of the section under Bibliography.

[1] Ovid's love poetry influenced e.g. John of Salisbury, William of Saint Thierry, Gottfried of Strasbourg, and Brunetto Latini.

the poet, who was looked upon as a 'magician' and even 'bishop'. In many florilegia, and even in the *Speculum Mundi* by Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264), he was the author most often cited. The *Roman de la rose* (13th century) is larded with reminiscences of Ovid. In the 11th to 13th centuries, he became one of the most important authors read in school. Didactic introductions (*accessus*) were composed, even to the *Ars amatoria*, which was sometimes earnestly conned as a textbook, and sometimes roundly criticized. About 1160 the poem was translated by Chrestien de Troyes. The surviving French adaptations begin with Maître Elie. Even the *Remedia amoris* were taken in all seriousness as a doctor's prescription. Luther was still to test them out as a young monk—though without success. Parted lovers already in the days of Abelard (d. 1142) and Héloïse appeal to the poet who had elevated such partings to the theme of many of his poems.

At times Ovid's zealous readers, on reaching maturer years would demonstrate their commitment to Christianity either by damning the erotic poet in retrospect or by finding hidden in his poems a deeper moral sense. In the early 14th century the anonymous *Ovide moralisé* saw the light in France. In conjunction with Ovid, *Allegoriae* and *Moralia* were composed. Petrarch's friend Pierre Berçuire (Berçoire, Berchorius, d. 1362) incorporated Ovid into the last book of his *Reductorium morale*. These works are alien to modern taste, but in their day they contributed from the theoretical viewpoint to the justification of poetry and myth, and in school instruction helped to control trends hostile to classical culture.

The still surviving translations into Greek, by Maximus Planudes (end of 13th century) of the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* also date from the *aetas Ovidiana*. The oldest translation of the *Metamorphoses* into a modern language (1210, but reissued as late as 1545) was made by the German Albrecht von Halberstadt. He was followed by Boner (1545) and Spreng (1571), the latter in verse. In 1480, Caxton translated Berçuire's paraphrase into English. Golding's adaptation (1567, reprinted in London 1961) was to be used by Shakespeare as a source. In French—if an unpublished translation of about 1350 into verse is ignored—the *Metamorphoses* appeared in 1484, and then again from about 1533 (books 1 and 2 by Marot, and soon afterwards the whole epic by Habert). The minor works followed between 1500 and 1509. The *Heroides* were put into English in 1567 by Turberville, as well as the *Tristia* in 1572 by Churchyard, and the *Amores* in 1597 by no lesser a poet than Christopher Marlowe.

From the early Renaissance, not only Boccaccio (d. 1375) but also Petrarch (d. 1374) may be mentioned as Ovid's admirers. Because of the punning *laurus*—*Laura*, Petrarch found the story of Daphne especially to his taste. His *Trionfo d'Amore* was inspired by *am.* 1. 2. Later he came to condemn the *Ars amatoria*. Chaucer (d. 1400) notably in his early works is an Ovidian to a superlative degree. George Chapman in his neo-Platonic poem (*Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, 1595) imagined Ovid watching Julia bathe and play the lute. Du Bellay (d. 1560) regarded himself as the 'French Ovid' and modelled his *Regrets* on the *Tristia*. With the advent of humanism, the genre represented by the *Heroides* received new impetus.[1] Spenser (d. 1599) in his allegorical descriptions of places drew inspiration from Ovid (*Faerie Queene* 1. 1. 8–9). Maxims of practical wisdom from the poet are often cited by Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592).

The *Metamorphoses* handed down a rich treasury of myth to the Middle Ages and the modern world, providing fruitful stimulus to literature, art, and music to a degree defying the cataloguer. It was precisely the greatest authors—Shakespeare, Milton,[2] Goethe,[3] Pushkin[4]—who felt spontaneously attracted to Ovid. Denmark's immortal Holberg (d. 1754) regarded his favorite Ovid as a born poet; he praised the natural fluency of his language, the shifts from seriousness to humor, the marriage of sublimity and simplicity as well as Ovid's closeness to music.[5] The Netherlands' most important poet, Vondel (d. 1679), made the *Metamorphoses*, through his translation, an integral part of the literature of his country, and in his preface he used Ovid's myths to illustrate the nature of poetry. If Ezra Pound (d. 1972) regarded the writings of Confucius and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the only reliable

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[1] Apart from H. Dörrie, 1968, see also W. Schubert, *Quid dolet haec?* Zur Sappho-Gestalt in Ovids *Heroiden* und in Christine Brückners *Ungehaltenen Reden ungehaltener Frauen*, A&A 31, 1985, 76–96; Konrad Müller kindly drew my attention to the following title not mentioned in Dörrie: Joh. Barzaeus (d. 1660), Heroum Helvetiorum epistolae, Friburgi Helvetiorum 1657; an especially famous example of the genre is Pope's early poem *Eloisa to Abelard*.

[2] On Shakespeare and Milton: L. P. Wilkinson 1955, 410–438.

[3] In opposition to Herder, who measured Ovid by the standard of what was natural and national, Goethe defended Ovid's poetic art and the world of the *Metamorphoses* ('What a remarkable individual produces is after all also nature,' Dichtung und Wahrheit 2, 10; WA 1, 27, 319–320).

[4] von Albrecht, Rom 207–278; 433–469; 613–616; 627–632; on Vondel ibid. 179–203.

[5] Holberg's brilliant Latin (!) original of his 'Life's letters' (1742–43) in: L. Holbergs Tre Levnetsbreve, ed. A. Kragelund, vol. 2, Copenhague 1965, esp. 438–442.

guides in the area of religion,[1] this may be owing to the Roman poet's freedom from dogma. In fact it was this that made possible the universal acceptance of Greek myth on the purely human level.

In many cases here the influence of Ovid mingles with that of handbooks partly derived from the *Metamorphoses*, such as Boccaccio's (d. 1375) *Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri* or Natalis Comes' *Mythologiae libri* (Patavii 1616).[2] Basic handbooks meant for painters likewise depended on Ovid. Illustrations to the poet were circulated in print and produced a European vulgate of mythology for the artist. Many book illustrators sought inspiration in the *Metamorphoses*, and in turn they inspired greater artists. Durer's *Death of Orpheus*, for example, was modelled on an Italian print. They also provided rich material for the decoration of palaces with paintings, tapestries, and sculptures. Myths such as *Pygmalion, Daphne, Pyramus and Thisbe, Philemon and Baucis* enjoyed their own later life. The presence of Ovidian themes in the work of some of the greatest masters, such as Titian or Rubens, can be no more than mentioned here. Nevertheless, the choice of theme and its interpretation are at times quite characteristic for the artist in question. Elsheimer, for example (d. 1610), painted a hospitable interior with *Philemon and Baucis.* Pieter Brueghel the Elder (d. 1569) set *Daedalus and Icarus* over a detailed landscape, while for Rembrandt (d. 1669) the *Rape of Proserpina* was a victory of darkness. Tiepolo (d. 1770) painted an *Apotheosis of Aeneas* bathed in light, Corot depicted *Byblis* in a landscape with trees, Burne-Jones (d. 1898) a vicious Circe.

Ovid's influence reached a high point in eighteenth-century England, where e.g. an illustrated Ovid in English verse appeared in 1717, as a collective enterprise of engravers and poets, the latter including Dryden. The fifteen book illustrations of the work marked the culmination of a tradition of engraving which in the last analysis may be traced back to the Italian Renaissance.

The fascination which Ovid has held for sculptors ever since Bernini's *Daphne and Apollo* continues unabated. It was especially about the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries that the simultaneous discovery was made of two Ovidian themes: Eros and transformation. Rodin, whose art shakes the bars dividing time and space, revealed himself

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[1] Letter to Harriet Monroe, July 16, 1922; W. Stroh 1969, 130.

[2] S. now B. Hege, Boccaccios Apologie der heidnischen Dichtung in den *Genealogie [= -ae] deorum gentilium,* diss. Heidelberg 1996.

as spiritually akin to the poet[1] in more than his *Ovidian Metamorphosis*. Maillol and Picasso provided illustrations for the *Ars amatoria*. Dali both painted and wrote poetry on the theme of *Narcissus*. Mention must also be made of Manfred Henninger's *Mythen um Orpheus*,[2] Hermann Finsterlin's *Verwandlungen des Zeus*,[3] and of Mac Zimmermann's *Daphne und Apoll*.[4] Every day sees new pictures inspired by Ovid.

Ovid, *poetarum ingeniosissimus* (Seneca *nat.* 3. 27. 13), paved the way for the modern notion of genius. The exiled poet himself became—especially with the advent of the Romantics[5]—a quasi-mythical figure with whom authors could identify who felt themselves isolated from their societies. It was no coincidence that poets such as Byron and Shelley, Pushkin and Grillparzer felt a particular closeness to him. The same century witnessed Delacroix's (d. 1863) *Ovid in Exile on the Black Sea* and *Ovid among the Barbarians*. Right down to our own day Ovid as a person has inspired lyrists like Geoffrey Hill and C. H. Sisson[6] and novelists such as Vintila Horia,[7] Eckart von Naso,[8] Christoph Ransmayr,[9] and Cees Nooteboom.[10] In association with the alienation of men from their ambience, the notion of their transformation into creatures has preoccupied writers of the 20th century. Examples are Kafka's *Verwandlung* and *Le metamorfosi* of Lalla Romano (Torino 1967). The authors of the *fin de siecle* rediscovered Ovid as an artist (D'Annunzio, Swinburne); later Joyce, Bernard Shaw, and T. S. Eliot significantly dwelt on figures like Daedalus, Pygmalion, and Tiresias. Italo Calvino masterly assessed a typical quality of Ovid's art: his 'light hand.'[11]

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[1] von Albrecht, Rom 517–568.

[2] Ovid, *Metamorphosen*. Buch 10: Mythen um Orpheus. Illustriert von M. Henninger, übs. von E. Zinn, mit einer Einleitung von K. Kerényi, Heidenheim 1969.

[3] Verwandlungen des Zeus. Erotische Miniaturen, Stuttgart 1970.

[4] Mac Zimmermann, Ölbilder, Zeichnungen, Graphik. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Kulturhaus, Wiesloch 1980; see now also: Helga Ruppert-Tribian, Narcissus und Echo, Passau 1989; Christian Bartholl, Ikarus. Neun Flugdrachen, Hamburg 1989.

[5] von Albrecht, Rom 433–469.

[6] Geoffrey Hill, *Ovid in the Third Reich* 1968; C. H. Sisson, *Metamorphosis* 1968.

[7] *Dieu est né en exil. Journal d'Ovide à Tomes. Roman. Préface de Daniel-Rops*, Paris 1960.

[8] *Liebe war sein Schicksal. Roman um Ovid*, Hamburg 1958.

[9] *Die letzte Welt*, Nördlingen 1988. Furthermore we should mention Luca Desiato's novel *Sulle rive del Mar Nero*, Milano 1992, and Hartmut Lange's play *Staschek oder das Leben des Ovid*.

[10] *Het volgende verhaal* (1991).

[11] I. Calvino, 'Leggerezza', in: Lezioni americane, Milano 1993, 7–35.

The idea of metamorphosis[1] proved fruitful for Goethe's philosophy of nature (*Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen; Die Metamorphose der Tiere*) and for German poetry down to Rilke. It was a notion linked with the idea of evolution. A partly autobiographical novel with Ovidian undertones by the Dutch poet Louis Couperus was called '*Metamorfose*' (1897). *Metamorphoses* in this way also becomes an appropriate title for musical pieces based on variation and development.[2] Britten thinks expressly of Ovidian figures in his *Six Metamorphoses after Ovid* for oboe solo (op. 49), London 1952. Ovid's influence on music[3] had begun with the opera *Dafne* (Florence 1594) by O. Rinuccini, with music by Peri and Caccini. It passed then to Monteverdi and Gluck and eventually to Richard Strauss. Thus in a special manner, it reaches beyond the musical theater, so congenial to the poet, into the sphere of chamber music. When will the *Metamorphoses* be discovered by the cinema?

This wide-ranging influence, appearing to burst the bounds of the arts, conforms to the quality of Ovid's imagination, uniting musical movement with quasi sculptural palpability.

Editions: Opera omnia: Franciscus PUTEOLANUS, Bononiae 1471. * Io. ANDREAS, bishop of Aleria, Romae 1471–1472. * N. HEINSIUS, Amstelodami 1652; 2nd ed. 1658–1661. * R. EHWALD, F. LEVY (= LENZ), 3 vols., Lipsiae 1888–1924. * A. PALMER, G. M. EDWARDS, G. A. DAVIES, S. G. OWEN, A. E. HOUSMAN, J. P. POSTGATE, in: J. P. POSTGATE, ed., Corpus poetarum Latinorum 1, Londini 1894; separate: Londini 1898. * G. SHOWERMAN, rev. by G. P. GOOLD (TTrN), 6 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1977–1989. * *am., med., ars, rem.*: E. J. KENNEY, Oxonii 1961, corr. repr. 1965; 2nd ed. 1994. * *am.*: P. BRANDT (TC), Lipsiae 1911. * F. LENZ (TTrN), Berlin 1965. * J. C. MCKEOWN, vol. 1 (T, prol.) Liverpool 1987; 2 (C on *book 1*) 1989. * A. RAMÍREZ DE VERGER, F. SOCAS (TTrN), Madrid 1991. * M. VON ALBRECHT (TTrN), Stuttgart (forthcoming). * *am. 1*: J. BARSBY (TTrC), Oxford

[1] C. HESELHAUS, Metamorphose-Dichtungen und Metamorphosen-Anschauungen, Euphorion 47, 1953, 121–146; E. ZINN, R. M. RILKE und die Antike, A&A 3, 1948, 201–250; s. now: E. ZINN, Viva Vox, Frankfurt 1994, 315–377; id., Ovids Arion. Eine Übertragung des jungen Rilke, ibid. 379–394.

[2] Richard Strauss composed (1945) *Metamorphosen* for 23 unaccompanied string instruments, and Georg VON ALBRECHT *Metamorphosen* for solo violin (1962).

[3] J. DRAHEIM 211–214; 259–261. DRAHEIM seems to take not much account of operas, but cf. L. P. WILKINSON 1955, 405; F. SCHMITT-VON MÜHLENFELS 1972, and see here the note at the beginning of this section; see also W. SCHUBERT, Musik und Dichtung: R. Strauss/J. Gregor: *Daphne*, in: M. VON ALBRECHT, W. SCHUBERT, eds., Musik und Dichtung, FS V. PÖSCHL, Frankfurt 1990, 375–403.

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D. MINOR POETS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

Domitius Marsus

Domitius Marsus[1] may well have studied under the redoubtable *grammaticus* Orbilius, whose weighty hand was also felt by Horace (cf. *frg.*

[1] FPL 110–111 MOREL; 141–143 BÜCHNER; D. FOGAZZA, Domiti Marsi testimonia et fragmenta (TC), Roma 1981; L. ALFONSI, I. CAZZANIGA, F. DELLA CORTE, S. MARIOTTI, Domizio Marso, Maia 16, 1964, 377–388; L. ALFONSI, E. CAMPANILE, S. MARIOTTI, E. PARATORE, Nel dossier di Domizio Marso, Maia 17, 1965, 248–270; BARDON, Litt. lat. inc. 2, 52–57; A. BARIGAZZI, Su due epigrammi di Domizio

4 Büchner). Like Horace, he belonged to Maecenas' circle (Mart. 8. 55 [56] 24; 7. 29. 7–8). With Octavian's teacher of rhetoric, Apollodorus of Pergamum, he may well have exchanged letters (Quint. *inst.* 3. 1. 18). His membership in the older generation of Augustan writers is also attested by Ovid, who puts his name first in a catalogue of contemporary poets (*Pont.* 4. 16. 5). He cannot in any way therefore have been Ovid's junior.

Marsus' chief work was his *Epigrams*, probably in several books. The title *Cicuta* (*frg.* 1) may have denoted a part or the whole collection. On top of this he wrote at least nine books of *fabellae* (*frg.* 2), an epic *Amazonis* (Mart. 4. 29. 7–8), and a prose work *De urbanitate* (Quint. *inst.* 6. 3. 102).

The epigrams were, so far as they are known, mainly poems of attack and criticism. The outspokenness with which contemporaries—Orbilius, Q. Caecilius Epirota—were assailed is reminiscent of Catullus, though the existence of the poetasters Mevius and Bavius may of course be disputed. At the same time more tender tones were not perhaps wholly absent. Domitius celebrated a *fusca Melaenis*, as Virgil's Corydon celebrated the fair Alexis (Mart. 7. 29. 8), though this does not justify any conclusions about a separate collection of elegies.

An epigrammatist can justly claim some authority in the theory of wit. In this respect the treatise *De urbanitate* may be compared with Cicero's *De oratore*, and with this it has also thematic links. Marsus offered a definition of *urbanitas*, divided *urbana dicta* into *seria*, *iocosa*,

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Marso, Athenaeum n.s. 42, 1964, 261–268; L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560, on Marsus esp. 1480–1487; F. Kühnert, Quintilians Erörterung über den Witz (*inst.* 6. 3), Philologus 106, 1962, on Marsus esp. 305–314; F. W. Lenz, Domitius Marsus oder D M?, Mnemosyne, ser. 4, 15, 1962, 248–255; L. Lombardi, A proposito di alcuni recenti studi su Domizio Marso, BStudLat 7, 1977, 343–358; S. Mariotti, Intorno a Domizio Marso, Miscellanea A. Rostagni, Torino 1963, 588–614; I. R. McDonald, The vir bonus and Quintilian 6. 3, SPh 72, 1975, 237–245; M. J. McGann, The Date of Tibullus' Death, Latomus 29, 1970, 774–780; W. Morel, Drei lateinische Epigramme, Gymnasium 66, 1959, 318–319; O. Musso, La vendetta di Bavio, A&R n.s. 16, 1971, 130–132; A. Pangallo, Domizio Marso contro Bavio, Maia 28, 1976, 29–33; E. S. Ramage, The *De urbanitate* of Domitius Marsus, CPh 54, 1959, 250–255; R. Reggiani, Un epigramma di Domizio Marso in Quintiliano, Prometheus 7, 1981, 43–49; G. Runchina, Letteratura e idiologia nell'età augustea, AFMC 3, 1978/79, 15–87; E. de Saint-Denis, Evolution sémantique de *urbanus-urbanitas*, Latomus 3, 1939, 5–24, esp. 20–22; F. Skutsch, Domitius Marsus, RE 5, 1, 1903, 1430–1432; A. Traglia, Poeti latini dell'età giulio-claudia misconosciuti, I: Domizio Marso, C&S 26, 1987, 44–53.

and *media*, and subdivided *seria dicta* into *honorifica, contumeliosa*, and *media* (Quint. *inst.* 6. 3. 104–108).[1]

A high opinion of the artistic content of the epigrams is justified by the verses on the deaths of Virgil and Tibullus (*frg.* 7). Its vocabulary suggests Tibullus' own poetry (1. 3. 57–58), but whereas he reserves Elysium for lovers, Marsus joins two representatives of quite different literary genres: the 'tender' elegy and the 'heroic' epic have alike been left orphans, as the antithesis between *molles* and *forti* emphasizes. The circumstance that these lines by Marsus were so often cited may be connected with the feeling that this silence on poetry's part was ominous. A first decade of great expectations and hopes was followed by one of only modest successes—the ransoming of the spoils of Crassus—and in part even miscarriages (Augustus' laws on marriage). The 'golden' age more and more tended to reveal its iron features, and the principate was turning out to be a monarchy.

Martial, who regards himself as a second Marsus (8. 55 [56] 24; cf. 2. 71), sets himself in a line of succession also including Pedo and Catullus (Mart. 5. 5. 6; 7. 99. 7). It was quite natural for him to admire Marsus' epigrams while at the same time rejecting his long epic, which could not stand comparison with the concentrated style of Persius (Mart. 4. 29. 7–8). The adjective *levis* underlines the point that in this weighty genre Marsus was not at home.

The fact that Pliny names Marsus as a source for the history of art in his book 34 implies that he described works of art, and so belongs to the predecessors of descriptive or 'objective' lyric illustrated also by Martial or Statius.

Quintilian made use of the *De urbanitate* in the non-Ciceronian portions of his section on the *ridiculum*.[2] It is possible that Horace had consulted Marsus already in writing the *Ars poetica*.[3]

Albinovanus Pedo[4]

Albinovanus Pedo, one of Ovid's friends (*Pont.* 4. 10; cf. 4. 16. 6), composed a mythological epic (*Theseis*: Ov. *Pont.* 4. 10. 71) and one

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1 E. S. Ramage 1959; F. Kühnert 1962, 305–314.

2 Quint. *inst.* 6. 3. 25–28; 89–91; 102–112; F. Kühnert 1962, 305–314; I. R. McDonald 1975, 244.

3 L. Duret 1983.

4 FPL 115–116 Morel; 147–148 Büchner; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 2, 69–73;

on contemporary history describing Germanicus' campaign in Germany (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 90; Sen. *suas.* 1. 15), perhaps inspired by his own wartime experiences as *praefectus equitum* (cf. Tac. *ann.* 1. 60. 2). Martial knows him as an epigrammatist.[1] The Younger Seneca calls him *fabulator elegantissimus* (*epist.* 122. 15), while the Elder praises his verve (*suas.* 1. 15). A passage on Germanicus' voyage in the North Sea (A.D. 16),[2] developing variations on the *topos* of human transgression of mortal limits (cf. Hor. *carm.* 1. 3), anticipates the description of the first experience of sea travel (Val. Fl. 2. 34–71). The theme of such transgression had, thanks to Caesar, acquired particular relevance in contemporary literature (Vell. 2. 46. 1; Lucan 4. 143–147). The parallel with Alexander (Curtius Rufus) could not be avoided.

In language Virgilian influence is detectible, but the excited narrative style, evinced by the frequent use of *iam*, points to later developments. Pedo acts as a link between Virgil and Lucan to the extent that, in the description of nature, myth is replaced by fantasy. By the use of surreal estrangement and drama, contemporary history is raised to the mythical level.[3]

Ovid lauds the poet as *sidereus Pedo* (*Pont.* 4. 16. 6). The possibility of his influence on later epic writers and on Tacitus[4] cannot be dismissed.

H. W. Benario, The Text of Albinovanus Pedo, Latomus 32, 1973, 166–169; V. Bongi, Nuova esegesi del frammento di Albinovano Pedone, RIL 82, 1949, 28–48; A. Cozzolino, Due precedenti lucanei, Vichiana 5, 1976, 54–61; H. Dahlmann, Cornelius Severus, AAWM 1975, 6, 128–137; D. Detlefsen, Zur Kenntnis der Alten von der Nordsee, Hermes 32, 1897, 190–201, esp. 196–201; L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560, esp. 1496–1501; E. Pianezzola, Au-delà des frontières du monde. Un topos rhétorique pour un rétablissement du texte d'Albinovanus Pedo (p. 116 Morel = 148 Büchner, v. 19), REL 62, 1984, 192–205; E. Rodríguez-Almeida, Qualche osservazione sulle *Esquiliae* patrizie e il *Lacus Orphei*, in: L'*urbs*. Espace urbain et histoire (1er s. ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'Ecole française de Rome (Rome 1985), Rome 1987, 415–428; V. Tandoi, Albinovano Pedone e la retorica Giulio-Claudia delle conquiste, SIFC 36, 1964, 129–168; 39, 1967, 5–66.

[1] 1 *praef.*; 2. 77. 5; 5. 5. 6; 10. 19. 10; cf. Sidon. *carm.* 9. 260.

[2] D. Detlefsen 1897, 196, takes a different view, putting Drusus' North Sea voyage in 12 B.C.

[3] L. Duret 1983, 1501.

[4] On the *poeticus color* in Tac. *Germ.* 34 and *ann.* 2. 23–24, cf. V. Bongi 1949; H. W. Benario 1973, 169.

Cornelius Severus[1]

Cornelius Severus, a late Augustan from a distinguished family, composed historical epics. His *carmen regale*[2] (Ovid *Pont.* 4. 16. 9) might be identical with his *Res Romanae* (Prob. *nom.* GL 4. 208. 16–17), though quite clearly the *Bellum Siculum* was an independent work (Quint. *inst* 10. 1. 89). Ovid, who had a high opinion of him, addressed an epistle to him (*Pont.* 4. 2), and expressly as a *first* letter. This means that 1. 8 must be directed to another Severus.

The surviving passage on Cicero's death has parallels in prose. An example is the tradition in the historians of the *consummatio totius vitae* on the part of some hero at his death. Seneca (*suas.* 6. 21) refers to Sallust and Livy (*frg. lib.* 120) and establishes a link with the *laudationes funebres* and memorial addresses. About a decade after Severus, Velleius took up the same theme (2. 66. 2–5). With his lost description of Etna, too, the poet was taking a place in a fixed tradition (Sen. *epist.* 79. 5).

The language and style are reminiscent of Virgil and Ovid. Like Ovid, Severus prefers to set an epithet before a strong caesura, and its accompanying substantive at the end of the line. The presentation is enlivened by questions, apostrophes and antitheses. Possibly, with his words *versificator quam poeta melior*, 'a better versifier than poet', Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 89) is hinting that Severus' style was not so much poetic as rhetorical. The verdict of the same Quintilian on Lucan may be compared: *magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus*, 'more suitable for imitation by the orator than by the poet' (10. 1. 90). Severus in fact anticipates Lucan's diction by his habit of interrupting his epic narrative with rhetorical reflections which have an almost lyrical energy and power. Yet only a born poet could write a

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[1] FPL 116–119 Morel; 148–152 Büchner; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 2, 61–64; E. Bolisani, Intorno a Cornelio Severo, AAPad 1934–1935, 293–314; A. Cozzolino, Due precedenti lucanei, Vichiana 5, 1976, 54–61; H. Dahlmann, Cornelius Severus, AAWM 1975, 6; L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560, esp. 1492–1496; P. Grenade, Le mythe de Pompée et les Pompéiens sous les Césars, REA 52, 1950, 28–63; H. Homeyer, Klage um Cicero. Zu dem epischen Fragment des Cornelius Severus, AUS 10, 1961, 327–334; H. Homeyer, Ciceros Tod im Urteil der Nachwelt, Altertum 17, 1971, 165–174, esp. 169–170; F. Skutsch, Cornelius Severus, RE 4, 1, 1900, 1509–1510.

[2] *Regale* does not necessarily mean that the poem dealt with the period of the Roman kings.

line such as *pinea frondosi coma murmurat Appennini*, 'the piny hair of the leafy Apennines rustles' (*frg.* 10 Büchner).

The circumstance that Cicero's death had become a theme of rhetorical declamations does not exclude, as Severus' example proves, an element of personal feeling. It is topics of this kind which allow to be put into words the pain at the powerlessness of the spirit in the face of military dictatorship. The passage[1] we quoted from Quintilian might make some readers believe that Severus lacked talent; the verve of the preserved text, which bears comparison with Lucan, is the best proof to the contrary.

[1] A slightly different view in: R. Häussler, Das historische Epos von Lucan . . ., Heidelberg 1978, 231, n. 60.

III. PROSE

A. HISTORY

HISTORIANS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

The transition from the historical writing of the Republic to that of the Augustan period is not marked by any hard and fast boundary. The older generation of historians still owed allegiance, by birth and outlook, to the Republic. This explains why Sallust is commonly considered a Republican author, although his activity coincides with the first years when Virgil and Horace were at work. Without calling into question the traditional reckoning, we might note his overlap with early Augustan literature, which is more than a simple fact of chronology. The distance to which it gave rise was a necessary factor in his balanced verdict on both Cato and Caesar, and the far horizons of the *Historiae* already point ahead to Livy and Trogus. Just like Sallust, Asinius Pollio was also a senator and was still able to speak of the period he described with the expertise of one who had been actively engaged in politics. Since however, unlike Sallust, who was his senior by ten years, he lived to experience the Augustan peace, and since he wrote his history, like Livy, after the battle of Actium, we might be justified in discussing him within the framework of the Augustan period. In Sallust, as in Pollio, a creative tension prevails between their senatorial and Republican backgrounds, and the stormy changes of the time in which they lived. Their attention is fixed on the history of their own century. They do not offer general accounts.

The younger historians Livy and Pompeius Trogus, on the other hand, were not senators. As professional writers, they were removed from practical politics. Meanwhile the state had become more solidly established. A universal empire demanded wide-ranging presentations of its history, and peace offered the leisure necessary to make them. Both authors opened for their generation two complementary paths to a new Roman identity. Livy looked within, to Rome, and transmitted, under the guise of the Italian past, a code of behavior looking to the future: Romanity was transformed into humanity. Trogus

directed his readers' eyes abroad. He considered both the world-wide scope of the empire and its place in universal history.

In any faithful account of the period, the name of the historian T. Labienus must not be overlooked. It was the Senate's decree ordering the burning of his works which led him to end his own life (Sen. *contr.* 10, *praef.* 4–8).[1]

ASINIUS POLLIO

Life and Dates

C. Asinius Pollio (76 B.C.–A.D. 5) was a senator and politician who decided to join Caesar (in 49), and Mark Antony (in 43). His consulship (40) was celebrated in the 4th *eclogue* by Virgil. After his triumph over the Parthini (39), Pollio withdrew from public life. In 31 he remained neutral.

More than politics, it was literature which now engaged his attention, and he took the right steps to encourage it. In the *Atrium Libertatis* he founded Rome's first public library, a move fraught with consequences for the future. Even perhaps more significant was his introduction of public readings (*recitationes*) of contemporary works. His house, sheltering many artistic treasures[2] (including the 'Farnese Bull'), became a meeting place for poets. Catullus, who was about ten years older, had praised Pollio's wit (Catullus 9. 6). Helvius Cinna dedicated a *propemptikon* to him, Virgil three *eclogues* (3, 4, and 8), and Horace the first poem of his 2nd book of *Odes*. When the Greek historian Timagenes fell out of favor with Augustus, it was Pollio who lent support to the author whom he had found previously unsympathetic.

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[1] Labienus: HRR 2, pp. C–CI: Speeches ORF p. 422–424 Malcovati 4th ed. 1976; H. Peter, Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I. und ihre Quellen, vol. 1, Leipzig 1897, 295–296; Bardon, Litt. lat. inc. 2, 96. The historical works of Q. Dellius (an acquaintance of Horace) are also lost, as are those of Julius Marathus, C. Drusus, Julius Saturninus, Aquilius Niger (four of Suetonius' sources), Baebius Macer, L. Arruntius (consul 22 B.C., a pedestrian imitator of Sallust), Clodius Licinus (*Res Romanae*) etc.; in general, cf. L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560.

[2] Pliny *nat.* 36. 23–24; 33–34.

Survey of Works

Along with *tragedies, love poems, writings on grammar,* and *speeches,* his *historiae* deserve particular mention. They were composed following Actium (Horace, *carm.* 2. 1) and in 17 books treated contemporary history from 60 on.[1] The only coherent passage of any length is his evaluation of Cicero (Sen. *suas.* 6. 24). To these may be added three surviving letters (*apud* Cic. *fam.* 10. 31–33).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Pollio wrote mostly from original sources. He had access to Caesar's entourage whose *Commentarii* he aimed to surpass in fidelity. His *diligentia* was famous (Quint. *inst.* 10. 2. 25). He was also aware of the way in which Republican politics worked. In these circumstances the loss of his writings is to be regretted. Occasionally, surviving imitators of Pollio allow us to check Caesar's statements.

Literary Technique

The only fragment of any length (Sen. *suas.* 6. 24) justifies the statement that Pollio, like many other historians, introduced, on the occasion of the death of particular persons, retrospective evaluations of their lives. In his individual treatment he follows well-defined categories: *ingenium, industria, natura, fortuna.* Seneca expressly warns us against drawing conclusions from this successful passage about the literary qualities of the whole work. In this place, Pollio, he hints, may have been inspired by his subject—Cicero.

The tendency which may be observed throughout the entire fragment, of suggesting a discreditable interpretation under the guise of objectivity, seems to point ahead to Tacitus.[2]

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[1] Surviving allusions refer to the Battle of Pharsalus (Suet. *Iul.* 30), the Battle of Thapsus and Cato's death (Hor. *carm.* 2. 1. 24), the Spanish War (Suet. *Iul.* 55), Cicero's death (Sen. *suas.* 6. 24), Cassius and Brutus (Tac. *ann.* 4. 34). Where the account ended is unknown. On the *Histories,* see also R. Häussler, Keine griechische Version der *Historien* Pollios, RhM 109, 1966, 339–355. It is no longer believed that Pollio was the author of the *Bellum Africum.*

[2] An example is the use of an 'annihilating' conditional clause to form a surprising conclusion: *atque ego ne miserandi quidem exitus eum fuisse iudicarem, nisi ipse tam miseram mortem putasset* (Pollio), cf. Tac. *hist.* 1. 49 on Galba: *omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*

Furthermore, we know from Suetonius (*Iul.* 30) that Pollio used the technique of interpreting events not by a personal commentary, but by brief utterances put in the mouth of the characters involved.

An example of a strongly condensed narrative, split up into cola and filled with parentheses, is found in the first half of the letter in Cicero *fam.* 10. 32, though there is here also concrete detail and color. The cynical toughness is reminiscent on the one side of Gaius Gracchus, on the other of Tacitus.

Language and Style[1]

Pollio's style in ancient eyes was 'harsh and dry' (Tac. *dial.* 21. 7), his phrasing 'uneven'. His sentences suddenly left the reader in the lurch by breaking off unexpectedly (Sen. *epist.* 100. 7). It often sounds as if the author were a generation older than Cicero (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 113). This impression was not caused by artificial archaisms, which Pollio in fact rejected, but by jarring juxtaposition, springing from the desire to find the most appropriate expression. His language is profoundly related to reality. *Male hercule eveniat verbis, nisi rem sequuntur*, 'to hell with words if they do not follow the subject (spring from reality)' (*apud* Porph. on *Hor. ars* 311).

Only in his private declamatory exercises did he occasionally introduce rhetorical flourishes. In his public speeches, he despised them (Sen. *contr.* 4 *praef.* 2).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Pollio was an incorruptible and sharp-tongued critic. Horace trusted him, with few others, to give a verdict on his poems (*sat.* 1. 10. 85). Pollio's utterances on great authors in fact, in spite of their lack of respect, deserve serious examination. Even if they were caricatures, they illumine essential differences in stylistic principles and literary genres.

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[1] E. Wölfflin, Über die Latinität des Asinius Pollio, ALL 6, 1889, 85–106; J. H. Schmalz, Über den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio, München 2nd ed. 1890.

In Sallust, Pollio found fault with the deliberate archaisms (Suet. *gramm.* 10) and the inappropriate employment of *transgredi* and *transgressus* to describe, not movement on foot, but by ship (Gell. 10. 26. 1). In this case the extremely prosaic *transfretare* would have been the appropriate word. The difference in stylistic priorities is apparent. Unlike Sallust, Pollio was concerned not with artistic estrangement, but with *proprietas verborum.*[1] His sober and precise Atticism[2] is distinct from the language of Sallust who rivaled both Cato and Thucydides.

This meant that, from a linguistic standpoint, he was bound to find Caesar's[3] *Commentarii* satisfying. Instead, here he found fault with the content. The great general, according to him, lacked precision and truthfulness. He was too easily hoodwinked by his authorities, and even where relying on his own memories, reported wrongly (either on purpose or negligently). As an excuse Pollio politely assumed that Caesar might perhaps have planned a second improved edition (Suet. *Caesar* 56). The criteria applied here—*diligentia* and *veritas*—do credit to Pollio as an historian, and indirectly illustrate the difference between genres. A writer of memoirs is not primarily concerned with establishing historical facts but with presenting a picture of himself. Even if a determination to falsify throughout is not assumed, he does not write as a scholar but as an apologist. As an historian, Pollio demands truth, while in the *commentarius* Caesar may be satisfied with probability.

Pollio's verdict on Cicero is on the moral plane, and so belongs to the following section. Something similar may perhaps be said of the remark on Livy's Patavinity (see Livy, below p. 835, note 1).

Ideas II

In spite of his Republican sympathies (*apud* Cic. *fam.* 10. 31. 5), Pollio was in alliance, and even on friendly terms, with Caesar and Antony.

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[1] His friend L. Ateius Philologus, also an acquaintance of Sallust, advised Asinius in his historical work *ut noto civilique et proprio sermone utatur vitetque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii et audaciam in translationibus* (Suet. *gramm.* 10).

[2] *Tristes ac ieiuni Pollionem imitantur* (Quint. *inst.* 10. 2. 17). Here, the Attici seem to be a different group, though perhaps Quintilian is rather opposing three ascetic (pseudo-Attic) types of style to a prolix (pseudo-Ciceronian) manner. Pollio's closeness to the Atticists is shown by his criticism of Cicero (*inst.* 12. 1. 22).

[3] G. Vrind, Asinii Pollionis iudicium de Caesaris commentariis, Mnemosyne 2, 56, 1928, 207–213.

Whether his often evinced wait-and-see attitude in the Civil War was determined more by love of peace (ibid. 2) or cautious calculation must be left undecided. He took part in the peace of Brundisium as one of Antony's representatives (App. *civ.* 5. 64). Although he later abandoned Antony, towards Augustus he maintained a certain aloofness. As his life shows, and as he himself allows us to deduce, it was his own freedom which counted perhaps for him as among the highest good.[1] He was wise enough to withdraw from politics in good time, and to alternate regularly between work and leisure (cf. Sen. *dial.* 9. 17. 7). His remark that Cicero lacked restraint and reserve indirectly serves as an excellent description by the historian of himself.[2] In his handling of language he was an ascetic, in his life he was not free from a certain egotism, but while servile attitudes multiplied around him, he was able to preserve his own independence.

Influence

Traces of Pollio's *History* are found in Livy, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Appian, and Plutarch.[3] As a speaker he is often mentioned in company with Messalla.[4]

Editions: carm.: FPL, pp. 99–100 MOREL (= p. 130 BÜCHNER). * *gramm.*: GRF 1, 493–502. * *hist.*: HRR 2, 67–70. * *orat.*: ORF 3, 174–186. ** *Bibl.*: G. ZECCHINI (s. below), esp. 1293–1295.

J. ANDRÉ, La vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollion, Paris 1949. * BARDON, Lit. lat. inc. 2, 23–24; 80; 94–95. * C. C. COULTER, Pollio's History of the Civil War, CW 46, 1952, 33–36. * P. GROEBE, Asinius 25, RE 2, 2, 1896, 1589–1602. * A. LA PENNA, La storiografia, in: F. MONTANARI, ed., La prosa latina, Roma 1991, 13–93. * J. P. NÉRAUDAU, Asinius Pollion et la poésie, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1732–1750. * A. J. POMEROY, The Appropriate Comment. Death Notices in the Ancient Historians, Frankfurt 1991, 142–145. * SYME, Revolution 2nd ed. 1952, 538 (ind.). * G. ZECCHINI, Asinio Pollione: Dall'attività politica alla riflessione storiografica, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1265–1296. * G. ZECCHINI, Il *Carmen de bello Actiaco.* Storiografia e lotta politica in età augustea, Stuttgart 1987.

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[1] *Deinde qui et me et rem publicam* (the sequence may be noted) *vindicare in libertatem paratus sim* (Pollio apud Cic. *fam.* 10. 31. 5).

[2] *Utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius adversas ferre potuisset* (*apud* Sen. *suas.* 6. 24).

[3] The question of his influence on Dio Cassius is uncertain.

[4] Vell. 2. 36. 2; Colum. 1, *praef* 30; Tac. *dial.* 12. 17; Quint. *inst.* 12. 11. 28.

LIVY

Life and Dates

Livy's native city of Patavium (Padua) was said in legend to be older than Rome (cf. Livy 1. 1. 2–3). It was one of the greatest metropolises of the Roman empire, and thanks to its trade in wool (Strabo 5. 218) one of the richest. In spite of their prosperity the Paduans were well known for their distinguishing puritanism (Pliny *epist.* 1. 14. 6), and in fact Livy (T. Livius), like his fellow-citizen Paetus Thrasea later (Tac. *ann.* 16. 21), championed Roman values with particular conviction and warmth. Whether Pollio's remark about Livy's '*Patavinitas*'[1] refers to this moral attitude, or, as Quintilian[2] presupposes, to his language, is a matter of dispute. Certainly the historian bore the stamp of his origin. He viewed Roman history, not as an 'insider', but as the denizen of a city which had long been in alliance with Rome, though it had only received the privileges of a *municipium* after the middle of the 1st century B.C. This 'position on the margins' determined a standpoint which superficially may be compared with that of Polybius. But, unlike Polybius, Livy lacked experience of politics. Never a senator and of provincial background, among Rome's chroniclers, he observed his subject from a certain distance.

There was also a distance of time separating Livy from the Republic. Jerome[3] states that he was born in 59 B.C., though he notes he had the same age as M. Valerius Messalla, whose birth falls in 64. If the story that the two were exact contemporaries has prior authority, Livy too must have been born in 64.[4] But if Jerome argued that Messalla was contemporary with Livy on the basis of a false date, the traditional birthdate of 59 may be retained for Livy. Livy belonged in any case to Augustus' generation, and was younger than Virgil.

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[1] *Patavinitas*: The best explanation in my view is given by LEEMAN, Form 99–109, who emphasizes a certain detachment from Rome. D. G. MORHOF, De Patavinitate Liviana, 1685, says that it is hard to decide whether there is more Patavinity in Livy or asinity in Asinius. Most recently, P. FLOBERT, La *Patavinitas* de Tite-Live d'après les mœurs littéraires du temps, REL 59, 1981, 193–206 (lack of *urbanitas*).

[2] Quint. *inst.* 1. 5. 56; 8. 1. 3.

[3] *Chron.* 1958.

[4] In favor of 64 B.C.: G. M. HIRST, Collected Classical Papers, Oxford 1938, 12–14; R. SYME 1959, 27–87, esp. 40–42.

When the so-called First Triumvirate (60 B.C.) sealed the fate of the Republic, and Caesar was conquering Gaul (58–51 B.C.), Livy was still a child. He was still not an adult when the crossing of the Rubicon (49 B.C.) and Pompey's death (48 B.C.) took place. The respect which he accords to Caesar's assassins[1] and his enthusiastic support of Pompey (Tac. *ann.* 4. 34) reflect these experiences. He was approaching adulthood when in 43 B.C. the Paduans, loyal to the senate, refused admission to the envoys of the 'public enemy' Antony (Cic. *Phil.* 12. 4. 10) and when in the same year Cicero was proscribed and murdered.[2] Without concealing the weaknesses of Cicero's character, Livy admired the orator and stylist, whom he later recommended to his own son as a model for imitation.[3]

The end of the civil wars and the beginning of a secure and peaceful time in Italy—the *pax Augusta*—permitted Livy, who meanwhile had reached maturity, to form the plan of writing a history of Rome. It cannot be supposed that already during the civil war Livy had left Patavium to face the dangers of life at Rome. There must have been in his hometown eminent *grammatici* and rhetors with whom he could study. It was only after Augustus' victory that we find him in the capital, and indeed personally known to the *princeps* who chaffed him good-naturedly as a 'Pompeian' (Tac. *ann.* 4. 34). Livy gave early encouragement to the later emperor Claudius to take up history (Suet. *Claud.* 41. 1). Already in his lifetime he was so famous that an admirer travelled to Rome from Cadiz for no other purpose except to see him (Pliny *epist.* 2. 3. 8). None of this proves that Livy spent the rest of his life in Rome.[4] He died in his native city, according to Jerome (chron. 2034) in A.D. 17.[5]

Livy had experienced the birth of the Roman principate,[6] though he was still haunted by the dream of the Republic's greatness. His life embraced the change of epochs. The figures whom he had revered

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[1] His critical remark about Caesar (*apud* Sen. *nat.* 5. 18. 4) has recently been referred to Marius (cf. Livy *frg.* 20 Jal). But Caesar's name is better attested. Also in favor of an allusion to Caesar, H. Strasburger, Livius über Caesar, in: E. Lefèvre and E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 265–291.

[2] Livy 120 *apud* Sen. *suas.* 6. 17 and 22 = *frgg.* 59–60 Jal.

[3] Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 39; cf. 2. 5. 20; on the 'obituary notice' of Cicero A. J. Pomeroy 1991, 146–148, cited above (p. 834.).

[4] Livy must have spent much of his life in Patavium: V. Lundström, Kring Livius' liv och verk, Eranos 27, 1929, 1–37.

[5] A.D. 12 (corresponding to a birth date of 64 B.C.) is less probable.

[6] J. Deininger, Livius und der Prinzipat, Klio 67, 1985, 265–272.

in his youth were men of Republican Rome, with deep roots in the past. Yet, under the eyes of the historian as he grew older, developments were unfolding whose consequences extend into late antiquity and, to some degree, right into the modern world.

Survey of Works

Livy's rhetorical and philosophical writings[1] have not survived. His principal work, *Ab urbe condita libri CXLII*,[2] treated Roman history from the beginnings to the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. Of the originally 142 volumes, only books 1–10 and 21–45 are preserved. The remainder—more than three-quarters of the work—is known only by summaries (*periochae*), extracts (*epitomae*) or fragments.

The 1st book appeared after the *princeps* had assumed the title of Augustus (27 B.C.), but before he had closed the temple of Janus for the second time in 25 (Livy 1. 19. 3). The work was probably written in continuous sequence. A simple calculation produces an average of three to four books a year, although the actual pace of work may naturally have varied. Certain chronological hints support this general conclusion: 9. 18. 6 must have been produced before the surrender of Crassus' standards in 20 B.C.; and 28. 12. 12 after the Cantabrian War of 19 B.C. According to the *periocha* of book 121 this book, along with all its successors, appeared only after Augustus' death. This means that Livy, in the last three to four years of his life, published 22 books (unless they appeared posthumously). In any case a speedy pace of work is to be presupposed, and should be taken into account when the author's use of sources is considered.[3]

The preserved portions of the work fall[4] into groups of five books apiece, as the prefaces to books 6, 21, and 31 confirm. On their side these groupings may be united into larger units numbering ten or fifteen books.

1–15: Early history down to the eve of the First Punic War (265 B.C.). Of these, 1–5 go down to the end of the invasion of Rome by the Gauls.

[1] Sen. *epist.* 100. 9 (dialogues, books on philosophy), Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 39 (letter of advice to his son); the existence of the philosophical writings is doubted by U. Schindel, Livius philosophus, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 411–419.

[2] The title is imprecise, since Livy began before Rome's foundation. With the title may be compared Pliny *A fine Aufidi Bassi*, and Tacitus *Ab excessu Divi Augusti.*

[3] E. Mensching, Zur Entstehung und Beurteilung von *Ab urbe condita*, Latomus 45, 1986, 572–589.

[4] P. A. Stadter 1972; G. Wille 1973; A. Hus, La composition des IVe et V[e] décades de Tite-Live, RPh 47, 1973, 225–250 (rejects any division); P. Jal, Sur la composition de la 'V[e] décade' de Tite-Live, RPh 49, 1975, 278–285.

16–30: The period of the first two Punic Wars (264–201 B.C.). Books 21–30 deal with the Second Punic War.

31–45: The period of Rome's eastern wars (201–167 B.C.), presented in three groups of five books.

For the lost portions, it has been assumed, for example, that a division into groups of 15[1] was determined by periods in which different personalities dominated: Scipio Minor (books 46–60); Marius (61–75); Sulla (76–90); Pompey (91–105);[2] Caesar (106–120); Octavian's struggle to secure the *pax Augusta* (121–135). But a division into decades (groups of ten books) has also been championed.[3] In either case the last group of books (136–142 or 141–142) must appear incomplete, leading to the conclusion that Livy planned his work in 150 books and aimed to take his story down to the death of Augustus. Yet it has also been argued[4] that the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. might have been used precisely to form an appropriate climax. And in the rest of the work, too, 'pentadic' divisions must not be too rigidly accepted: an example is Caesar's war in Gaul, which does not occur as late as book 106 but was already mentioned in book 103. Similarly, Octavian was not found for the first time in book 121, but already in book 116. Moreover, books 109–116 are cited independently as *Belli civilis libri I–VIII*, which contradicts a division into fives in this part of the work. A division after the Battle of Actium and Octavian's triumph (book 133) would also be more intelligible than a break after book 135, and the secular games (book 136) should more appropriately be treated as a conclusion than a new beginning.

Livy's conscious effort to preserve his 'pentads' in the surviving portions is visible from the proem to book 31. The third decade has a particularly convincing structure, juxtaposing a 'defensive' and an 'offensive' pentad. In the fourth decade, books 35 and 36 certainly form a pair, suggesting decadic rather than pentadic structure.[5] Conclusions about what is lost based on what is preserved should be drawn only with circumspection.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Description of Sources. Livy does not draw so much on documents as on secondary sources. He names the latter only intermittently, especially where facts are in dispute. There he mentions his chief source in the first place, and secondly the authority for a diverging

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1 G. Wille 1973.

2 R. M. Ogilvie, *Titi Livi lib. XCI*, PCPhS n.s. 30, 1984, 116–125.

3 P. A. Stadter 1972; T. J. Luce 1977, 13–24.

4 R. Syme 1959, 70; rejected by E. Burck, Gnomon 35, 1963, 780.

5 A. C. Scafuro, Pattern, Theme, and Historicity in Livy, Books 35 and 36, ClAnt 6, 1987, 249–285.

version.[1] This means that we must read between the lines: *Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores* (32. 6. 8) means only Polybius and Claudius Quadrigarius, just as *Graeci auctores* (29. 27. 13) probably means only Polybius and *veterrimi* and *antiquissimi auctores* only Fabius Pictor.

As for the sources of the first decade, there is no certainty. Parallel versions are found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy's contemporary. Certainly historians of the 1st century were used: Valerius Antias, the *popularis* Licinius Macer, and to a smaller extent Aelius Tubero,[2] whose sympathies were with the *optimates*. From the 6th book on, Claudius Quadrigarius[3] was consulted. Information derived from Calpurnius Piso and Fabius Pictor may be second-hand.

The principal sources for the third decade were on the one hand Coelius Antipater, and on the other Valerius Antias. Information given by the latter was again supplemented by Livy from Claudius Quadrigarius. Since Coelius followed the same sources as Polybius, whom he may even have read, in the third decade it is safe to distinguish no more than two traditions: a Coelian and Polybian as opposed to a Valerian and Claudian tradition. In general the latter is less trustworthy, though there are also contrary instances.[4] Polybius seems at first to exercise only indirect influence.[5] This may be because it was only in the course of his work that Livy came to recognize the significance of this historian. It could also be that in the third decade he purposely gave preference to other sources, including Coelius, in order to secure an artistically coherent picture.

In the fourth and fifth decades, particularly for events in the East, Polybius was used directly. This meant a great enrichment of the

[1] H. Tränkle 1977, 20 following A. Klotz. On Livy's use of sources, see most recently T. Leidig 1993. According to Leidig those chapters of book 30 which are close to Polybius were drawn from an annalist, who had combined chapters from Polybius with older annalistic traditions; the same annalist served as a source in other parts of the third decade.

[2] R. M. Ogilvie, Commentary 16–17.

[3] These historians, lacking precise information, worked facts and trends of their own day into their presentation of Rome's early history. This means that Livy may serve indirectly also as a source for the history of the opening of the revolutionary period: D. Gutberlet, Die erste Dekade des Livius als Quelle zur gracchischen und sullanischen Zeit, Hildesheim 1985.

[4] Livy's description of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps contains un-Polybian features which, when impartially scrutinized, seem equally credible. J. Seibert, Der Alpenübergang Hannibals. Ein gelöstes Problem?, Gymnasium 95, 1988, 21–73, esp. 36–42.

[5] H. Tränkle 1977, 195.

tradition in Latin. For events at Rome and in the West, once again Quadrigarius and Antias provided material. The latter furnished, in spite of his acknowledged failings, of which Livy was aware, important details for senatorial proceedings and senatorial administration. Even Cato could be adduced, though Cato's speech (34. 2–4) contains thoughts drawn from the post-Catonian period, suggesting Livy's own authorship.[1]

In the case of the lost portions, for the period following 146 B.C., Posidonius must be considered as a source, since it was he who had continued Polybius' work. Other authorities were Sempronius Asellio, Sulla, Sisenna, Caesar, Sallust, and Asinius Pollio. In the sections dealing with contemporary history, Livy could also rely on his own experience and the evidence of eye-witnesses. Our picture of the historian, thanks to the loss of the parts dealing with more recent events, which in ancient historians mostly form the center of interest, is quite one-sided.

Method of using sources. Livy clings closely to tradition.[2] Unlike the annalists, he neither biases his picture towards the palpably modern, nor invents romantic additions. This means that within the bounds imposed on him he aims at truthfulness,[3] though of course modern scholarship may not be expected from him. The demands of Polybius (12. 25e)—critical study of documents, personal inspection of the scenes of action, personal political experience—are not met in the portions preserved. We do not know how he handled the history of his own period.

In particular sections he tends in each case to follow one main source while adducing others by way of verification or supplement.[4] This means that his historical value in essence corresponds to that of the prevailing model. On the whole his selection of sources displays intelligence, but criticism often tends to be belated. Livy remarks his

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[1] M. Pape, Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom, diss. Hamburg 1975, 83–84.

[2] Even when he himself basically is of another opinion: Livy 8. 18. 2–3; 8. 40. 4–5. On remarkable omissions s. now J. Poucet, Sur certains silences curieux dans le premier livre de Tite-Live, in: R. Altheim-Stiehl, M. Rosenbad, eds., Beiträge zur altitalischen Geistesgeschichte. FS G. Radke, Münster 1984, 212–231.

[3] F. Hellmann 1939; W. Wiehemeyer, Proben historischer Kritik aus Livius XXI–XLV, diss. Münster 1938.

[4] H. Nissen 1863; in principle on Livy's method of work, T. J. Luce 1977, 144–145.

own mistakes after the event. He then seeks to obscure inconsistencies by omissions or slight retouchings.[1] When he changes his authorities, double versions of the same facts are sometimes found.

A precise comparison of Livy with Polybius is possible. There are mistakes of translation and failures of comprehension, and on top of this may be observed the suppression of facts compromising to the Roman cause, and insufficient attention to 'pragmatic' causality in politics. On the other side Livy's narrative is more dramatic and vivid, avoiding broad theoretical debates.

Least of all does Livy understand the art of war. Many of his battle scenes seem to follow a fixed literary scheme. But even in this area the author's didactic abilities tell in his favor. Thus, at the battle of Cannae, he is able to present the complex maneuvers of the Romans more clearly than Polybius.

Problems of Genre. It is fruitful to compare Livy with the 'tragic history' of historians like Duris or Phylarchus.[2] It makes no difference to what degree these authors are looked upon as 'Peripatetic'. Dramatic technique is undoubtedly older, and Livy manipulates it without exaggeration. Among Latin historians, examples would be Coelius Antipater and the narratives in Cicero's forensic speeches. A theory of history to which Livy seems to have subscribed wholeheartedly is that of Cicero, whose own allegiance is to the Isocratean school.[3] Livy also has contact with Cicero in language, style, and ideas. The artistic models of Livy's historical presentation must be examined in more detail under the rubric of Literary Technique. There is a fascinating contrast with the tradition seen in Thucydides and Sallust, though this does not prevent Livy, notably in his account of the Second Punic War, from entering into rivalry also with Thucydides.[4]

Livy, the 'Roman Herodotus', stands partly in the tradition of Hellenistic historical writing. On the other hand his work marks the culmination of the Roman annalistic style. In the 'mythical' portions the reader at times catches a glimpse of the epic and poetic color of

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[1] H. Tränkle 1977, 46–54.

[2] E. Burck 2nd ed. 1964. A distinction between tragic and Isocratean historical narrative is rightly insisted upon by N. Zegers, Wesen und Ursprung der tragischen Geschichtsschreibung, diss. Köln 1959.

[3] P. G. Walsh 1961.

[4] On the contrast, cf. T. J. Luce 1977. For imitation of Thucydides, compare Livy 21. 1 with Thuc. 1. 1. On the speeches of Fabius and Scipio (Livy 28. 40–44) and the speeches on the eve of the Sicilian expedition: B. S. Rodgers, Great Expeditions. Livy on Thucydides, TAPhA 116, 1986, 335–352.

old Roman historical poetry. Roman too is the moralizing standpoint, and the strictly maintained division of material by years.

Literary Technique

To convey a literary picture of whole wars and periods, of the very history of a people, particular narrative means are required, facilitating a comprehensive overview by elements of form. Herodotus could learn from Homer how to arrange events as an intelligible sequence, as a unified whole. Later, Hellenistic historical writing looked to tragedy and the theory of tragedy for the same purpose.

Livy himself speaks of his *annales* (43. 13. 2). On the large scale, with his use of pentadic structure and of the annalistic principle, he offers to his readers two quite different formal guides. Thus structure becomes a means of interpretation, as can be seen, for instance, in the third decade.[1]

Given the prevalent annalistic method and the succession of different settings, individual books are not always self-contained. Rounded units however are formed, for example, by book 1 (the regal period) and book 5 (capture of Veii by the Romans and of Rome by the Gauls). Livy creates an impression of *varietas* by relatively frequent changes of theme, switches such as those from foreign to domestic affairs or vice versa. Transitions are made without strain, as when movements of troops or ambassadorial journeys lead from one theater of operations to another. This means that the annalistic procedure need not lead to fragmentation.

At the start of each year, the magistrates take up office, provinces are allocated, legions are assigned, prodigies are enumerated and embassies are recorded. Such features, recurring annually, furnish resting points in the narrative. Then come campaigns, and finally details of political elections. Accounts of religious ceremonies underline the significance of great moments, such as Scipio's prayer before the landing in Africa (29. 27. 1–4) and the vow of Manius Acilius after the declaration of war on Antiochus (36. 2. 3–5).

Themes running like leitmotifs through longer portions help to give unity to the narrative. In book 2,[2] chapters 1–21 develop the motif

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[1] This structure is not Polybian. Here, Livy consciously decided in favor of Roman tradition.

[2] E. Burck 2nd ed. 1964, 51–61; cf. also K. Heldmann, Livius über Monarchie und Freiheit und der römische Lebensaltervergleich, WJA n.s. 13, 1987, 209–230.

of *libertas*, and the conclusion of this same book deals with the threat to *libertas* posed by internal *discordia*.[1] The same may be said for *moderatio* in the 3rd and 4th books, and *pietas* in the 5th.[2]

The beginning, middle, and end of books are appropriate places for significant events: speeches, declarations of war, battles, triumphs,[3] meaning that form and content are mutually supportive. Procedures of this type allow a broad perspective on historical events while, on the small scale, the artistic deployment of individual scenes[4] confers on the narrative a telling immediacy.

Larger concatenations of happenings unreceptive to compression into a single episode are broken down into scenes. As 'major sequences', they move towards a particular climax. Between the individual scenes are found contrasting passages. Subtle transitions prevent the story from degenerating into a loose succession of episodes. In this way the conflict between the patricians and plebeians, leading to the establishment of the office of tribune, forms a whole in three acts.[5]

Livy's effort to secure dramatic presentation recalls the so-called 'tragic' style of historical writing.[6] An important aim of this literary method was to upset the reader (ἔκπληξις) and to arouse his sympathy (συμπάθεια). Livy employs such methods in moderation. He does not invent novel situations.

The episodes, which are integral parts of the narrative, have a 'beginning, middle, and an end', and here the central section receives particularly careful attention. What happens before and after is abbreviated, so as to throw into relief what is important. But there is no abbreviation at key points in the story. Once again, here, form is at the service of meaning.

Reversals happen quite unexpectedly (at 31. 18. 6 Livy actually adds *repente*; cf. Polybius 16. 34. 9). At times one has the impression of seeing the appearance on stage of a *deus ex machina* (22. 29. 3 *repente velut caelo demissa*, 'suddenly, as though come down from heaven'). The suddenness of the *peripeteia* is reflected in the reversal of normal

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[1] R. M. Ogilvie, Commentary 233; further details in T. J. Luce 1977, 26–27.

[2] F. Hellmann 1939, 46–81. The compositional and conceptual unity of book 8 is noted by E. Burck, Gnomon 60, 1988, 323–324. On *constantia* in books 3 and 42, and *constantia* and *prudentia* in book 22 see T. J. Moore 1989, 155–156.

[3] T. J. Luce 1977, 137.

[4] On individual scenes: H. A. Gärtner 1975, 7–28.

[5] 2. 23–24; 27–30.7; 31.7–33.3; E. Burck 2nd ed. 1964, 61–69.

[6] See above, (p. 841, note 2).

syntax: 'The enemy would have prevailed, unless. . . .' The main fact follows in the subordinate clause.[1]

It is only rarely that the pathetic painting of the story verges on the ugly and horrible (22. 51. 5–9). Brutal naturalism would have been irreconcilable with Augustan principles of style. Instead, Livy does dwell on the psychological effects of the events he describes and graphically portrays the underlying emotions. His sympathy often goes to the defeated, even when they are not Romans.[2] The rhetorical commonplaces available for the description of conquered cities (Quint. *inst.* 8. 3. 68) are however employed only sparingly, and at times even deliberately omitted.[3]

Even so, Livy compressed the negotiations between Philip and the Roman envoys in 184 B.C. into a single conversation ('concentrated composition'), an artistic procedure also encountered in Greek authors.[4]

Mass scenes are divided among groups and individuals, the aim being to produce a lively picture (*alius—alius; partim—partim*). Livy also likes to allow groups to observe an event, reflect on it, and then give their verdict, a technique looking ahead to Tacitus. In the light of these different viewpoints, characters to some extent appear 'rounded', what had been 'a grouping of pictures' gains the depth of a 'stage'.

One of the main aims is vividness (ἐνάργεια, *evidentia*). For this reason, conversations (e.g. 31. 18) and individual achievements are often emphasized, expressly challenging comparison with dramatic art. An individual struggle may be isolated and seen through the eyes of the spectators (e.g. Livy 7. 9. 6–7. 10. 14). The reader imagines that the happenings are visible, even palpable. Here may be listed the 'description of an imaginary picture' as a literary means of presentation.[5]

The subjective aspect of an event, however, is made no less tangible.[6] The reader witnesses the process by which a decision matures

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[1] E.g. Livy 29. 6. 17; 23. 30. 11–12; 27. 31. 5.

[2] 21. 14; 24. 39; 28. 19. 9–15; 31. 17.

[3] 21. 57. 4 *neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est.*

[4] E.g. App. *Syr.* 12 combines two embassies of the Aetolians into one; H. Nissen 1863, 115.

[5] P. Steinmetz, Eine Darstellungsform des Livius, Gymnasium 79, 1972, 191–208.

[6] H. Tränkle 1977, 102, note 8.

(Livy 33. 7. 8–11). Adverbs of time may increase tension (32. 40. 11 *nunc, nunc, postremo*). Livy takes seriously the demand made by Sempronius Asellio (*frg.* 1 P.) and Cicero (*de orat.* 2. 62–64) that a historian must not only narrate events, but also explain the plans and attitudes from which actions spring. He takes great pains with the psychological reasons for what happens. In this, thematic key words may confer on whole sections a uniform color (*gaudium* 33. 32–33).[1]

Great stress is laid on clarity (σαφήνεια). Livy follows, partly inspired by demands of Cicero, strict rules for the depiction of battles: chronological sequence; explanation of the topography; presentation of the tactics; psychological background and motives. To this is added a division into time sequences or gradual revelations of the terrain (right wing, left wing, center). Large-scale scenes are cleverly presented from a bird's eye perspective (33. 32. 6–9). At times Livy succeeds, in spite of belonging to the ranks of 'unmilitary' historians, in describing maneuvers in his battles with more clarity than is found in Polybius and without any loss of substance.[2]

Brevity (συντομία), especially when alternating with fullness, is used to emphasize important moments. If Livy's description of Roman reactions to the defeat at Cannae is twice as long as that of the battle itself, what prevails is the picture of Roman courage and determination in a critical moment. Just like Caesar,[3] the historian fails sometimes to offer any preliminary explanation of military plans, describing only their execution. Such 'writing in perspective' produces suspense. Livy abbreviates abstract considerations offered by Polybius, though he too wishes not only to 'edify and startle'[4] but also to impart instruction. The sequence of battles in the Second Punic War, precisely in the inexorable pattern by which literary methods of presentation are repeated, lays bare the mechanisms which led to the Romans' ultimate failure.[5]

Characters are portrayed[6] both directly and indirectly. Just as Thucydides (2. 65) evaluates the great Pericles, so Livy assesses men

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[1] H. Tränkle 1977 , 137–138.

[2] Polyb. 18. 19. 2–5; 20. 2–3; Livy 38. 6. 4–9.

[3] E.g. *Gall.* 7. 27. 1–2 *et quid fieri vellet ostendit* (without divulging the plan).

[4] H. Tränkle 1977, 93.

[5] M. Fuhrmann, Narrative Techniken im Dienste der Geschichtsschreibung, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 19–29.

[6] W. Richter, Charakterzeichnung und Regie bei Livius, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 59–80.

of importance on the occasion of their deaths (Sen. *suas.* 6. 21), mingling praise and blame (Marcellus 27. 27. 11; Cicero *apud* Sen. *suas.* 6. 17). The first appearance of individual leaders may also produce (as at Sallust *Catil.* 1. 5) short character sketches (Hannibal 21. 4. 3–9; Cato 39. 40. 4–12). The history of this technique has been examined above in connection with Sallust.

A transition to indirect characterization is provided by comparison, such as that between Papirius Cursor and Alexander the Great (9. 16. 19–19. 17). The action often finds two contrasting character types at odds. That between the prudent Fabius Cunctator and the rash Minucius (22. 27–29) recalls Nicias and Cleon in Thucydides (4. 27–28).

This use of stereotypes can extend to collective verdicts on whole peoples: the treacherous Carthaginians, the decadent Greeks, and so on. Among the Romans, following annalistic traditions, the family name marks its individual possessors: Decii are sacrificial; Valerii are friends of the people; Fabii are selfless; Claudii ambitious for power; Quinctii frugal; Furii reckless. Remarkably, Livy also shares the Roman disdain for the Italian peoples—naturally excluding the Paduans.

In the case of characters like Flamininus, the liberator of Greece, Livy suppresses negative features. Scipio for him is almost the embodiment of Roman *virtus*, including a perhaps unhistorical continence and clemency. But he refuses credence to the legends surrounding the birth and devotion to Jupiter of the hero, in this last point with more critical sense than some modern historians. Conversely, even non-Romans may receive admiration. Examples are Philip V of Macedon and Hannibal, though in this Livy avoids certain virtues reserved for Romans, such as *moderatio, constantia, gravitas, magnitudo animi.*[1]

Livy is also interested in the feminine psyche.[2] Along with his catalogue of the virtuous heroines of the old Roman period, implying an unmistakable warning to men to behave like gentlemen, even an ambitious woman like Tanaquil (1. 34–41) merits respect. At times, small weaknesses regarded as typically female raise a smile (6. 34).

Contradictions may arise between direct and indirect character portrayal. Hannibal, who when introduced is a godless and perfidious Carthaginian, in the action shows himself pious and honest. On

[1] T. J. Moore 1989, 157–159.
[2] On his ideal of women, T. J. Moore 1989, 160.

the other hand Scipio's hocus-pocus is not concealed. Thus the most acute dangers of portrayal in black and white, if not wholly avoided, are at least held in check. Just like Sallust and Tacitus, Livy may have relied on his readers: by accumulating partly contradictory information he would convey to them gradually a living picture of the character in question.

Speeches and dialogues also help to establish indirect characterization. The general task of communicating a picture of the person and the historical situation is interpreted by Polybius in rational terms, and by Livy in emotional terms. The switch of perspective provided by direct speech allows different opinions, including that of an opponent, to find expression. The effect of a speech may be enhanced[1] by mentioning the general silence.[2]

Livy is an exponent of the 'Isocratean' manner, and for him historical writing is a task for orators.[3] Accordingly, in him direct speeches play a larger part than in Polybius. The speeches taken from Livy's *History* were highly regarded by the Romans and even read separately. At times addresses are introduced at unexpected moments. Yet the compass of speeches in Livy is rather briefer than in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Sallust, and Thucydides.

Because of his rhetorical training, however different the origin and nationality of his speakers, Livy furnishes them with a consistently uniform eloquence.

It is rare for Livy to depart far in books 31–45 from the material assembled by Polybius. But he lends to the addresses, with the aid of Roman *exempla* and formal polish, more brilliance. However, there are at times elaborations which make the reader suspect literary invention, as when the words of Valerius Corvus (Livy 7. 32. 5–17) recall the famous speech of Marius in Sallust.[4]

Livy sometimes reserves to particular characters the privilege of giving speeches. In books 43 and 44 (so far as preserved), all the more important speeches are delivered by Aemilius Paullus. Livy takes pains to convey a dignified portrait of his speakers' character, and to adapt their words to the situation. In the argument, utility yields place to considerations of honesty.

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[1] On the theoretical basis for this, cf. Dionysius 6. 83. 2.

[2] 32. 33. 1, without basis in Polybius.

[3] Cf. Cic. *leg.* 1. 5; *de orat.* 2. 62; 2. 36.

[4] J. Hellegouarc'h 1974; invention of the speech by Valerius Antias is possible, but less probable.

Livy uses speech and counter-speech to set out political debates and controversies. An example is the dispute between Fabius Cunctator and Scipio Africanus (28. 40–44). Partly perhaps here he is guided by his models. The shaping of paired speeches is illustrated by 33. 39–40.[1] Livy abbreviates the statements of Antiochus in the negotiations at Lysimachia in 196 B.C., and expands those of the Roman, so as to give similar scope to their speeches and coordinate their contents.

Dialogues had been familiar in history since the days of Herodotus (Croesus and Solon 1. 30; Xerxes and Demaratus 7. 101–104) and Thucydides (Melian Dialogue 5. 85–111). In such interchanges, Livy is concerned with the *peripeteia.* The contrast between the initial self-assurance and the subsequent confusion on Philip's part is sharpened and given physiognomical vividness (39. 34. 3–4; Polyb. 22. 13).

Livy aims to retrace events in all the subjective conditions which made them possible. He not only narrated Roman history, he penetrated it with human feeling. His mastery as a narrator is shown in the alternation of brevity and copiousness, the differentiation of foreground and background, the relation of perspective between these elements, the large-scale pictures and scenes. His narrative art is also in debt to epic.[2]

Generally speaking, rhetoric in Livy is the servant of empathy and vividness (ἐνάργεια), and the link between these two functions. It loses its natural one-sidedness or is reduced to develop it in a dramatic context, thus maturing into a precious instrument of psychological analysis or evocative impact.

Language and Style[3]

Tacitus' style defines itself more and more markedly from work to work, and only at a late period, in the middle of the *Annales*, reaches a culmination of its distinct characteristics. By contrast, Livy's style shows its most marked peculiarities at the very beginning, and seems

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[1] A different presentation in: Polyb. 18. 50–51; cf. also 37. 53–54 and Polyb. 21. 18–24.

[2] J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée, L'expression narrative chez les historiens latins, Paris 1969, esp. 655.

[3] A. H. McDonald 1957; E. Mikkola, Die Konzessivität bei Livius, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der ersten und fünften Dekade, Helsinki 1957; T. Viljamaa, Infinitive of Narration in Livy. A Study in Narrative Technique, Turku 1983.

then, in the course of time, to take on an unassumingly 'classical' stamp. Gradually perfects in *-ere* give way to perfects in *-erunt.*[1] Several hundred archaic or out of the ordinary words (e.g. in *-men*) are replaced by more common counterparts.[2] Syntax becomes more uniform.[3] An evolution of style can also be traced in linguistic niceties (*minutiae*), such as the use of copulas.[4]

What are the reasons for this development? Is the Livy of the 1st books a beginner groping in uncertainty,[5] or does he consciously champion a 'modern' prose, tending to the poetic and already displaying features of Silver Latin? Does he then gradually abandon this trend, to return to a classicism in the Ciceronian manner? Or does he even at the beginning merely obey Cicero's directions, granting to the historian as *exornator* a more poetic language, appropriate also to the epideictic orator?[6] Is not the road from a Hellenistic and modern style to a classical one taken by many Roman authors, and quite regular for the literature of that people at particular periods? Or is the explanation to be found merely in the material and the authors who furnished it? Is a legendary color not appropriate to the fabulous events of old, something which could only have a jarring effect applied to the senatorial proceedings of a later period?

The opening books have been described as an epic in prose.[7] They owe their slight poetic color not so much to contemporary poets, such as Virgil and Horace, as to early Roman poetry, particularly to epic, though also to ancient formulas of religion and law, perhaps mediated by annalistic sources. Individual words should not be marked

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[1] E. B. Lease, Livy's Use of *-arunt, -erunt,* and *-ere,* AJPh 24, 1903, 408–422.

[2] J. N. Adams, The Vocabular of the Later Decades of Livy, Antichthon 8, 1974, 54–62. For an argument against a general decrease in the number of poetic expressions, cf. J. M. Gleason, Studies in Livy's Language, diss. Harvard 1969, summarized in: HSPh 74, 1970, 336–337; H. Tränkle 1968. A fixed style for the genre of history at Rome (before Sallust) is something I find difficult to accept.

[3] E. Mikkola, Die Konzessivität bei Livius, Helsinki 1957 (with particular attention to the first and fifth decades).

[4] E. Skard, Sprachstatistisches aus Livius, SO 22, 1942, 107–108; id., Sallust und seine Vorgänger, SO suppl. vol. 15, 1956; on more recent scholarship: H. Aili 1982.

[5] E. Wölfflin, Livianische Kritik und livianischer Sprachgebrauch, Programm Winterthur 1864, Berlin 1864, repr. in: Ausgewählte Schriften, Leipzig 1933, 1–21; S. G. Stacey, Die Entwicklung des livianischen Stiles, ALL 10, 1898, 17–82.

[6] A. H. McDonald 1957, 168.

[7] Cic. *de orat.* 2. 53–54, *leg.* 1. 5; M. Rambaud, Cicéron et l'histoire romaine, Paris 1953, 9–24, 121.

here as 'poetic' or 'unpoetic'. Ancient theory knows *verba propria*, and their opposites, *verba translata, novata, inusitata, ficta*, but not *verba poetica*. It is not the individual word which is 'poetic' or 'prosaic' so much as the context in which it appears. No consistent use of archaism is found in Livy of the type discovered in Sallust, but only hints intended to establish an atmosphere of a venerable past, adapted to the legendary tone of the early period, and to the importance of its topics and their status as examples.[1]

A sense of the appropriate (*aptum*), shown by Livy in his stylistic variation, links him with Cicero. The historian moreover expressly attests that he regards the great orator as worthy of imitation.[2] He is, however, not a devotee of some dead Ciceronianism, but writes as Cicero himself, if we take him at his own word, would have written history. Livy in this uses the language of his own time, following what was felt to be correct idiom in the Augustan time.[3] The importance of isolated 'colloquial' elements[4] should not be overestimated. Their employment may simply reflect the general development of language at that period.

As a stylist, Livy has quite different registers at his disposal. There are baldly annalistic sections: beginnings of years, lists of prodigies in simple paratactic clauses, though with variants in their introductory formulas. Extended narrative is quite different. Just as in the individual period the main ideas are placed in key positions,[5] within the narrative Livy adapts the length of his clauses to conform to the progress of the action.[6] In a brief introduction, the pluperfect is characteristic, indirectly conveying the haste of the narrator to reach the main action. In the center, a more detailed style prevails. The length

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[1] The approximation to a clausula rhythm like that of Sallust (H. Aili, The Prose Rhythm of Sallust and Livy, Stockholm 1979) is to be distinguished from this problem. A certain closeness on Livy's part to Sallust is defended by H. Tränkle 1968, esp. 149–152.

[2] It is an evident oversimplification to speak of a language 'whose controlling mechanism is a variant of classical grammar, to which, with the aid of particular and almost by this time conventional elements, the designation 'old' is added': J. Untermann, Die klassischen Autoren und das Altlatein, in: G. Binder, ed., Saeculum Augustum, vol. 2, Darmstadt 1988, 426–445, here 445.

[3] K. Gries, Constancy in Livy's Latinity, New York 1949.

[4] *Satin, forsan, oppido.*

[5] W. Jäkel, Satzbau und Stilmittel bei Livius. Eine Untersuchung an 21, 1, 1–2, 2, Gymnasium 66, 1959, 302–317; D. K. Smith, The Styles of Sallust and Livy. Defining Terms, CB 61, 1985, 79–83.

[6] Kroll, Studien 366–369.

of the clauses is greater, though dramatic moments may be indicated by the asyndetic piling up of verbs. The conclusion is again marked by brevity. These characteristic procedures may be illustrated by comparison with Dionysius of Halicarnassus (e.g. Livy 1. 53. 4–54. 9; Dionys. 4. 53–58). Yet in comparing Livy with an author of his own time, the reader may run the risk of claiming for him things belonging to older tradition. Our aim here was to list the linguistic and stylistic means contributing to the unusual and quasi dramatic conciseness and suggestive power of Livy's narrative art. The historian's use of metrical *clausulae* is not that of Cicero and the orators,[1] and rather resembles that of Sallust.

Livy draws his comparisons from familiar spheres: the sea, illness, the world of animals, fire. Metaphors are often taken from war (*arces, munimentum, telum*); if some of them are bolder than Cicero's, this may be due to the natural development of Latin: *Clandestina concocta sunt consilia*, 'secret plans have been devised' (40. 11. 2); *libertatis desiderium remordet animos*, 'the hearts are pricked with a longing for liberty' (8. 4. 3); *discordia ordinum est venenum urbis huius*, 'the discord between the classes is the poison of this city' (3. 67. 6).

Change and persistence in Livy's language and style have therefore several causes: the influence of the annalists (and through them of Ennius); the linguistic sense of the Augustan period (of which we would like to know more); principally however, the adaptation to the particular topic. The special importance of artistic motivation in this field justifies a wish for more research into Livy's language and style.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Livy wrote Roman history, not as a participant, but as an observer from a distance. In his first preface his literary activity almost appears like a withdrawal from reality (1 *praef.* 5). As a reward for his labors (whose full extent he would only apprehend in the course of his work),[2] he hoped to distract himself from the sight of present

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[1] R. Ullmann, Les clausules dans les discours de Salluste, Tite-Live et Tacite, SO 3, 1925, 65–75; H. Aili, The Prose Rhythm of Sallust and Livy, Stockholm 1979; J. Dangel, Le mot, support de lecture des clausules cicéroniennes et liviennes, REL 62, 1984, 386–415.

[2] 31. 1. 1–5; cf. 10. 31. 10.

misfortunes and to secure tranquillity of mind. The latter is for a historian not a merely private concern. His duty requires him to strive for impartiality.

In another admission,[1] perhaps the most fascinating he made (43. 13. 2), Livy excused himself for giving so much heed to warning signs from the gods (prodigies): 'In writing of ancient themes, I find in some inexplicable way that my own mind becomes 'ancient', and a sacred awe has inspired me.' Here it may be seen how the author becomes identified with his work and how in turn it affects him.

This passage however is not to be misunderstood as evidence of some romantic and backward-looking attitude. What he found on his voyage into the past he turns to the advantage of the present (cf. 1 *praef.* 10: *omnis* te *exempli documenta*, 'that *you* behold the lessons of every kind of experience'). The reader is drawn into events, and Livy thinks of a modern application of his historical insights.

In the first proem the author still shows a slight concern with his own fame. Later he disappears entirely into his work. He wrote (*apud* Pliny *nat. praef.* 16) that he had won fame enough (a dig at Sallust).[2] He argued that he could actually have stopped, if his untranquil spirit did not derive sustenance from his literary activity. Livy at that moment gave a positive answer to the question posed in his first proem, whether he would 'accomplish something worthwhile'. Conversely, in the late passage, he avoids specious motivations such as 'industry' or 'industry aiming to honor the Roman people,' of the kind Pliny would have liked to hear. Instead he gives a purely subjective justification of his labor, reminiscent of Epicurus who recommended work (and even political activity) only to the one who felt driven to it by his restless nature (cf. *animus inquies*). This is to view work as therapy against fits of depression (*apud* Plut. *mor.* 465 C–466 A). Far from robbing the mind of strength, as might be supposed, activity furnishes it with nourishment (*pasceretur*). This means that the historian, in an subtle understatement, is saying even more than Pliny expects from him.

In section 11 of the first preface, Livy also speaks of *amor negotii suscepti.* He concedes that perhaps his devotion to his task may make

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[1] K. Kerényi, Selbstbekenntnisse des Livius, in K.K., Die Geburt der Helena, Zürich 1945, 105–110.

[2] A further polemic against Sallust is discovered by J. Korpanty, Sallust, Livius und *ambitio*, Philologus 127, 1983 , 61–71.

him blind. Once again Livy is more subtle than Pliny. 'Devotion to work' would be a virtue for which the author claims credit. 'Devotion to the task and the object' sounds rather like a somewhat strange passion, almost requiring indulgence.

Ideas II

Moralizing Outlook. Livy is not to be understood without taking into account the ethical features of his work. The driving forces which interest him in Roman history are of a moral nature. Accordingly, ethical terms are more strongly emphasized in him than, for example, in Polybius.[1] But it would be premature to narrow the historian's perspectives to those of mere indoctrination. 'Morality' is set in a larger context embracing all human behavior. The historian's concern is with those kinds of behavior contributing to Rome's greatness and decline.

A basic notion in Livy's approach to history is that of *exemplum* (1 *praef.* 10). Just as for a young Roman witnessing his ancestors in the funeral procession parading 'to the life' in the garb of their highest office, so for Livy Roman history is a sublime world, removed from that of everyday, into which he plunges with awe. The essence of the *exemplum* consists in provoking or deterring imitation, and 'exemplary' historical writing need not in any way be prejudiced in favor of window-dressing. As, within the social fabric, the example of the older generation should carry with it the younger, so in Livy's opinion in foreign policy the virtues of a people should have a winning effect on its neighbors (1. 21. 2). Camillus therefore does not merely speak of Roman behavior. He practices it so convincingly that the Falerians voluntarily go over to Rome's side (5. 27). *Exemplum* may also be effective in relations between the orders. At the very moment when defeat threatens, the nobles offer an example of generosity, and the plebeians imitate their *pietas* (5. 7), so as not to be outdone by them in magnanimity.

The prerequisites for such behavior are qualities of which Latinists speak perhaps too rarely: *consilium, sapientia,* freedom from turmoil, above all *concordia* and *pax.* It is natural to think rather of Hesiod, of the Sophists with their idea of ὁμόνοια and the Stoic/Cynic doctrine

[1] H. Tränkle 1977, 140.

of the world citizen. Varro had treated the theme of peace in his *Pius*, one of his *Logistorici*. The Augustan notion of peace[1] actually contradicted the expansive, old Roman idea of *virtus*. To avoid disappointing the senators, in spite of his policy of peace, Augustus was obliged to pay at least some lip-service to Caesar's scheme of a war with Parthia.

Livy adopted Caesar's *clementia* and an almost Menandrian ideal of humanity. As early as in his version of the Aeneas story, he emphasizes restraint and generosity towards an enemy. The ties of hospitality[2] are observed between enemies. Antenor appears as a hero of peace. Latinus prevents a battle (1. 1–2).

After the Empire reached out to embrace the world, Romans had to learn to see themselves reflected in the mirror of history before all else as human beings, and to equate true Romanity with true humanity. Undoubtedly, this was a positive contribution by Livy to his countrymen's understanding of their own identity. National greatness, on his view, is only to be attained when leading personalities display moral attitudes and wisdom. In his attention to the kinds of behavior which had made Rome great therefore, Livy is only in appearance backward-looking. In reality, he is thinking of qualities from which Rome could derive sustenance in his own time. As a comparison with his predecessors shows,[3] Livy independently set up a system of Roman values for his own day. His concern was to establish a line of spiritual ancestors for behavior necessary here and now. What is humane was garbed by him in a double dignity, that of the old and that of Rome. To put the matter another way: under the auspices of what is humane, Roman history was set on a fresh footing. In this way, it lost its aspect of randomness, and received enduring life as a lasting 'poetic' creation[4]—or as a secular counterpart to Greek myth.

A corollary to Rome's rise was her decline, which in its turn was again traced to moral causes. Although the later books are lost, the proem already makes it clear that in Livy's opinion decline began at

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[1] W. Nestle, Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt, Philologus suppl. 31, 1938, fasc. 1; H. Fuchs, Augustinus und der antike Friedensgedanke. Untersuchungen zum 19. Buch der *Civitas Dei*, Berlin 1926.

[2] L. J. Bolchazy 1977.

[3] von Albrecht, Prosa 110–126; T. J. Moore 1989, 149–151.

[4] W. Schibel, Sprachbehandlung und Darstellungsweise in römischer Prosa: Claudius Quadrigarius, Livius, Aulus Gellius, Amsterdam 1971, 90.

first gradually, only to change eventually into a precipitous slide. The possibility of a cure is something of which in his proem the historian is rather uncertain. It is not wholly unlikely that, if we had the work as a whole, we should have a less optimistic impression from it.

What were the religious and philosophical bases for such convictions?

Religion. Some scholars emphasize Livy's 'skeptical rationalism,'[1] while others talk of his 'unfaltering faith in the old gods'.[2] Both points of view have some truth in them.

As an historian, Livy could not exclude from his work the religious elements of the Roman past. At times, he could not even extricate himself totally from them. Yet he was fully aware of philosophical reservations about organized religion: His 1st books already show a bias in favor of rationalistic explanation, and this continues, inspired by Polybius, even in the later portions. Thus there are certainly accounts of miraculous events, but the historian distances himself from them with such expressions as *dicitur* or *ferunt.* Even in the legend of Romulus,[3] he leaves undecided the decisive points: Mars' paternity, the suckling by the she-wolf, the apotheosis. Yet he adds in this regard that the historical evolution of the Empire confers on the Romans a retroactive right to demand from their subjects a belief in the divine origin of its founder (1 *praef.* 7).

In his 1st books, Livy notes a development of the Roman city-state that seems almost in accordance with the laws of nature, and in the course of the work creates the impression of a predetermined progress. The campaigns in the East are viewed from the perspective of a universal dominion.[4] He goes so far as to speak of divine guidance (43. 13. 1–2), and seems to postulate a religious justification for Rome's hegemony. But direct divine intervention is only rarely mentioned. Pre-eminence is given to the action and responsibility of men.

Like Polybius[5] and Cicero (Polyb. 6. 56. 6–15; Cic. *rep.* 2. 26–27), Livy recognizes the value of religion as a basis for social morality.

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[1] J. Bayet, ed., vol. 1, p. xxxix; K. Thraede, Außerwissenschaftliche Faktoren im Liviusbild der neueren Forschung, in: G. Binder, ed., Saeculum Augustum, vol. 2, Darmstadt 1988, 394–425.

[2] G. Stübler, Die Religiosität des Livius, Stuttgart 1941, 205.

[3] On the legend of Romulus' apotheosis, cf. K. W. Weeber, *Abi, nuntia Romanis*... Ein Dokument augusteischer Geschichtsauffassung in Livius 1, 16?, RhM 127, 1984, 326–343.

[4] H. Tränkle 1977, 131.

[5] H. Dörrie, Polybios über *pietas, religio* und *fides* (zu Buch 6, Kap. 56). Griechische

He regards King Numa's interviews with the nymph Egeria as a pious fraud (1. 19. 4–5), and Scipio's devotion to Jupiter as a political gambit. But his skepticism perhaps extends only to the cruder expressions[1] of religion (*superstitio*)—and even to these he pays homage at times—not to religious observance as a whole. From the ideas of religion the cultivated author attempts to winnow a kernel of patriotic truth.

Philosophy. In his philosophical studies (Sen. *epist.* 100. 9), Livy might also have come in contact with the ideas of the Stoic Posidonius. He himself can hardly have been a strict Stoic, since he lays little stress on the omnipotence of impersonal fate, rather finding the factors that shape history in human qualities.[2] As proof of Livy's Stoic convictions, emphasis has been laid on his presentation of Rome's growth as something predestined and inevitable.[3] In this he makes use of notions such as *fatum*[4] and *fortuna*.[5] The man of virtue is seen to succeed, the vicious fails, something which may already be noted in Cicero (*nat. deor.* 2. 7–8) in connection with the failures of Roman generals as punishment for their neglect of the gods. But this archaic interpretation, bearing more of a religious than philosophical character, certainly needs no philosophical justification. The Stoic doctrine, whereby the virtuous, respecting the claims of men and gods, live in harmony with *fatum*,[6] is something more subtle. The historian regards history as a period when military and civic virtues were put to the test, and this schooling was to render the Roman people capable of mastering the world. This means that historical responsibility is closely linked with the morality of the individual.[7] The 'moralizing nature'

Theorie und römisches Selbstverständnis, in: Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. Boyancé, Roma 1974, 251–272. On the civilizing and political significance of religion cf. Isocr. *Busiris* 24–27; Xen. *mem.* 1. 4; Plut. *Numa* 8. 3.

[1] On Livy's picture of religious excesses s. W. Heilmann, *Coniuratio impia*. Die Unterdrückung der Bakchanalien als ein Beispiel für römische Religionspolitik und Religiosität, AU 28, 2, 1985, 22–41.

[2] J. Bayet, ed., vol. 1, pp. xl–xli.

[3] P. G. Walsh 1961, 51–52. On Livy's interpretation of history see G. B. Miles, The Cycle of Roman History in Livy's First Pentad, AJPh 107, 1986, 1–33.

[4] 1. 42. 2 *fati necessitatem*; 8. 7. 8; 25. 6. 6. Even the gods are subject to *fatum* 9. 4. 16.

[5] *Fortuna populi Romani, fortuna urbis* is something more positive than fickle Hellenistic Tyche.

[6] J. Kajanto 1957.

[7] Thus Aeneas must be presented right at the outset as free from every blemish:

of Livy's view of history implies therefore that an essential part is reserved to the individual[1] and his decisions. At times of crisis, it is not the *mali*, but the disengaged *boni*, who constitute the greatest danger.[2]

Since *mores* are revealed only in action,[3] there is no completely set system of Roman values. Their content appears with a fresh emphasis every time they are exemplified. The good old days, as Livy implies in his preface, for all their poverty, had a greater wealth of good examples than the superficially so wealthy present. From Florus, Lucan and Petronius we know how Livy explained the Civil Wars. External successes lead to internal crises. This insight is already foreshadowed in the preface. The empire was suffering under its own greatness. Was there to be internal or external wealth? Here Livy took an unambiguous stance. Against the background of the Augustan period, with its exaltation of gold, his verdict gains in recognizable relevance.

Does Livy develop a philosophy of his own, or does he not rather stand in a Roman tradition of historical interpretation? Echoes of Stoic doctrine are found from Cato to Tacitus, and there is undoubtedly a convergence between what is Roman and what is Stoic. Livy was not a philosopher. Stoicism supplied him with isolated features, enabling him to justify his patriotism and to put into words his sentiment about the meaning of life. For him as a Roman, Greek education was not an aim in itself, but a mirror furthering the recognition of personal identity. It is not surprising then that in some of Livy's personal utterances even Epicurean echoes may be detected (s. Ideas I).

The historian's point of view: markedly Roman perspective. Livy's aim was not to write universal history, but Roman history (cf. 1 *praef.* 1: *res populi Romani*). He meant to exclude events in which Romans played no part.[4] This viewpoint produces a continual conflict between moral

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K. Zelzer, *Iam primum omnium satis constat.* Zum Hintergrund der Erwähnung des Antenor bei Livius 1, 1, WS 100, 1987, 117–124.

[1] U. Schlag, *Regnum in Senatu.* Das Wirken römischer Staatsmänner von 200 bis 191 v. Chr., Stuttgart 1968, presses to extremes the preoccupations with persons which she discovers in the sources.

[2] A. Finken, Ein veraltetes politisches Leitbild? Livius 22, 39, 1–40, 3, AU 10, 3, 1967, 72–75, esp. 75.

[3] *Virtus in usu sui tota posita est* (Cic. *rep.* 1. 2. 2).

[4] 33. 20. 13; 35. 40. 1; 39. 48. 6; 41. 25. 8.

conviction and patriotism. Thus as a 'well-meaning amateur'[1] Livy supplies the participants with noble motives, to which he is prompted by his 'naiveté in diplomatic affairs'.[2] He attaches particular importance to the fact that the Romans not only continually have the word *fides* (good faith) on their lips (θρυλοῦντες τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὄνομα: Diodor. 23. 1. 4), but are concerned to follow it in their behavior.[3] He attempts to excuse Roman defeats by circumstances beyond the power of his people to influence.

It is true that Livy in many of his verdicts could have shown more objectivity and justice, even without betraying his national pride.[4] On the other hand, unlike Fabius Pictor, for example, he no longer needed to defend his country against foreigners. This allows him to tell his countrymen throughout some unpalatable home truths, especially when he confronts critically the annalists.[5] He condemns the cruelty and rapacity of the Romans in Greece (43. 4). He does not conceal Flamininus' personal ambition.[6] In his picture of the failures and mistakes of Roman commanders, Livy at times is quite outspoken.[7] Efforts to excuse Roman defeats are rarer in the fifth decade than earlier.[8] Did he perhaps in the later, lost portions of his work emphasize these negative features more strongly with the aim of rendering evident the decline after 146 B.C.? The picture of Roman history which Livy communicates has many dimensions. He did not aim at any systematic distortion.[9]

The portraits of individual figures—Perseus is an instance[10]—are not free from internal contradictions. In the judgment of his charac-

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[1] KLINGNER, Geisteswelt 476.

[2] H. TRÄNKLE 1977, 161.

[3] M. MERTEN 1965.

[4] J. KROYMANN, Römische Kriegführung im Geschichtswerk des Livius, Gymnasium 56, 1949, 121–134.

[5] M. MERTEN 1965. In his picture of internal Roman disputes, he makes use of a line of argument recalling the well-known 'speeches of barbarians': K. BAYER, Römer kritisieren Römer. Zu Livius 38, 44, 9–50, 3, Anregung 30, 1984, 15–17.

[6] H. TRÄNKLE 1977, 144–154.

[7] P. JAL, edition, *books* 43–44, p. lii; H. TRÄNKLE 1977, 132–135.

[8] P. JAL, ibid., p. liii; H. BRUCKMANN, Die römischen Niederlagen im Geschichtswerk des T. Livius, diss. Münster 1936, 121.

[9] H. TRÄNKLE 1977, 131–132 is more cautious in his judgment than H. NISSEN 1863, 29–31. Livy appears as patriot and propagandist in A. HUS, La version livienne d'un récit polybien, in: Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. BOYANCÉ, Roma 1974, 419–434.

[10] P. JAL, ibid., p. cii.

ters, Livy 'guides' his readers. At first he likes to draw a positive picture. Criticism often follows after a period of office is concluded (just as a lawsuit was impermissible against magistrates in office). The departing commander boasts of his achievements. His successor takes a skeptical view of the military situation. An example is the verdict of Aemilius Paullus on his predecessors (45. 41. 5). Hannibal, though introduced critically (cf. 21. 4. 9) is presented with increasing admiration and sympathy.[1]

Literary means are used here to convey a content. Indirect presentation allows the author to illuminate his object from different viewpoints. Livy avoids direct praise, allowing, for example, the Greeks themselves to express their joy at their liberation by the Romans (33. 33. 5; contrast Polyb. 18. 46. 14). The same may be said of criticism. In a letter to Prusias, Antiochus condemns Roman imperialism (37. 25. 4–7; cf. Polyb. 21. 11. 1–2). A missive from the Scipios offers the countervailing defense of Roman policy (Livy 37. 25. 8–12; cf. Polyb. 21. 11. 3–11). Thus Livy constructs a 'stage' capable of more than theatrical effects. It allows a 'three dimensional' presentation, which, for all its patriotism, is able to create the impression of a certain objectivity.

Sympathy with the Senate. In his picture of the senate, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, has eyes for nothing but the self-interested behavior of the Roman nobility. Livy, by contrast, idealizes the senate, and to a large extent leaves the social, economic, and political background of his story in obscurity. The word *plebs* continually receives negative attributes,[2] though Livy may also praise the *modestia* (4. 6. 12) of the common people when it is inspired by *concordia.* He is prejudiced from the start against 'popular' consuls such as Flaminius, Minucius, and Terentius Varro.[3] In the 3rd, 4th and 5th decades, Livy supplies invaluable material[4] about senatorial proceedings, but he pays insufficient attention to the groupings of different families, conservatives around the Fabii, and liberal-progressives around the

[1] On the development in the picture of Hannibal, cf. W. Will, *Mirabilior adversis quam secundis rebus.* Zum Bild Hannibals in der 3. Dekade des Livius, WJA 9, 1983, 157–171.

[2] L. Bruno, *Libertas plebis* in Tito Livio, GIF 19, 1966, 107–130, esp. 121 with note 126.

[3] Livy 22. 30 and 45.

[4] It provides evidence for F. Münzer, Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien, Stuttgart 1920.

Aemilii and the Cornelii. This often leads him to overlook the real motives in electoral struggles, although, in succession to Cicero and the Greeks, he attempts to understand events pragmatically by studying *consilia—acta—eventus.*

Livy's own point of view. As a Paduan, Livy was by tradition a supporter of the Roman senate. As an outsider, however, he had little understanding of the methods by which the power of the Roman senate was controlled to the advantage of the noble families. His closeness to Augustus has at times been exaggerated.[1] The extent to which he either champions or warns against monarchy[2] is disputed. His Camillus[3] displays features anticipating those of Augustus, but this does not justify any far-reaching conclusions. A possible criticism of Augustus in the later books[4] must remain entirely at the level of hypothesis. Conclusions for social history may be drawn from the speech of Valerius Corvus with its quite un-patrician note of the *homo novus* (7. 32. 10–17)[5] in the style of Marius' speech in Sallust (*Jug.* 85). Livy was from a *municipium*, just like Augustus. From the emperor, the knights—including the municipal aristocracy—received enhanced status. The historian was addressing himself to the upper classes of this new society.[6]

Like great epics, important works of history may arise after periods of profound social change, but only so long as a retrospective glance at the past is still to some extent possible. Viewed nostalgically, the Republic underwent a transfiguration. Some motifs of the older period were no longer understood by Livy; his question remained: what was the message of the past for the present?[7] He read the book of history, not as a politician or soldier, but as a human being.

Cultural Development. Using the regal period as his example, the historian elaborates the kinds of behavior leading to Rome's greatness. In this respect ἀρχαιολογία for Livy, as for the Greeks, was no mere retailing of sagas and surmises, but a science.[8] The historian's

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[1] G. Stübler 1941; the correct view in R. Syme 1959.

[2] H. Petersen, Livy and Augustus, TAPhA 92, 1961, 440–452.

[3] J. Hellegouarc'h, Le principat de Camille, REL 48, 1970, 112–132.

[4] H.-J. Mette, Livius und Augustus, Gymnasium 68, 1961, 269–285; repr. in: E. Burck, ed., Wege zu Livius . . ., 156–166.

[5] J. Hellegouarc'h 1974, 207–238.

[6] Syme, Revolution 317; 468.

[7] Kroll, Studien 361.

[8] E. J. Bickerman, *Origines gentium*, CPh 47, 1952, 65–81.

interest[1] in men and society deserves attention. The earliest days of Rome, as reconstructed by him, display conceptual unity. Romulus and Numa are two contrasting figures illustrating different interpretations of the 'kingly' office. The third king, the martial Tullus Hostilius, embodies the 'warrior' function; the fourth, Ancus Marcius, the founder of the harbor town of Ostia and friend of the *plebs*, plays the role of 'economist'.[2] The question whether these myths about early Rome reflect an Old Roman theology (Jupiter-Mars-Quirinus) or sprang from the brain of a Platonizing Greek may be left unanswered, but they had great significance for Livy. They showed from what elements Roman society was constructed. The rape of the Sabine women with its subsequent union (συνοικισμός) of two peoples, the story of Tarpeia, of Horatius Cocles, and the struggle of the three Horatii and Curiatii, are also open to interpretations on which light is shed by comparative mythology. The very successes of 'functional' analysis are a positive proof of the fact that Rome's early 'history' is mythology. In spite of the rediscovery of the historical basis to individual elements of Rome's early history, particularly with the aid of archeology,[3] the historicity of these early rulers cannot be considered. Rather, the story of the kings reveals how in Rome of the historical period, with Greek assistance, the development of a *res publica* was imagined.

Under Tarquinius Priscus, Rome completed the transition from an archaic to a more modern stage. With Tanaquil, a woman intervened in politics. Tarquin enjoyed a Greek education, he was an orator and owed his success to that art. This allows the recognition that behind the presentation of this first demagogue among the kings lurks a development only apparent later which provided inspiration for pseudohistorical invention. This was a proceeding often to be repeated in the course of Roman history. The same principle guides our historian as he seeks and finds in the Roman past the qualities of which his own time is in need; what we today call 'morality', is quite insufficient to describe adequately Livy's interest in social psychology.

There is also here however a little noticed but genuinely historical approach. Livy does not sketch a static picture of the Roman national

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[1] Dumézil, Mythe, vol. 1.

[2] The sequence is seen somewhat differently by R. J. Penella, War, Peace, and the *Ius Fetiale* in Livy 1, CPh 82, 1987, 233–237.

[3] E. Burck, Die Frühgeschichte Roms bei Livius im Lichte der Denkmäler, Gymnasium 75, 1968, 74–110.

character. He shows that it was not only values which developed gradually.[1] The historian is conscious of the difference in outlook between his contemporaries and Romans of old.

Transmission[2]

The emended text of the first decade[3] deriving from the circle of Symmachus is preserved in the Codex Mediceus Laurentianus, plut. LXIII, 19 (M; before A.D. 968) with three subscriptions from late Antiquity. This was not a critical edition of the text in the modern sense,[4] but the settlement of a text (perhaps only in a single exemplar) which has set the standard for our transmission. It is considerably superior to the leaves of the Veronese palimpsest XL (V; early 5th century), with fragments from books 3–6, which, although independent of M, go back to a common source. Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1379 is the only preserved fragment of a *volumen* of Livy (1. 5. 6–1. 6. 1), but is of little importance for textual criticism. The medieval manuscripts for the most part date back to the 9th and 11th centuries, though the Floriacensis (Paris. Lat. 5724) is of the 9th century.

The most important witness for the third decade is the Puteaneus Paris. Lat. 5730 (P; 5th century). Its lacunae are supplemented by completely preserved copies: Vaticanus Reginensis 762 (R; 9th century) and Parisinus Colbertinus (C; ca. 11th century). Two further manuscripts are now lost: the Spirensis[5] and the Turin palimpsest (Taurin. A II 2) from Bobbio, of which eight leaves were known. Of them, one was lost before it could be collated by W. Studemund in 1869, and seven were destroyed by fire in 1904.

The fourth decade reached the Middle Ages in three manuscripts. Of an ancient manuscript from Piacenza (obtained by Otto III), only fragments

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[1] This is a principal thesis of T. J. Luce 1977, 230–297.

[2] R. M. Ogilvie, The Manuscript Tradition of Livy's First Decade, CQ n.s. 7, 1957, 68–81; A. de la Mare, Florentine Manuscripts of Livy in the Fifteenth Century, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Livy, London 1971, 177–195; R. Seider, Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Liviushandschriften, Bibliothek und Wissenschaft 14, 1980, 128–152; M. D. Reeve, The Transmission of Livy 26–40, RFIC I 14, 1986, 129–172 (bibliography); idem, The Third Decade of Livy in Italy. The Family of the Puteaneus, RFIC 115, 1987, 129–164; idem, The Third Decade of Livy in Italy. The Spirensian Tradition, RFIC 115, 1987, 405–440.

[3] The term 'decades' is found for the first time in A.D. 496: Gelasius I *Adversus Andromachum contra Lupercalia, epist.* C, 12, CSEL 35, 457.

[4] J. E. G. Zetzel, The Subscriptions in the Manuscripts of Livy and Fronto and the Meaning of *emendatio*, CPh 75, 1980, 38–59.

[5] On this M. D. Reeve 1987 loc. cit.

are now preserved at Bamberg (F; Bamb. Class. 35 a; 5th century). Luckily, an extremely faithful copy now survives (B; Bambergensis M IV 9, 11th century), containing the fourth decade down to 38. 46. Independent evidence is provided by fragments from the 'Sancta Sanctorum' Capella in the Lateran (R; Vat. Lat. 10 696, 4th–5th century). The third, likewise independent, ancient manuscript was the now-lost archetype of the Codex Moguntinus (Mg), which survives only in printed versions (Mainz 1519 and Basle 1535). In collecting the preserved portions of the first four decades, Petrarch put scholarship in his debt.

For the fifth decade (books 41–45) only a single manuscript is available (V = Vindob. Lat. 15, early 5th century). It was discovered in 1527 by Simon Grynaeus in the monastery at Lorsch. Books 41–45 were published for the first time in 1531 in his edition at Basle. Finally, the Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 24 preserves a double leaved palimpsest fragment of book 91 of Livy. It also was found at Lorsch.

Influence[1]

In spite of the criticisms made by Asinius Pollio (*apud* Quint. *inst.* 8. 1. 3; 1. 5. 56) and the emperor Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 34. 4), Livy soon became a general favorite. The Elder Seneca praised his art of character portrayal (*suas.* 6. 21), while Quintilian[2] ranked him with Herodotus (10. 1. 101–102). His trustworthiness and eloquence were praised by Tacitus (*ann.* 4. 34. 3; *Agr.* 10. 3), and he was read by Pliny (*epist.* 6. 20. 5). In general, he provided material for rhetorical instruction (e.g. Hannibal: Juvenal 10. 147). Valerius Maximus took some of his *exempla* from him, and Frontinus drew on him for instances of military stratagems (*strat.* 2. 5. 31; 34). Curtius imitated his literary methods,[3] and Silius Italicus used him as the principal source for his *Punica.* The compilation of epitomes[4] began perhaps already

[1] M. Grant, The Ancient Historians, London 1970, esp. 217–242 (Livy) and 396–399 (subsequent influence).

[2] F. Quadlbauer, *Livi lactea ubertas*—Bemerkungen zu einer quintilianischen Formel und ihrer Nachwirkung, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 347–366.

[3] W. Rutz, *Seditionum procellae*—Livianisches in der Darstellung der Meuterei von Opis bei Curtius Rufus, E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., ibid., 399–409.

[4] C. M. Begbie, The Epitome of Livy, CQ n.s. 17, 1967, 332–338; P. L. Schmidt, Julius Obsequens und das Problem der Livius-Epitome. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der lateinischen Prodigienliteratur, AAWM 1968, 5; L. Bessone, La tradizione epitomatoria liviana in età imperiale, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1230–1263.

in the first to 2nd centuries.[1] In Hadrian's time, Florus and Granius Licinianus used him as a basis for their own novel historical works. To this tradition later belonged Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Festus, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and Julius Obsequens.[2] The poet Alfius Avitus (2nd century) turned passages of Livy into verse, for example, the tale of the schoolmaster from Falerii.[3] The surviving summaries of the contents of the various books (*periochae*) are dated to the 4th century. We also possess an epitome from Oxyrhynchus for books 37–40, 48–55, and 87–88.[4] The pious Eugippius (6th century) depends on Livy for his description of a crossing of the Alps.[5]

The significance of Livy for the Carolingian Renaissance has not yet been clarified.[6] In library catalogues of the 12th century there are frequent references to manuscripts of Livy. The story of Verginia is adapted in the *Roman de la rose* of Jean de Meung (about 1275). Nicholas Trevet (Oxford) was commissioned by the church to compose a commentary on the historian (about 1318). Dante speaks of Livy as one 'who does not err' (*Inf.* 28. 7–12, alluding to Livy 23. 12. 1). In essence, it seems that in the Middle Ages it was the first four books that were known. The copy of Livy made by Petrarch when he was only twenty years old (now in the British Museum) includes books 1–10 and 21–39. The poet also wrote a letter to the historian.[7] Livy's heroes appear in his sonnets, and Scipio was the hero of his Latin epic, the *Africa*. Boccaccio (d. 1375) is said to have translated Livy into Italian, and to have taken part in the purloining of the manuscript at Montecassino and its removal to Florence. Between 1352 and 1359 Pierre Bersuire,[8] a Benedictine monk and

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[1] L. Ascher, An Epitome of Livy in Martial's Day?, CB 45, 1968–69, 53–54.

[2] H. Brandt, König Numa in der Spätantike. Zur Bedeutung eines frührömischen *exemplum* in der spätrömischen Literatur, MH 45, 1988, 98–110.

[3] P. Steinmetz, Livius bei Alfius Avitus, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., ibid., 435–447.

[4] A commentary is found in E. Kornemann, Die neue Livius-Epitome aus Oxyrhynchus, Klio Beiheft 2, Leipzig 1904, repr. 1963.

[5] W. Berschin, Livius und Eugippius. Ein Vergleich zweier Schilderungen des Alpenübergangs, AU 31, 4, 1988, 37–46, esp. 42.

[6] H. Mordek, Livius und Einhard. Gedanken über das Verhältnis der Karolinger zur antiken Literatur, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., ibid., 337–346.

[7] P. L. Schmidt, Petrarca an Livius (*fam.* 24. 8), in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., ibid., 421–433.

[8] D. Messner, Die französischen Liviusübersetzungen, in: K. R. Bausch, H. M. Gauger, eds., Interlinguistica. Sprachvergleich und Übersetzung, FS M. Wandruszka, Tübingen 1971, 700–712; I. Zacher, Die Livius-Illustration in der Pariser

friend of Petrarch's at Avignon, was commissioned by King Jean le Bon to make a partial translation into French, destined to provide sustenance for two centuries of readers. It was on Bersuire that Spanish (Lopez de Ayala 1407), Catalan, and Scottish translators (Bellenden) drew.

Though Livy was read at first for his collection of examples illustrating military tactics, political shrewdness and virtues, for the humanists of the High Renaissance with their hero worship he became the greatest of Roman historians. Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457) made notes in Petrarch's copy of Livy. In 1469 the Latin text was printed in Rome. This was followed by translations into German (1505) and Italian (1535) as well as a partial translation into English (1544). The *Supplementa Liviana* by Johannes Freinsheim were influential up to the 19th century; they were often published together with Livy's text.

Livy's story of Sophonisba (30. 12–15) provided the model for one of the earliest and most influential of Renaissance tragedies (G. G. Trissino, *Sofonisba* 1514/15). Machiavelli (d. 1527) composed his celebrated *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (published posthumously in 1531).[1] Livy was cited there 58 times in all, but a century later a committee of Venetian senators came to the conclusion that 'Livy was less to blame than Tacitus for Machiavelli's undesirable political views.'[2] Erasmus of Rotterdam (d. 1536) did not take Livy into his recommended list of educational readings, perhaps because hero worship was now less fashionable. But in 1548, the historian's native city, Padua, raised a mausoleum to him. Montaigne (d. 1592) was one of Livy's readers. Livy and Ovid were the sources of Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*[3] (1594). Corneille (d. 1684) modeled his tragedy *Horace* on Livy. Livy's impressive scenes, his exemplary characters and his ideas of civic behavior influenced literature and

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Buchmalerei (1370–1420), diss. Berlin 1971; C. J. Wittlin, ed., T. Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 1, 1–9. Ein mittellateinischer Kommentar und sechs romanische Übersetzungen und Kürzungen aus dem Mittelalter, Tübingen 1970.

[1] F. Mehmel, Machiavelli und die Antike, A&A 3, 1948, 152–186; J. H. Whitfeld, Machiavelli's Use of Livy, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Livy, London 1971, 73–96; G. Poma, Machiavelli e il decemvirato, RSA 15, 1985, 285–289; R. T. Ridley, Machiavelli's Edition of Livy, Rinascimento 27, 1987, 327–341.

[2] M. Grant, op. cit., 397.

[3] See also R. Klesczewski, Wandlungen des Lucretia-Bildes im lateinischen Mittelalter und in der italienischen Literatur der Renaissance, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 313–335; W. Schubert, Herodot, Livius und die Gestalt des Collatinus in der Lucretia-Geschichte, RhM 134, 1991, 80–96, esp. 91–92.

the arts from the Renaissance down to the time of the French Revolution.[1]

Livy became the model for historical writing among the new nations of Europe, who found particular inspiration in his picture of citizen spirit. His 1st books (in the translation of Du Rier, edition of 1722) inspired Montesquieu[2] to his pamphlet against the tyranny of princes (1734). Hugo Grotius made use of examples predominantly from Livy in developing his notions of international law.[3] Patriots advised young men to read Livy (and Plutarch). To the orators of the French Revolution, speeches from Livy, selected and translated by Rousseau, served as models.[4]

In the 19th century, B. G. Niebuhr recognized that Livy's 1st books were without historical value.[5] No doubt as a historian Livy does not satisfy the standards set, for example, by Polybius. But he furnishes, even if uncritically, a mass of information about the Roman Republic. In recent decades, archaeology and comparative study of myth even in subject matter have discovered new aspects of his work.

As a writer and narrator, Livy is a towering figure. The *Pax Augusta* secured a certain distance on the past and made a retrospect possible. Livy both assimilated the past and remodeled it for his own day, emphasizing the human aspects rather than technicalities and military details. It was thanks to the *ethos*, the mature narrative art, and the subtle handling of language displayed by Livy that Roman history became for Europe a storehouse of typical characters and human destinies whose influence may be compared with that of Greek mythology.

Editions: C. Sweynheym, A. Pannartz, Romae 1469. * W. Weissenborn, M. Müller (TC), 10 vols., Berlin, last revised editions 1880–1924, repr. 1962. * R. S. Conway, C. F. Walters, S. K. Johnson, A. H. McDonald, 5 vols. (*books 1–35*), Oxford 1914–1965. * B. O. Foster, R. M. Geer, F. G.

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[1] R. Rieks, Zur Wirkung des Livius vom 16. bis zum 18. Jh., in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 367–397; H. Meusel, Horatier und Curiatier. Ein Livius-Motiv und seine Rezeption, AU 31, 5, 1988, 66–90.

[2] S. M. Mason, Livy and Montesquieu, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Livy, London 1971, 118–158.

[3] von Albrecht, Rom 58–72.

[4] M. Grant, op. cit., 397.

[5] K. R. Prowse, Livy and Macaulay, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Livy, London 1971, 159–176.

MOORE, E. T. SAGE, A. C. SCHLESINGER (TTrN), London 1919–1959, repr. 1963–1971.* J. BAYET, G. BAILLET, R. BLOCH, C. GUITTARD, A. MANUELIAN, J.-M. ENGEL, R. ADAM, C. GOUILLART, A. HUS, P. JAL, F. NICOLET-CROIZAT (TTrN), 34 vols., (21 publ. hitherto), Paris 1947–1992. * J. FEIX, H. J. HILLEN (TTr), 8 vols. hitherto, München 1974–1991. * R. FEGER, M. GIEBEL, L. FLADERER and others (TTr), Stuttgart 1981 ff. ** *Books 1–5*: R. M. OGILVIE (C), Oxford 1965. * R. M. OGILVIE (T), Oxford 1974. * *Book 21*: P. G. WALSH (TC, ind.), London 1973. * *Books 21–25*: T. A. DOREY, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1971–1976. * *Books 21–30*: H. A. GÄRTNER (TrN), Stuttgart 1968. * *Books 26–30*: P. G. WALSH, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1982–1986. * *Books 31–37*: J. BRISCOE (C), 2 vols., Oxford 1973–1981. * *Books 31–40*: J. BRISCOE, 2 vols., Stutgardiae 1991. * *Books 41–45*: J. BRISCOE, Stutgardiae 1986. ** *Concordance*: D. W. PACKARD, A Concordance to Livy, 4 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1968. ** *Bibl.*: E. BURCK, preface and bibl. survey, in: Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius, Berlin 2nd ed. 1964, pp. ix–xxviii. * E. BURCK, bibl., in: id., ed., Wege zu Livius, 540–548. * W. KISSEL, Livius 1933–1978: Eine Gesamtbibliographie, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 899–997. * J. E. PHILLIPS, Current Research in Livy's First Decade 1959–1979, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 998–1057. * H. AILI, Livy's Language. A Critical Survey of Research, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1122–1147.

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Seeck, Livius: Schriftsteller oder Historiker? Zum Problem der literarischen Darstellung historischer Vorgänge (Livius, Buch 21), in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 81–95. * P. A. Stadter, The Structure of Livy's History, Historia 21, 1972, 287–307. * P. Steinmetz, Eine Darstellungsform des Livius, Gymnasium 79, 1972, 191–208. * H. Strasburger, Livius über Caesar—Unvollständige Überlegungen, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius . . ., 265–291. * G. Stübler, Die Religiosität des Livius, Stuttgart 1941. * R. Syme, Livy and Augustus, HSPh 64, 1959, 27–87. * H. Taine, Essai sur Tite-Live, Paris 1853. * H. Tränkle, Der Anfang des römischen Freistaats in der Darstellung des Livius, Hermes 93, 1965, 311–337. * H. Tränkle, Beobachtungen und Erwägungen zum Wandel der livianischen Sprache, WS n.s. 2, 1968, 103–152. * H. Tränkle, Cato in der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, AAWM 1971. * H. Tränkle, Livius und Polybios, Basel 1977. * A. J. Vermeulen, Gloria, RLAC 11, 1981, 196–225. * E. Vetter, Zur Darstellung des römischen Gründungsmythos bei Livius (Liv. 1. 1–16), in: Didactica classica Gandensia 19, 1979, 183–219. * P. G. Walsh, Livy. His Historical Aims and Methods, Cambridge 1961. * P. G. Walsh, Livy, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Latin Historians, London 1966, 115–142. * P. G. Walsh, Livy, Oxford 1974. * P. G. Walsh, Livy and the Aims of *historia*: an Analysis of the Third Decade, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1058-1074. * F. W. Walbank, The Fourth and Fifth Decades, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Livy, London 1971, 47–72. * G. Wille, Der Aufbau des livianischen Geschichtswerks, Amsterdam 1973. * K. Witte, Über die Form der Darstellung in Livius' Geschichtswerk, RhM 65, 1910, 270–305 and 359–419. * E. Wölfflin, Die Dekaden des Livius, Philologus 33, 1874, 139–147.

POMPEIUS TROGUS

Life and Dates

Pompeius Trogus was of Gaulish stock (Vocontii). More than his origin, it must have been his education that contributed to the breadth of his historical horizons. Rhetoric (Iust. *praef.* 1) was not his only field of study. He was a Roman citizen. One of his ancestors had served Pompey, while his father enjoyed the confidence of Caesar. The latest facts he mentions are the surrender by the Parthians of the standards lost at Carrhae (20 B.C., Iust. 42. 5. 11) and the end of the Spanish War (19 B.C., Iust. 44. 5. 8). Furthermore, he was already acquainted with a large section of Livy's history (Iust. 38. 3. 11). A *terminus ante quem* of 2 B.C. was earlier assumed, a time which

witnessed writings by Hyginus in which Trogus seems to be used.[1] Nowadays, a date under Tiberius is preferred. If Trogus is treated here, this is because he provides an essential supplement to Livy.

Survey of Works

De animalibus (book 10 is cited).
Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV
The first six books dealt with the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Scythians, and Greeks. In books 7–40, the Macedonian monarchy and the kingdoms of the Diadochi were presented, down to the time when they were absorbed by Rome. In book 41, Trogus turned to the history of the Parthians, taking the story down to the restoration of the standards to Augustus in 20. A retrospective glance at the Roman regal period breaks off with Tarquinius Priscus. Gaul and Spain followed, down to Augustus' victory over the Spaniards.

The Macedonian Empire formed the center and the Roman Empire the culmination of Trogus' work. All local developments climaxed in that of Rome. This artistic structure is particularly visible in his prologues.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The chief source of his scientific work was Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*, though Trogus also made use of other authors (for example, Theophrastus).

The model for his history has been conjectured to be Timagenes of Alexandria, who came to Rome in the time of Pompey. But there must have been several sources (*praef.* 1. 3 *quae historici Graecorum . . . segregatim occupaverunt*, 'which the Greek historians . . . treated separately'). And we have to postulate an influence, if partly indirect, of the entire Greek tradition from Herodotus to Posidonius.

Literary Technique

Examples of historiographical technique in Trogus are his prologues and use of digressions with geographical or ethnographical content, in a way reminiscent of Herodotus. Though he shows a preference

[1] A. Klotz, Studien zu Valerius Maximus und den Exempla, SBAW 1942, 5, 79–80; in favor of A.D. 14–30: O. Seel, transl., introd. 15–18; and O. Seel 1982, 1414–1416.

for elevated rhetorical discourse, he has a surprising dislike for direct speeches,[1] and criticizes their employment in Sallust and Livy (Iust. 38. 3. 11). His narrative is not that of the chronicle. He depicts even moods in an effort to lay bare the inner motivation of the action. His limit on the number of characters involved in action is also a feature reminiscent of Hellenistic historical writing. He displays his art of indirect characterization notably in passages of quite satirical power (e.g. 38. 4).

Language and Style

The speech of Mithridates (38. 4) is almost the only example giving an idea of Trogus' language. This is a long oration in *oratio obliqua.* The expression is terse and spare. Antitheses and clausula rhythms are appropriately employed. Occasionally, the use of images raises the style to greater intensity. The total effect is classical, and there is no trace of Sallustian archaism. The language has a certain resemblance to that of Livy, though the individual clauses are shorter and more sharply phrased.

World of Ideas

Trogus' purpose was to present non-Roman history, and so to provide a supplement to authors like Livy (Iust. *praef.* 1). Although expressions and speeches hostile to Rome are not lacking (28. 2; 38. 4), Trogus' sentiments are those of a Roman (Iust. 43. 1. 1). Like many Roman historians, he emphasizes the moral forces at work in events. Particular attention is merited by his sequence of world empires, with its center in that of the Macedonians and its culmination in the Roman *imperium* under Augustus.

Transmission

Trogus is known to us through the excerpts made by M. Junian(i)us Justinus. To this may be added prologues with indications of the theme and secondary evidence found particularly in collections of *exempla.* There are many

[1] Justin twice turns indirect speeches of Trogus back into direct (14. 4. 1; 18. 7. 10).

manuscripts of Justinus. The main line of transmission, falling into three classes, is to be contrasted with the Codex Casinas sive Laurentianus 66, 21, (11th century). This contains 16–26. 1. 8; 30. 2. 8–44. 4. 3, and it alone supplies the lacuna at 24. 6. 6.

Influence

The scientific work provided material for Pliny the Elder.

The historical work at first was more used than cited, as by Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Curtius, Frontinus, Polyaenus, and the grammarians. The excerpt made by Justinus survives. It was much used by the *Historia Augusta*, Augustine, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and medieval authors. Trogus' concept of universal history exercised great influence; this is especially true of his theory of the world empires (*translatio imperii*).

Editions: Iustini historici clarissimi in Trogi Pompeii historias libri XLIIII, Venetiis, Nicol. Ienson 1470. * J. Bongars cum notis, Paris 1581. * F. Ruehl, A. de Gutschmid (edition of Justinus, with the prologues to Trogus), Lipsiae 1907. * O. Seel, Lipsiae 1935, Stutgardiae 2nd ed. 1972. * O. Seel (synopsis of sources), Lipsiae 1956. * O. Seel (TrN), Zürich 1972. * L. Santi Amantini (TTrN), Milano 1981. ** *Ind.*: (complete, in:) P. J. Cantel (edition of Justinus), Paris 1677. * O. Eichert, Vollständiges Wörterbuch zur philippischen Geschichte des Justinus, Hannover 1882, repr. 1967. ** *Bibl.*: L. Bregia Pulci Doria, Recenti studi su Pompeo Trogo, PP 30, 1975, 468–477; s. also G. Forni 1982.

J. M. Alonso-Núñez, An Augustan World History. The *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, G&R 34, 1987, 56–72. * J. M. Alonso-Núñez, Pompeius Trogus on Spain, Latomus 47, 1988, 117–130. * J. M. Alonso-Núñez, La *Historia universal* de Pompeyo Trogo. Coordenadas espaciales y temporales, Madrid 1992. * M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, M. Giacchero, Atene e Sparta nella storiografia trogiana (415–400 a.C), Genova 1974. * M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, G. Forni, Pompeo Trogo come fonte di storia, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1298–1362. * L. Ferrero, Struttura e metodo dell'Epitome di Giustino, Torino 1957. * G. Forni, Valore storico e fonti di Pompeo Trogo, Urbino 1958. * A. Klotz, Pompeius 142 (Trogus), RE 21, 2, 1952, 2300–2313. * T. Liebmann-Frankfort, L'histoire des Parthes dans le livre XLI de Trogue-Pompée. Essai d'identification de ses sources, Latomus 28, 1969, 894–922. * F. F. Lühr, *Nova imperii cupiditate.* Zum ersten Kapitel der Weltgeschichte des Pompeius Trogus, GB 9, 1980, 133–154. * J. S. Prendergast, The Philosophy of History of Pompeius Trogus, diss. Illinois

1961. * H. D. RICHTER, Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Historiographie. Die Vorlagen des Pompeius Trogus für die Darstellung der nachalexandrinischen hellenistischen Geschichte (Iust. 13–40), Frankfurt 1987. * E. SALOMONE, Fonti e valore storico di Pompeo Trogo (Iustin. 38, 8, 2–40), Genova 1973. * L. SANTI AMANTINI, Fonti e valore storico di Pompeo Trogo (Iustin. 35 e 36), Genova 1972. * O. SEEL, Die Praefatio des Pompeius Trogus, Erlangen 1955. * O. SEEL, Eine römische Weltgeschichte. Studien zum Text der *Epitome* des Iustinus und zur Historik des Pompeius Trogus, Nürnberg 1972. * O. SEEL, Pompeius Trogus und das Problem der Universalgeschichte, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1363–1423. * W. SUERBAUM, Vom antiken zum mittelalterlichen Staatsbegriff. Über Verwendung von *res publica, regnum, imperium* und *status* von Cicero bis Iordanis, Münster 3rd ed. 1977. * J. THÉRASSE, Le moralisme de Justin (Trogue-Pompée) contre Alexandre le Grand. Son influence sur l'œuvre de Quinte-Curce, AC 37, 1968, 551–588. * R. URBAN, 'Gallisches Bewußtsein' und 'Romkritik' bei Pompeius Trogus, ANRW 2, 30, 2, 1982, 1424–1443. * R. URBAN, '*Historiae Philippicae*' bei Pompeius Trogus. Versuch einer Deutung, Historia 31, 1982, 82–96. * H. VOLKMANN, Antike Romkritik. Topik und historische Wirklichkeit, Gymnasium suppl. 4, Heidelberg 1964, 9–20.

B. ORATORY

ORATORS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

An unusually lively and fascinating picture of the orators of the Augustan period is conveyed to us by the Elder Seneca who, especially in the introductions to his books, sets before our eyes their individual personalities.

Oratory is an area of literature on which political changes are traced with the accuracy of the seismograph. While poetry experienced a time of classicism or of late classicism, the content of oratory underwent a painful transformation, whereas its style meant a step towards modernism. Certain categories of eloquence lost in significance, while others gained. Speakers such as Cassius Severus, who failed to observe or did not accept the fact that political oratory had lost its purpose, and sought to occupy a position of vigilance in society—the preservation and assertion of traditional values without regard to the person—were obliged to go off into exile, and enjoyed on lonely islands the opportunity to reflect on changing times (Tac.

ann. 1. 72; 4. 21). Severus, the self-styled critic of morals, may have provoked the senators in addition by his modest origins. The *princeps* was clever enough to play on their social sensitivities. But even the aristocratic Labienus fared no better. Courageous and candid as a speaker to the point of recklessness, he was driven to suicide, after the senate had ordered the burning of his books (s. above, Historians of the Augustan Period).

The older generation of Augustan orators is chiefly represented by C. Asinius Pollio (s. above, Historians of the Augustan Period) and M. Valerius Messalla.[1] These were figures morally independent of Augustus, and they won repute also as patrons of literature.

To the younger generation belong: Messalla's sons, Messallinus and Cotta, and Paullus Fabius Maximus. These were among the addressees of Ovid's poems from exile. The defense of a celebrated poet or intervention to secure his recall would have been in Republican times a challenging task for an orator. Now it was a hopeless undertaking, more likely to do harm than good. Just like the forensic speech, so the political speech naturally continued to exist. But its scope was essentially diminished, in spite of the flattering extension of some of the senate's powers. Now, important questions were mostly decided behind closed doors.

The virtuosi of the declamation were to be distinguished from the orators of the senate and forum. While public oratory was losing real significance, in auditoria and lecture rooms eloquence became a hothouse plant. Here even non-senators could shine as orators, practicing their wit on fantastic themes, whose contacts with reality could be easily excused as coincidence.

Among teachers of oratory, the Asianist Arellius Fuscus and M. Porcius Latro, a friend of Seneca the Elder, deserve particular mention. They were Ovid's teachers, and in his work modern rhetoric exercised a fruitful influence on poetry.[2] The Augustan school declamation was a genre fraught with consequences for the future. Modernistic prose would reach its height in the philosophical writings of the Younger Seneca. The pointed style, the opposite pole from Cicero's extensive periods, and rhetorical invention made their mark even on Imperial poetry. With Ovid and Lucan, they perme-

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[1] To these may be added, among others, Furnius, Atratinus, Arruntius, Haterius.
[2] Other masters of declamation were: the Roman knight Blandus, Albucius Silus, Passienus, Cestius Pius, Alfius Flavus.

ated epic; with Seneca, tragedy. Declamation will be described later in connection with the Elder Seneca.

To an independent group belongs the *Laudatio Turiae*[1] preserved by an inscription, dated to the last decade of the 1st century B.C. This is a funeral speech uttered by a husband in honor of his deceased wife. The fact that the identification of the persons involved is not quite certain perhaps raises the symbolic value of the piece ('praise of an unknown wife'), but the speech is utterly personal. The old Roman genre of the *laudatio funebris* had long been transformed into literature: cf. Varro's *satura* Περὶ ἐγκωμίων and Caesar's speech on Julia. Here literary form and language are simple, unpretentious, and free of artifice. In content, the conventional eulogy of domestic virtues is outshone by quite specific individual traits, which convey the picture of a woman of importance. The speech, reflecting the fate of a married couple in troubled times, touches the reader by its emphasis on the sacrificial character of the two spouses and the modernity of their feelings.

Editions: ORF; Sen. *contr.* und *suas.* (bibl. s. under Seneca the Elder). * L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560, esp. 1503–1525. * R. Syme, History in Ovid, Oxford 1978 (Index of Proper Names).

C. PHILOSOPHY

PHILOSOPHICAL WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

In the Augustan period philosophy at Rome enjoyed a good reputation and a good audience, but it had no representative of distinction. Virgil and Horace were attracted to Epicureanism, Virgil and Ovid to Pythagoreanism, all of these and particularly Manilius show Stoic

[1] CIL VI 1527 with appendix 31 670; Dessau 8393; M. Durry (Text, Translation, Commentary), Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine (Éloge dit de Turia), Paris 1950 (bibl.); W. Kierdorf, Laudatio funebris. Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede, Meisenheim 1980, esp. 33–48; P. Cutolo, Sugli aspetti letterari, poetici e culturali della cosidetta *Laudatio Turiae*, AFLN 26, 1983–1984, 33–65.

influences. Even the architect Vitruvius emphasized the value of philosophy for the study of his discipline (cf. 1. 1. 7). Prominent amateurs included Livy and Augustus, who wrote incidentally on philosophy, though in this area can hardly themselves have hoped for lasting fame.

The shift of emphasis is typical of the times. At the beginning of the Augustan period, a rational approach predominated among readers, with an interest in practical ethics, along with a somewhat more strongly felt bias towards politics. As the bias towards politics diminished during the course of the period, there was an increase of interest in natural science on the one side, and on the other in the search for practical help in life (even extending to dietary questions) and edification with a slight mystical slant.

The audience was select, but the technical literature just average. The lost tomes of a certain 'long-winded Fabius' and a 'bleary-eyed Crispinus' (Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 13–14; 120–121), like the 220 volumes of Stertinius (ps.-Acro, Hor. *epist.* 1. 12. 20)[1] will scarcely draw a tear even from friends of the Stoa. Of more importance were the Sextii, who wrote in Greek. In the train of the early Stoa and of the Cynics, they expounded sober rules for life,[2] attractive to the common sense of Romans of the old stamp (*Romani roboris secta*: Sen. *nat.* 7. 32. 2). The assertion that Jupiter could do no more than a good man (Sen. *epist.* 73. 12) likewise struck an answering chord in the minds of Roman readers attitude toward life. To the taste of a generation already inclined towards mysticism, corresponded perhaps even more the successful Sotion.[3] He preached a vegetarian neo-Pythagoreanism, impressing an aging Ovid and a young Seneca alike. Papirius Fabianus, inspired by the Sextii to turn from rhetoric to philosophy, composed in Latin *Civilia*, *Causae naturales*, and *De animalibus*. He acted as a source for Pliny the Elder, and was the teacher of Seneca the Younger who lavishes praise on him (*epist.* 100. 9). The

[1] Crispinus seems also to have been a poet, though this does not prove that his philosophical works were written in verse (Porph. Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 120); ps.-Acro (s. above) seems to support poetic form in Crispinus and Stertinius, but this may be doubted. A certain Sergius Plautus (the name is not entirely secure) appears to have deterred his readers by capricious terms such as *queens* and *queentia* (Quint. *inst.* 8. 3. 33; cf. 2. 14. 2).

[2] E.g. the daily examination of conscience (Sen. *dial.* 5. 36. 1), and vegetarianism, though based on rational grounds rather than on the transmigration of souls (Sen. *epist.* 108. 18).

[3] J. Stenzel, Sotion 3, RE 3 A 1, 1927, 1238–1239.

best of this modest number[1] win approval for their characters rather than for their literary talent. For philosophers, this is in fact a compliment.

D. TECHNICAL AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORS

TECHNICAL WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

Among the technical writers[2] of the Augustan period, apart from Vitruvius, who will be treated separately below, two deserve particular mention.

C. Julius Hyginus

C. Julius Hyginus[3] was born in Alexandria or Spain, received his freedom from Augustus, and, after 28 B.C., had charge of the Palatine Library. He was also active as a teacher, but although getting support from a patron, died in poverty. Ovid addressed to him *tristia* 3. 14. Of his numerous writings, only fragments are known. Works on mythology and landsurvey circulating under his name come from a later period. The treatise on astronomy is regarded as genuine by some scholars.[4]

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[1] L. Crassicius and Cornelius Celsus must also be mentioned (s. Early Imperial Period): cf. further, L. Duret, Dans l'ombre des plus grands: I. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de l'époque augustéenne, ANRW 2, 30, 3, 1983, 1447–1560.

[2] Also deserving mention are: M. Valerius Messalla, Sinnius Capito (*Epistulae; Libri spectaculorum*), Scribonius Aphrodisius, L. Crassicius.

[3] GRF 1, 525–537; HRR 2, pp. ci–cvii; 72–77; Works: a commentary on Helvius Cinna's *Propempticon Pollionis*; explanation of passages in Virgil; biographies; *Exempla; De familiis Troianis; De origine et situ urbium Italicarum; De proprietatibus deorum; De dis penatibus; De agricultura; De apibus.*

[4] From the 2nd century: *fab.* (T: H. J. Rose, Lugduni Batavorum 2nd ed. 1963; P. K. Marshall, Stuttgart 1993; *astr.* (T: B. Bunte, Lipsiae 1875; A. Le Bœuffle (TTrC, in favor of genuineness: between 11 and 3 B.C. and addressed to Paullus Fabius Maximus), Paris 1983; G. Viré, Stuttgart 1992; *grom.* (T): K. Lachmann, T. Mommsen, A. Rudorff I, Berlin 1848, 108–134; 281–284; C. Thulin, Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum 1, 1, Lipsiae 1913, 71–98; 131–171; *bibl.* to both *gromatici*: Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch 98–104; cf. also our chapter: Roman Technical Writers, pp. 575; 580.

Verrius Flaccus

M. Verrius Flaccus,[1] a celebrated grammarian and learned freedman, was the tutor of Augustus' grandsons. He died under Tiberius at a ripe age.

Among his writings[2] the best known is perhaps the last: *De verborum significatu.* This is the standard Latin dictionary with thorough linguistic and antiquarian explanations. Its very compass—though not that alone—marks it as one of the great works of synthesis still possible in the Augustan period. The letter A alone originally occupied at least four books. Later generations lacked such stamina. Verrius is preserved only in a single and a double abridgment by S. Pompeius Festus (perhaps late 2nd century) and Paulus Diaconus (time of Charlemagne).[3]

In principle the headings followed in alphabetical sequence. Within each letter, two sections may be clearly distinguished. In the former and longer, the key words were organized by their first two or three letters. In the second and shorter section, only the initial letters were taken into account, and the words were grouped rather by content or sources. Writers lacking in the 'first' portions are mentioned here. It is assumed that Verrius intended to introduce these additions into the finished 'first parts', but did not carry out this plan.[4] In the case of nine letters, there are also prefatory supplements from newly adduced works.

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[1] A. E. Egger (T), Verrius Flaccus, Fragmenta, Paris 1838; C. O. Müller (T), Festus, Lipsiae 1839; H. Funaioli (T), GRF 1, Lipsiae 1907, 509–523; W. M. Lindsay (T), Festus, Lipsiae 1913; Charisius, ed. K. Barwick, Lipsiae 1925; *bibl.*: L. Strzelecki, Quaestiones Verrianae, Varsoviae 1932 (important for sources); A. Dihle, RE 8 A 2, 1958, 1636–1645 (with bibl. and [at cols. 1644–1645] reference to additional fragments); F. Bona, Contributo allo studio della composizione del *De verborum significatu* di Verrio Flacco, Milano 1964.

[2] The *Fasti Praenestini* were perhaps composed by him. The *Libri rerum memoria dignarum* as well as *Saturnus* and perhaps also *Rerum Etruscarum libri* were of antiquarian import; grammatical questions were touched upon in the *Epistulae*. The *Libri de orthographia*, championing a moderately analogist point of view, were the ultimate source in the 1st century for Pliny, *dub. serm.* and Quintilian; in the 2nd century for Velius Longus and Caper; in the 3rd century for Iulius Romanus; and in the 4th to 5th centuries for Charisius. Verrius wanted to write the weakened final M (in cases such as *laudatum est*) as a half letter. His *De obscuris Catonis* was perhaps at least partly taken up into the *De verborum significatu.*

[3] Festus is preserved in the damaged Farnesianus XI (Neapolitanus). He influenced Porphyrio (3rd century) and Charisius (4th to 5th century). Glossaries draw on Festus and Paulus.

[4] Other possibilities have also been considered, such as the inept combination of

Old Latin authors are cited in a fixed sequence, the same which will guide Nonius. Verrius does not simply depend on Varro, but draws a great deal of material from his personal reading.[1] His significance for our knowledge of the Latin language, literature, and religion is great.

Verrius was more exploited than quoted. He determined the tradition found in the grammarians and lexicographers. Ovid relied on him in his *Fasti*, as did Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia*, and Plutarch depended on him in his *Quaestiones Romanae*.

Agrippa's Map

A work typically Augustan in its claim to embrace the whole world must be mentioned here for its scientific and practical significance. The small attention paid to it in technical writers throws a telling light on the power of literary traditions. The most important advance in the field of *geography*[2] took place outside literature. The mapping of the *imperium* presided over by Agrippa, Augustus' commander, took twenty years of work, and was only completed five years after Agrippa's death. A defective copy is preserved in the shape of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Originally the map reached from England to China. Unfortunately, along with the first section, large parts representing England and Spain were lost. Given the inertia of armchair science, this achievement of the Augustan age in cartography hardly influenced the geographical writers of the Silver Latin period.

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a source structured alphabetically with another that was ordered systematically, a later abandonment by Verrius of a purely alphabetical sequence, or an attribution of the 'second' portions to later editors.

[1] E.g. Ateius Capito, Veranius, Antistius Labeo, Messalla Augur.

[2] W. H. Stahl 1962, 84–88. *Edition*: K. Miller, Die Peut. Tafel, Ravensburg 1888, repr. 1961; K. Miller, Itineraria Romana, Stuttgart 1916, 1929, 2nd ed. (repr. 1963); *Bibliography*: W. Kubitschek, Karten (Peutinger), RE 10, 2, 1919, 2126–2144; F. Gisinger, Peutingeriana, RE 19, 2, 1938, 1405–1412; Schanz-Hosius, LG 2, 331–335; Bardon, Lit. lat. inc. 2, 103–104; R. Hanslik, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, RE 9A, 1961, 1226–1275; K. G. Sallmann, Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro, Berlin 1971, esp. 91–95. The *vis inertiae* of armchair science goes on well into our own age: the fundamental importance of the works of A. V. Podossinov (for example: Les traditions de la géographie antique dans la *Cosmographie* de l'Anonyme de Ravenne, in: Drevneyshie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR, Moscow 1989, 248–256 [in Russian]) is sometimes unduly neglected. Western scholars should not rely on the deadening principle *Rossica non leguntur*, which is not worthy of our otherwise so enlightened age.

VITRUVIUS

Life and Dates

Vitruvius[1] received a sound training as an architect (engineer). Under Caesar and later under Augustus he was in charge of the construction of war machines, though he probably should not be identified with the builder of Caesar's bridge across the Rhine.[2] Vitruvius built the basilica in Fano and constructed aqueducts, perhaps in 33 B.C. during Agrippa's aedileship. On the recommendation of Augustus' sister Octavia, he received in old age a pension from the *princeps*.

After his retirement, he composed his work *De architectura* (2 *praef.* 4). The writing had begun even before 33[3] and continued to the twenties.

Survey of the Work

The *De architectura*, the only work on its theme surviving from antiquity, is dedicated to Augustus. The 1st book treats the education and formation of the architect, aesthetic principles, the division of architecture, and the construction of cities. Book 2 examines building materials. Books 3 and 4 treat the construction of temples, book 5 that of public buildings, books 6 and 7 that of private houses and their interior decoration, book 8 aqueducts, book 9 astronomy and clocks, book 10 machines.

In modern terms, books 1–7 show the architect in action, books 8–10 the engineer.[4] Vitruvius himself (1. 3. 1) divides *architectura* into *aedificatio* (books 1–8), *gnomonice* (book 9) and *machinatio* (book 10). *Aedificatio* is concerned with public buildings (*defensionis*: book 1; *religionis*: books 3–4; *opportunitatis*: book 5) and private structures (books 6–7).[5]

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[1] His *praenomen* is unknown, his *cognomen* Pollio is not quite certain.

[2] A mistaken theory in P. Thielscher 1961.

[3] Vitruvius still mentions (3. 2. 5) the Porticus Metelli (which after 33 B.C. was replaced by the Porticus Octaviae) and the Temple of Ceres (3. 3. 5) which burned down in 31 B.C. Conversely, he does actually refer to 'Augustus' (5. 1. 7), a passage which must have been composed after January, 27 B.C. The preface to book 10 speaks of the organization of games by praetors and aediles, though from 22 B.C. on only the praetors had this authority. Parallels from Horace (adduced by some scholars) are not literal and do not compel a later date for Vitruvius' work.

[4] P. Thielscher 1961, 433.

[5] M. Fuhrmann 1960, 78–85.

This scheme omits book 2, on building materials,[1] and book 8, on aqueducts. These belong to public rather than to private structures.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Vitruvius drew his knowledge from his own experience (e.g. 10. 11. 2; 8. 3. 27), but particularly from the tradition of craftsmanship passed down to him by the teachers he does not name (e.g. 4. 3. 3).

He names Greek technical writers in lists: Pytheus, Aristoxenus, Ctesibius, Diades. His theory of styles and proportions depends on Hermogenes of Alabanda (supposedly 2nd century B.C.). In natural philosophy he was influenced by Lucretius. Posidonius played some part in his theory of hydrology. The didactic poet Aratus and his commentators supplied astronomical information, and Varro did the same for the history of architecture.

Vitruvius seems to be the first to have presented his discipline in a comprehensive way. Among the Greeks there were in all probability only monographs on particular themes, and among the Latins at best short compendia. His work displays features of a technical treatise, though it is also rewarding to view it as a topical essay for the general reader.[2] This explains the differences between the author's prescriptions and the actual architecture of his day.

Literary Technique

The proems are conceived independently from the books they introduce. In them, Vitruvius shows himself, in spite of his protestations to the contrary (1. 1. 18), well acquainted with rhetoric. He goes far beyond the conscious artlessness of the textbook, evident in Varro's *De lingua Latina*, and approximates the topical essay with literary ambitions. He is able to win his reader's favor by excuses and stories (e.g. 4. 1. 9). His main concern however is with a methodical division of his material (2. 1. 8), brevity and clarity (5 *praef.* 2).

A category of text typical of his writing is found in his precise descriptions of buildings, machines, and devices.

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[1] The division of material in books 1 and 2 is defended by Vitruvius at 2. 1. 8.
[2] K. Sallmann in: H. Knell, B. Wesenberg, eds., 1984, 13.

Background knowledge is introduced by way of excursus. Astronomy acts as an introduction to *gnomonice.* Theatrical acoustics are supported by a discussion of harmony.

Language and Style

Vitruvius' language[1] defies all convenient rubrics. Both popular and archaic elements are found (such as genitives like *materies,* 2. 9. 13). Yet there is also a quite determined search for style. The employment of synonyms attests a desire for variety. Technical terms peculiar to the genre of the textbook are on occasion given Greek endings. Even poetic words are not wholly absent. At times, the concern with clarity leads to pleonasm in the expression.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature and Art

An introductory flourish on modesty (1. 1. 18) conceals the precise knowledge of rhetoric always important to Vitruvius both as author and as theoretician of architecture. He is anything but a negligent author and clings to his aim of clarity and systematical order (4 *praef.* 1). The difficulty of his text is mainly caused by the loss of the drawings which originally accompanied it.

His main purpose was to provide Augustus and all intelligent readers (1. 1. 18) with clear directives for their building enterprises. He wrote therefore as an expert, but not so much from the student's as the theorist's point of view. He explains how buildings should be, not how they in fact were in each individual case. His proems aim to assign a higher value to architecture as a form of art. Both in technique and art Vitruvius applies strict standards, which in his time must have created a conservative impression.[2] He passionately rejects the modern wall painting of the day and criticizes technical innovations. If he bases his criticism more on technical and economic prin-

[1] A word first attested in Vitruvius is *inquinamentum. Habitatio,* known from Plautus, recurs. Such words are determined by the theme. Poeticisms include *amnis* and *pelagus.* Among colloquial constructions may be numbered: ablative of place at 2. 8. 10; partitive *de* at 8. 6. 14; *maxime* with comparative at 2. 3. 2. Cf. L. Callebat 1982; E. Wistrand, De Vitruvii sermone 'parum ad regulam artis grammaticae explicato', Apophoreta Gotoburgensia 1936, 16–52.

[2] H. Knell 1985, 161.

ciples than moral, this is in the first place because he hoped to convince sober readers, if by nothing else, by appealing to their sense of economy. His real motive, however, was more subtle. For an architect, 'economical' treatment of material is itself a question of professional ethics, and therefore, in the last analysis, an artistic principle. Vitruvius' stylistic purpose is in harmony with tendencies noticeable in Augustan literature and art. He wanted to form taste and it is not least on this austere attitude that a good part of his influence depends.

Vitruvius' doctrine of proportions, widely influential in the Renaissance, opens bridges to other arts. As a prelude to his discussion of theatrical acoustics, Vitruvius in a passage (5. 4) taken from Aristoxenus (about 300 B.C.) furnishes his readers with basic principles of ancient musicology.[1] This remarkable extract serves a purpose since the bronze *vasa*, which were used to improve acoustics in the theater, had to be tuned at musical intervals.

Ideas II

The section on the formation of the architect (1. 1) shows Vitruvius as a supporter of Cicero's ideal of all-round education, displaying mastery of both theory and practice. All individual disciplines[2] are organically united by their theory (*ratiocinatio*; 1. 1. 12). The architect need not exercise each individual discipline, but must be acquainted with their theoretical bases, as well as the points at which they touch upon architecture. At the same time, he must be a philosopher, and in the course of the years, by his study in the different fields, rise step by step to the highest temple, which is that of architecture (1. 1. 11). In succession to Cicero and Varro, the author wishes to further *humanitas* and the progress of civilization.

His modules in the last analysis are derived by Vitruvius from man, his needs and his form. Basic notions here are *ordinatio, dispositio, eurhythmia, symmetria, decor, distributio* (1. 2). In terms of mathematics,

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[1] P. Thielscher, Die Stellung des Vitruvius in der Geschichte der abendländischen Musik, Altertum 3, 1957, 159–173.

[2] Grammar, music (for the construction of theaters), physics (e.g. for machines), astronomy (for sundials), painting, drawing, sculpture, medicine (hygiene, climatology), mathematics, philosophy, the doctrine of architectural styles, history, mythology, law.

these principles produce a harmonious proportion in every part of the building, but the rhetorical and ethical side of this teaching is not to be overlooked, since Vitruvius gives particularly large scope to the principle of appropriateness (πρέπον).[1]

Transmission

The following manuscripts are used by modern scholars: Harleianus Mus. Brit. 2767 (H; 9th century), Guelferbytanus Gudianus 132 epitomatus (E; 10th century), Guelferbytanus Gudianus 69 (G; early 11th century), and Selestatensis 1153bis, nunc 17 (S; 10th century), Vaticanus Reginensis 1328 (V; 15th century), Vaticanus Reginensis 2079 (W; 12th–13th centuries).

The common earlier division of the manuscripts into five families is to be replaced with the double stemma proposed by J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée.[2] From the archetype X (8th century) derive two hyparchetypes: the first hyparchetype α (abbreviated text) is represented by HWVS. In this list, WVS were copied from a lost manuscript γ, whose source was α. The second hyparchetype β (full text) is represented by EG.

Unfortunately, the figures belonging to the text were already lost in antiquity. The restoration of a purified text of Vitruvius and the production of new illustrations faithful to it was the aim of the Accademia della Virtù in Rome (founded 1542).

Influence[3]

Vitruvius' hopes for posthumous fame (6 *praef.* 5) were not disappointed. The Elder Pliny and Frontinus drew material from his work. In Dougga, the capitol and the compass card were constructed in accordance with his doctrines.[4] M. Cetius Faventinus (probably 3rd century) made an extract from Vitruvius, which was used by Palladius (5th century). Sidonius Apollinaris (5th century) exalted him into a

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[1] Οἰκονομία has also an artistic and rhetorical side: the intelligent relationship between expenditure and result and the calculated equilibrium of the whole.

[2] Un nouveau stemma vitruvien, REL 47, 1969, 347–377.

[3] H. Koch, Vom Nachleben des Vitruv, Baden-Baden 1951; s. also G. Germann 2nd ed. 1987.

[4] The forum at Dougga received its definitive form under Commodus (180–192). The compass points were inset in the 3rd century; s. A. Golfetto, Dougga, Basel 1961, 36. They agree in principle with Vitruvius' instructions, though whether this was intentional is an open question: s. H. Knell 1985, 41–43.

quasi-mythical representative of architecture.[1] The Byzantines looked to him for guidance in building Christian basilicas (5. 1. 6–10). In the 6th century his theory of the winds (1. 6) was turned into verse, and again a second time by Theodoric of St. Trond (about 1100).

Vitruvius' work was known to Cassiodorus, Benedict, Isidore of Seville (d. 636), Alcuin (d. 804), Einhart (d. 840), and Tzetzes (d. 1180). In Montecassino, Petrus Diaconus (12th century) made an extract from Vitruvius. More than 70 manuscripts attest his wide circulation in the Middle Ages.[2] His influence was enhanced by the discovery of Harleianus 2767 by Poggio at St. Gall in 1415.

From the Renaissance on, the extent of Vitruvius' influence on the theory and practice of architecture has proved almost immeasurable. The Florentine chronicler, Filippo Villani[3] (d. about 1405), demanded from the artist a general education, appealing to Varro for confirmation. In the *De architectura* many architects found the ideal style of architecture: in this, the doctrine of proportions played a predominant part. L. B. Alberti[4] (d. 1472), the great theorist of architecture, still depended for his knowledge of Vitruvius on manuscripts, and even modeled the number of his own books on him. Important in Alberti's eyes was Vitruvius' parallel between musical and architectural harmony. He scolds Vitruvius' language however for allegedly being neither Latin nor Greek.

The first printed edition appeared supposedly in 1487. Artists of different schools studied Vitruvius, including Bramante (d. 1514), Leonardo (d. 1519), Michelangelo (d. 1564), and Vignola (d. 1573). Palladio (d. 1580), who, in addition, based his theories on the measurements of ancient buildings, planned his last work, the Teatro olimpico at Vicenza, in accordance with Vitruvius' instructions. Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) was also numbered among Vitruvius' admirers.

In the case of an author like Vitruvius translations play an important role in transmitting knowledge. The 16th century could already read him in Italian (C. Cesariano, richly illustrated, Milano 1521), in French (J. Martin, in cooperation with the sculptor J. Goujon, Paris 1547; J. Perrault 1673) and German (W.H. Ryf = Gu. H. Rivius,

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[1] *Tenere . . . cum Orpheo plectrum, cum Aesculapio baculum, cum Archimede radium, cum Euphrate horoscopum, cum Perdice circinum, cum Vitruvio perpendiculum* (*epist.* 4. 3. 5 Mohr).

[2] C. H. Krinsky, Seventy-Eight Vitruvius Manuscripts, JWI 30, 1967, 36–70.

[3] *De origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus.*

[4] *De re aedificatoria libri X* (1451).

Nürnberg 1548). No less a figure than Palladio furnished illustrations for D. Barbaro's (d. 1570) paraphrase of Vitruvius.

In the time of Louis XIV, Vitruvius' influence in France attained a high point. Colbert (d. 1683) linked in 1671 to the Académie française a Vitruvian academy of architecture.

Vitruvius' star set with Winckelmann (d. 1768), who made all kinds of objections to the 'scribbler'. He accused him of 'a cobbler's style, disorder in the plan of his work, childish simplicity and ill-digested knowledge of harmony.'[1] Civilized Europe seemed to have grown beyond Vitruvius' school. On his visit to Italy, Goethe read Vitruvius 'like a breviary, more out of piety than for instruction.'[2] Today there seems to be a new readiness to listen to the voice of an architect combining taste with humanity.

Editions: Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli, sine anno (prob. 1487). * (An important collection of editions and translations is found at the *Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München*). * F. Krohn, Lipsiae 1912. * F. Granger (TTr), 2 vols., London 1931–1934; repr. 1970. * C. Fensterbusch (TTrN), Darmstadt 1964. * *Book 1–7*: S. Ferri (sel., TTrC, archeol.), Roma 1960. * *Book 3*: P. Gros (TTrC), Paris 1990. * *Book 4*: P. Gros (TTrC), Paris 1992. * *Book 8*: L. Callebat (TTrC), Paris 1973. * *Book 9*: J. Soubiran (TTrC), Paris 1969. * *Book 10*: P. Fleury (TTrC), Paris 1986. ** *Concordance*: L. Callebat, P. Bouet, P. Fleury, M. Zuinghedau, Vitruve: *De Architectura*—Concordance, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1984. * H. Nohl, Index Vitruvianus, Lipsiae 1876. * L. Callebat, ed., Dictionnaire des vocabulaires techniques du *De architectura* de Vitruve, Hildesheim, forthcoming. ** *Bibl.*: B. Ebhardt, Vitruvius. Die Zehn Bücher der Architektur des Vitruv und ihre Herausgeber. Mit einem Verzeichnis der vorhandenen Ausgaben und Erläuterungen, Berlin 1918, repr. 1962. * P. Gros, Vitruve: l'architecture et sa théorie, à la lumière des études récentes, ANRW 2, 30, 1, 1982, 659–695 (bibl. 1960–1979: 686–695).

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[1] To Fuessli, June 3, 1767.
[2] *Italienische Reise, Venedig*, October 12, 1786.

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JURISTS OF THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

The Beginning of Imperial Legislative Activity

The transitions from the Republican period to the Empire appear indeterminate, and great figures like Trebatius Testa belong to both periods. But, where the development towards imperial law and sources of law are concerned, and even in regard to the position of jurists, already under Augustus and his immediate successors the signs of a new age are unmistakeable.

Concerning the right of citizenship, Roman politics had now to take into account the increasing expansion of the Empire.[1] Caesar

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[1] E. FERENCZY, Rechtshistorische Bemerkungen zur Ausdehnung des römischen

had granted rights of Roman citizenship to northern Italy, and Latin rights to Gallia Narbonensis, Sicily and large areas of Spain. Now under the principate, further cities and regions were incorporated. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* (A.D. 212) formed the culmination of this process. Roman law became the law of the empire even if, especially in the eastern provinces, the previous native laws exercised influence on Roman law.

Augustus[1] followed a fairly consistent legal policy. It embraced laws dealing with marriage and the emancipation of slaves, penal laws concerning the material aspects of crimes and the reform of civil and criminal proceedings. So far as form was concerned, the *princeps* attempted to stay within Republican bounds. At first, as part of his efforts to promote restoration, he sought to give new life to popular legislative initiatives (*Mon. Ancyr.* 2. 12), but without lasting success. Practical considerations demanded that laws approved by the people should be replaced by senatorial decrees, and thus *senatusconsulta* regulated even civil law. In the background of these senatorial decisions, the *princeps* often hovered as proposer. By their content the laws dealing with *lèse majesté* and marriage offered, at least potentially, possibilities of terrorizing Rome's upper class.

In legislative activity, direct imperial creation of law (Gaius 1. 5) acquired increasing importance in the course of the following centuries. The *lex de imperio* embraced even the power to make laws. At the side of traditional sources, such as earlier legislation, the opinions of the *iurisconsulti* and the praetorial edicts, imperial decisions came now to set their stamp on the way law developed.

Jurists still tended to belong to the ranks of senators. Cascellius and Labeo were frank in the expression of their republican outlook. C. Cassius Longinus accommodated himself to the new times. In any case legal scholars could not constitute any danger to the *princeps*, since they hardly engaged any longer with public law. Augustus however esteemed and promoted even jurists of equestrian origin,

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Bürgerrechts und zum *ius Italicum* unter dem Prinzipat, ANRW 2, 14, 1982, 1017–1058; H. Chantraine, Zur Entstehung der Freilassung mit Bürgerrechtserwerb in Rom, ANRW 1, 2, 1972, 59–67.

[1] Schulz, Geschichte 117–334; F. Wieacker, Augustus und die Juristen seiner Zeit, TRG 37, 1969, 331–349; W. Litewski, Die römische Appellation in Zivilsachen, I. Prinzipat, ANRW 2, 14, 1982, 60–96; P. L. Strack, Zur *tribunicia potestas* des Augustus, Klio 32, 1939, 358–381; S. des Bouvrie, Augustus' Legislation on Morals—Which Morals and What Aims?, SO 59, 1984, 93–113.

whose families partly received senatorial rank for the first time under Caesar. This was the case with Alfenus Varus and Capito. Ofilius remained a knight, though without any noticeable disadvantage to his influence as a jurist. The brilliant legal scholar Trebatius had also no interest in an official career. This was the start of a development fraught with consequences.

Jurisconsults from the time of Augustus on received the *ius respondendi ex auctoritate principis*[1] (Pompon. *dig.* 1. 2. 2. 49). This led to an increasing dependence of juries on the opinions of expert jurists (cf. also Dig. 1. 1. 7 *pr.*). These opinions at a later period actually acquired the force of law (*legis vicem*, Gaius 1. 7).

Schools of Law

In republican times, instruction consisted of listening to celebrated jurisconsults and conversation with them. It was only under the Empire that gradually an effort at formal schooling began. Later, the schools of Berytos (3rd century on) and Constantinople (425 on) were celebrated. With Augustus commenced a time of transition in which at Rome, thanks to links between scholars and to the close relations of teacher and student, the development of the 1st century A.D.[2] with its twin legal schools[3] of the Proculiani and Sabiniani seems to be anticipated.[4] In retrospect, it looks as if the beginnings of these two schools can already be detected in two important Augustans.

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[1] W. Kunkel, Das Wesen des *ius respondendi*, ZRG 66, 1948, 423–457; idem, Herkunft 272–289 (audacious!); 318–345; with greater restraint F. Wieacker (see previous note); R. A. Baumann, The *leges iudiciorum publicorum* and their Interpretation in the Republic, Principate and Later Empire, ANRW 2, 13, 1980, 103–233. It is disputed whether these jurists were enabled to speak 'in the emperor's name' or 'with the emperor's permission.' The latter is more probable and presupposes that Augustus had generally limited the issuing of opinions (*ius respondendi*) to these privileged authorities.

[2] D. Liebs (Die juristische Literatur, in: Fuhrmann, LG 195–196) regards the 1st centuries B.C and A.D. as part of the early classical period. He refutes an interpretation allowing the pre-classical period to stretch to the end of the Republic.

[3] The ancient sources liked to construct schools and relationships between teachers and pupils; J. Kodrebski, Der Rechtsunterricht am Ausgang der Republik und zu Beginn des Prinzipats, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 177–196; D. Liebs, Rechtsschulen und Rechtsunterricht im Prinzipat, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 197–286.

[4] In the 1st century, a certain difference may be detected. The Sabiniani or Cassiani set scholarly thought (which in Rome necessarily at times recalls Stoicism) preponderantly in the service of the organization of the entire corpus of laws and the preservation of tradition. They often therefore composed comprehensive accounts.

The most scholarly mind of his time, Antistius Labeo was considered the ancestor of the later Proculiani. He was a convinced republican, invited by Augustus to join the commission concerned with newly constituting the senate, where he intervened successfully on behalf of Augustus' enemy, Lepidus. Labeo followed the *cursus honorum* as far as the praetorship, but then rejected a consulship which the *princeps* had offered to him all too late.[1]

Labeo's favorite means of expression was the juridical commentary, and on this type of literature he set a stamp once and for all. He made a brief commentary on the *Twelve Tables*.[2] His commentaries in sixty (or more) books each, outdoing that of Servius by a factor of at least thirty, on the two praetorian edicts,[3] became later an indispensable work of reference. His *Pithana*, illuminating legal axioms, had links with Greek tradition. He reviewed the *pontificum libri* in his *De iure pontificio*. To these were added his legal opinions (*Responsa*) and other posthumous casuistic material (*Posteriores libri XL*); letters with legal content (*Libri epistularum*, Pompon. *dig.* 41. 3. 30. 1), perhaps inspired by Tiro's edition of Cicero's letters; and a commentary on the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (18 B.C.), and possibly also on other marriage laws.[4] His work comprised about 400 volumes.

As a student of the cultivated jurist Trebatius Testa, Labeo also developed his knowledge of philosophy and philology (Gell. 13. 10. 1), not in an antiquarian spirit, but creatively. In paying attention to verbal explanations, definitions and distinctions, this shrewd jurist profited from grammar, etymology and dialectic to in his quest to find the basis of law in individual cases, and in many points independently furthered private law. Stoic influence cannot be proved conclusively. He passed as the renewer of legal science, and enjoyed a high reputation with posterity.

The achievement of the Proculiani (in whom, apart from Stoic, also Peripatetic, influence has been supposed) lies in their precise and logical treatment of individual cases, not shrinking even from innovation. Their writings are mostly of a casuistic nature. The distinction fades in the 2nd century.

[1] Cf. also A. Wacke, Die *potentiores* in den Rechtsquellen. Einfluß und Abwehr gesellschaftlicher Übermacht in der Rechtspflege der Römer, ANRW 2, 13, 1980, 562–607.

[2] Gell. 1. 12. 18; 6. 15. 1; 20. 1. 13.

[3] Gell. 13. 10. 3. The richest source of material is found in the *Digests*.

[4] W. Stroh, Ovids *Liebeskunst* und die Ehegesetze des Augustus, Gymnasium 86, 1979, 323–352; L. F. Raditsa, Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage, Procreation, Love Affairs and Adultery, ANRW 2, 13, 1980, 278–339; J. H. Jung, Das

Labeo's opponent, both in politics and scholarship,[1] was Ateius Capito[2] (consul A.D. 5). In his time he was no less famous (Gell. 10. 20. 2). He was a student of Ofilius (Dig. loc. cit.), branded by Tacitus (*ann.* 3. 70 and 75), for being one of the first jurists to serve the emperors, as a favorite of Augustus and Tiberius. He is regarded as belonging to the Sabiniani—although they never make mention of him—probably because the later academic dispute among the schools was made to reflect a personal enmity between the two best-known Augustan jurists. His mastery of pontifical and sacral law was better than of private law. The titles are known of his lost works: at least nine books of *Coniectanea*[3] on civil law (probably each book had an individual title); at least six books *De pontificio iure*;[4] *De iure sacrificiorum* (Macr. *Sat.* 3. 10. 3); and a work on augural law. Capito was read less by jurists than by lexicographers such as Festus (i.e. Verrius Flaccus), and scholars such as Aulus Gellius.

Bibl.: see Roman Jurists, above p. 630; also D. Liebs, to appear in: HLL 3, 1, §§ 323–325.

Eherecht der römischen Soldaten, ANRW 2, 14, 1982, 302–346; Die Rechtsstellung der römischen Soldaten, ibid. 882–1013; R. Villers, Le mariage envisagé comme institution d'État dans le droit classique de Rome, ANRW 2, 14, 1982, 285–301.

[1] Tac. *ann.* 3. 75; Gell. 13. 12. 1; Dig. 1. 2. 2. 47.

[2] Consul suff. A.D. 5, from A.D. 13 *curator aquarum*; Edition: W. Strzelecki, C. Atei Capitonis fragmenta, Lipsiae 1967; from an older period Bremer, Iurisprud. antehadr. 2, 1, 261–287; Huschke, Iurisprud. anteiust. 1, 6th ed. (ed. Seckel-Kübler), Lipsiae 1908, 62–72; Krüger, Quellen 2, 159; also P. Jörs, Ateius 8, RE 2, 2, 1896, 1904–1910; Kunkel, Herkunft 114–115.

[3] Gell. 4. 14. 1; 10. 6. 4; 4. 10. 7; 14. 7. 13; 8. 2 (hence, no more than 3 books).

[4] Gell. 4. 6. 10; Fest. p. 154 M. = 144 L.; Macr. Sat. 7. 13. 11.

A HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE

VOLUME TWO

FOURTH CHAPTER:
LITERATURE OF EARLY EMPIRE

I. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF EARLY EMPIRE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since the time of Augustus, conquests occurred less frequently. Most of all the emperors recognized that the empire had grown large enough. Outward expansion nevertheless continued somewhat during the period to be discussed here: Britain, parts of Germany, Mauretania, and Thrace, as well as eastern Asia Minor and Lycia were incorporated into the empire. Soon after A.D. 100 the Roman empire achieved its greatest expansion. Trajan subjugated Dacia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; in the long run, however, the outposts on the Persian Gulf and on the Caspian Sea could not be maintained. Most of the territories won at this time would retain traces of Greek or Roman culture and many would be permanently influenced by the Latin language.

Excellent roadways connected the Capital with even the remotest regions of the empire. Items of luxury were being imported to Italy, including precious stones from India and Chinese silk. Italy sold her wines, oil, and manufactured products such as *terra sigillata* to consumers primarily in the western provinces. The peninsula was still the hub of commercial shipping in the Mediterranean. Substantial revenues of the treasury permitted a bustling construction industry, which was strengthened, unfortunately, by such devastating fires as that of the year 64.

Beneath the gleaming exterior, however, there were indications of economic decline, especially in Italy: the spread of *latifundia* at the expense of the small farmer, although abated somewhat by the land allotments of Caesar and Augustus, had not halted. Rural areas in central and southern Italy lost their displaced and impoverished populations to the city—a nuisance that could not be eliminated, not even covered up by means of bread and games. Given the growth of *latifundia*, an economy of slave-driven plantations based on the Hellenistic model which Cato the Elder had imported, proved unexpectedly to be a failure. Actually, careful maintenance of equipment and personal supervision by the owner were indispensable for a successful

agricultural operation.[1] As a consequence, valuable arable land was being used increasingly for grazing. It is true that we know of attempts to instill a greater sense of responsibility in the slaves through various material enticements and the concession of some sort of independence; however, the leasing of small parcels of land to free tenant farmers, which would have been a solution that looked to the future, was merely beginning to develop.

Imperial power could still support itself from Italy and Rome, but that would soon change. The provinces flourished, since the systematic levy of taxes by imperial officials, though still oppressive enough, was less arbitrary and more predictable than the caprice of Republican magistrates, who changed every year, and the unscrupulousness of professional tax gatherers. The soaring economy of the provinces offered competition to Italy in the production of oil and wine. The elite of Gaul and Spain were gradually being received into the senate in order that, among other reasons, their financial power could be brought to Rome. Seneca's remark (*apocol.* 3) that the Emperor Claudius had died just in time before he could confer the benefits of citizenship on everyone, mirrored humorously the discrepancy between the foresight of that underestimated emperor and the shortsightedness of the Roman elite. For the moment, the expected revitalization of Italy was in full swing. It proved inevitable, however, that the new senators would represent the interests of their respective provinces. During the period under discussion this was true of the western regions of the empire, and later on, of the eastern parts as well.

While the economic independence of the provinces increased, trade among them decreased. Towards the end of the period which we are examining, i.e. under Hadrian, it became evident that, with the loss of its economic primacy, the political and literary splendor of Rome and Italy was beginning to fade. Hadrian's philhellenism merely sealed the fate of a specifically Roman literature, the decline of which was a consequence of the historical development. In the increasingly influential military forces the number of native-born Italians waned. With the expansion of the empire, emperors were more and more frequently being proclaimed in the provinces and—as in the case of

[1] Moreover, it became ever more difficult to procure the necessary great number of slaves (ALFÖLDY, Sozialgeschichte 122).

Hadrian—they were compelled even during a relatively peaceful period to safeguard the borders with their presence. In the 1st century these developments were just beginning to be observable. Military campaigns personally conducted by the emperors were still brief and sometimes resembled well planned pleasure trips; Rome—not her frontiers (the *limes*)—was still the center of the imperial construction industry. Gigantic palaces, the like of Nero's *Domus Aurea* and the palace of Domitian with its cosmic symbolism[1] proved that the city of the seven hills was still perceived to be the center of the empire. Late antiquity's counterpart to Domitian's palace would not be constructed in Rome, but in Constantinople: the *Hagia Sophia.*

CONDITIONS OF THE RISE OF LITERATURE

The roles of the senate and of Republican magistrates had changed. Persecution of opponents reduced the number of representatives of old families in the senate. Military leaders, particularly of the praetorian guard, won increasing influence at court. While the Republican facade was maintained, there emerged behind it an imperial bureaucracy to which freedmen, not members of the senatorial aristocracy, belonged even as ministers.

In literature no less than in the senate representatives of the Italian gentry were becoming rare, while the number of provincials rose. In addition to the still important Transpadanes, e.g. the Plinii, there appeared a proud line of native Spaniards: the Senecae, Lucan, Columella, Quintilian, and Martial. Soon Spain would produce emperors (Trajan and Hadrian). North Africa and other provinces would follow. It should be noted that this 'provincialization' of Latin literature did not necessarily amount to a loss of a specifically Roman identity, for traditions often survive in purer form in borderlands than at the center, which to a larger extent is exposed to changes; so the arrival of the Spaniards constituted a regeneration of Roman culture, not an infiltration of foreigners.

Some authors could live on their own means: the Senecae and Lucan were financially independent as was Petronius, and Quintilian

[1] Significantly, it was under Nero and Domitian that the last writers of national Roman epic wrote their works (Lucan and Silius Italicus).

was paid by the emperor. Other writers—Statius and Martial, for example—enjoyed the support of private patrons.

The influence of individual emperors on the development of literature allows scholars to subdivide the period under study.

The age of Tiberius seems at first to have led to a 'stagnation', for this emperor appeared also in politics as a pious heir who continued his stepfather's work. Nevertheless, there were some new trends. First, the negative: the great synthetic works of a Virgil or Livy remained unmatched. In the domain of form, a tendency towards brevity became noticeable: Velleius produced a concise history of Rome; Valerius Maximus collected brief *exempla*. A short form appeared also in poetry: Phaedrus' books of *Fables* were an innovation in Roman literature.

The style of prose developed along the lines of Augustan rhetorical prose. Stylistically Velleius was half-way between Livy and Seneca. The same was true of poetry: Albinovanus Pedo held an intermediate position between the transparent style of the Augustans and the obscure mannerisms of Valerius Flaccus.

Political changes led to a shift in subject matter. Since political themes were dangerous, indirect criticism found a new literary medium in the Aesopic fable, which now became a genre of poetry. For the same reason epic alienated itself more and more from the state. There emerged in its place, remarkably, natural science, which had until then been largely ignored by Romans: a universal theme less dangerous than politics. Ovid had heralded this development with his *Metamorphoses*. In the late Augustan and early Tiberian periods Manilius wrote his *Astronomica*, and Germanicus composed a similar work. The time was ripe for this subject matter since the *vita activa*, formerly advocated by Cicero, had lost its attractiveness under the emperors. For ages philosophers had extolled contemplation, observation of the heavens, as the true purpose of man's life; for Ovid, these activities were the mark distinguishing man from animals that look to the ground (*met.* 1. 84–86). Manilius took such 'contemplation of the sky' literally and devoted himself to astronomy. Interest in astronomy was no novelty in Rome; one recalls Caesar's reform of the calendar and the gigantic sundial of Augustus; under the reign of Tiberius, corresponding to the emperor's taste, such studies acquired an astrological tinge. The predilection for natural science would continue, and traces of it would also be found in prose: Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* and the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder date from a slightly later period.

Ironically, Roman literature owes a debt of gratitude to Caligula, for, at the beginning of his reign, in the interest of truth he allowed the publication of historical works, which had hitherto been forbidden.[1] He also brought to life outside Rome contests (*agones*) for poetry as well as Greek oratory. Caligula was himself not a writer, yet he wanted to shine as an orator and did not tolerate any rival in this field. Through his perilous envy he caused Seneca to switch from oratory to philosophy and unintentionally helped him find his true vocation. The judgments which Caligula passed on acknowledged authors were irreverent, even iconoclastic: Virgil? neither talented nor knowledgeable. Livy? wordy and not accurate (Suet. *Cal.* 34. 2). He also liked to take men at their word and, in doing so, unmask the insincerity of rhetoric; he was not aware, though, that, in a tyranny, the tyrant is the only one who can afford to tell the truth without being punished. While several of his criteria (*brevitas, diligentia, doctrina*) were close to those of Stoicism and Atticism, his lack of prejudice and his sense of *ingenium* prepared the way for the era of Nero. Caligula did, however, also notice the defects of modern style (ibid. 53. 3). This madman quite discerningly pointed an accusing finger at the literary life of his day: here blind imitation of classical models and the cult of form at the expense of truth; there the danger of a dissolution of form.

His successor Claudius[2] wrote *magis inepte quam ineleganter*, 'out of place rather than out of tune' (Suet. *Claud.* 41), i.e. he used plain vocabulary, avoided an exaggerated stylization and was ready to leave things 'natural', as happened in his day even in the area of art. In order to administer literary life, Claudius, who was the inventor of bureaucracy, created a post for a freedman called *a studiis.* His attempts to increase the alphabet with more letters were short-lived. The writers of his time were in part the same as those under Nero. Yet, Claudius' 'Attic' ideal of style stood in sharp contrast to the trends which would prevail under his successor.

Whereas the above-named emperors were prosaic to the point of being hostile to poetry, it was with Nero that a poet reached the throne. He needed tutoring, though, for the composition of his prose speeches. The stagnation of literature under his predecessors yielded to a new flourishing.

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[1] T. Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, Cassius Severus (Suet. *Cal.* 16. 1).

[2] von Albrecht, Prose 136–159.

He recited his *Troica* at the Neronia or at the Quinquennalia in 65. He had already instituted these plays in 60. He also went on stage as a tragic actor, singer, and cithara player. However, the emperor's love of poetry had its dark side. Poets such as Lucan and Curtius Montanus had to suffer under his jealousy. He did not vigorously persecute those who ridiculed him (Suet. *Nero* 39); still, there were instances where the verdict was exile. After the conspiracy of Piso, the emperor became more cruel. Seneca was compelled to commit suicide. Persius' teacher Verginius Flavus and the Stoic C. Musonius Rufus went into exile. P. Thrasea Paetus, who had written on the life of Cato Uticensis, for that very reason had to forfeit his life.

The epoch of Nero was one of exuberant vitality. The young emperor continued the Apollo cult of Augustus and even exaggerated it: he thought of himself as the Sun King and went on stage himself as the new Apollo. Music was not just his hobby; it was rooted in the Apollonian pretension characteristic of his idea of kingship. A philosophical manual, as it were, of princely behavior, Seneca's work *De clementia* was an indication of the great expectations which were associated with Nero; it also showed that Seneca tried to place the clemency of the aged Augustus before the young ruler's eyes as something to emulate: if Nero were to practice clemency in his youth, he could surpass Augustus. The cleft between expectation and reality became evident when Lucan exclaimed with hyperbole that the horror of civil wars had been, to use the Christian expression, a *felix culpa*, since it had paved the way for a Nero. There were high hopes for Nero, and he seemed at first to fulfill what the people expected from a god incarnate or Sun King and what the senate expected from an enlightened monarch who had enjoyed a Stoic education.

The youthfulness of the ruler accorded with the spirit of the age. Young geniuses the like of Lucan or Persius were very much admired. *Ingenium* was highly valued, hence the strong influence of Ovid. The author of the Περὶ ὕψους, with his emphasis on greatness of mind from which alone emanates all great literature, fit in well with those times. To an extent seldom seen before, a Roman public was ready to admire creative genius and to free itself once more from the burden of tradition for the sake of creativity. Seneca dared to jolt Cicero's pedestal. Writers did not stand as slaves before the past, but confronted it critically: Lucan radically modernized epic, doing away with the antiquated divine machinery. Architecture also made

bold advances—the *Domus Transitoria* and *Domus Aurea*—and the art of the mural saw a new development: the 'Fourth Style'. This period of scintillating intellectual life has sometimes been compared to the Baroque period. Yet, Nero's Rome was more 'modernist', less rooted to tradition and less devoted to religion than our seventeenth century. The importance of the emperor as patron of artists should not be underestimated; still, he took no leading role in literary pursuits, for he was merely the unworthy exponent of an exuberant age.

Under the Flavian dynasty, which the frugal Vespasian had founded, there prevailed a more sober spririt. Quintilian, the first professor of rhetoric to be commissioned by the state, represented a moderate classicism, the evidence for which would soon emerge in the composition of literary prose (Pliny the Younger) and poetry (Silius Italicus). Martial and Statius brought hitherto despised genres, such as epigram and what had been occasional poetry, to literary perfection.

The times of Nero and Domitian produced the greatest cultural achievements (distasteful as those rulers may be). Like Nero, Domitian had literary ambitions and even in this respect proved to be a competent manager. An example is the establishment of the literary *Ludi Capitolini*. Thanks to a new social stratum of industrious senators and to an ambitious and exacting emperor, the city of Rome was felt to be the heart of Roman cultural identity (a role it would regain only much later); that cultural identity arose amidst the tension between bourgeois austerity and imperial grandiosity.

A period of relief under Nerva and Trajan allowed the historian Tacitus and the satirist Juvenal some freedom of expression. In retrospect Domitian's era appeared to have been a dark age to which, nonetheless, many writers owed their careers and early successes. The Roman empire reached its greatest expansion under Trajan; Roman art experienced a high point and, with Tacitus, Latin historiography achieved its zenith. Yet, Trajan's time—in contrast to earlier phases in the development of Roman literature—had admittedly found its expression no longer in epic and not even in poetic form. The *Panegyricus* of Pliny was the prosaic prelude of the much-extolled halcyon century of humanity, which in the field of Latin literature—after Tacitus' death—has to be rated on the whole among the unproductive periods.

The prime of private patronage in the time of the Flavians is reflected in Statius' *Silvae* and in Martial's *Epigrams*. The precarious situation of the client showed itself here as it did in the *Satires* of

Juvenal, whereas the positive apects of private patronage are evident in Pliny's *Letters*. With the decline of private patronage and the waning interest of the emperors in contemporary Latin writers, Roman literature suffered a crisis.

LATIN AND GREEK LITERATURE

The process of assimilation of Greek forms into Roman literature had been completed under Augustus. Under the empire authors were conscious of the specific political and literary achievement of the Romans and exhibited an increased self confidence vis-à-vis the Greeks.

What did Roman writers think about their task? And what could be called a Roman literary tradition? This had become definitely clear only after the efforts of Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, or Livy. Only after their time could a literary development be based on an indigenous tradition. Thus Ovid considered himself the last of four Roman elegiac poets; Persius and Juvenal wrote their satires under the auspices of Lucilius and Horace; Lucan as an epic poet struggled under the shadow of Virgil and borrowed the weapons for this struggle partly from Ovid. Valerius, Statius, and Silius emulated Virgil. However, this rule does not apply exclusively, for, in addition, Greek literature remained an immediate source of inspiration. By now the Romans drew on two traditions; and it is typical of their cultural development that indigenous authorities had not been their first choice.

The time was ripe for a fusion of traditions in literature. The bilingual nature of Greco-Roman culture found expression, for instance, in 'twin' libraries with a Greek and a Latin wing (since Augustus) and in competitions (*agones*) for Greek and Latin poets (under Domitian). An awareness of two traditions fostered the rise of new Latin grand epics, which purposely brought to completion a Greco-Roman synthesis, a synthesis called for by the historical moment: the epic poets Valerius Flaccus and Statius on the one hand followed Virgil's example,[1] on the other they presented to their readers the

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[1] Virgil drew from Homer directly and competed with him; it is true that he knew Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* and Ennius' *Annales* but, for the Augustans, those early Latin works were no authoritative masterpieces; they rather seemed to be more or less respectable attempts. The *Aeneid*, however, for its imitators, was the binding expression of a Roman tradition which could match the Greek one.

Greek myth as a sort of 'Old Testament' of their own culture. In this respect the works of Statius marked the consummation of the bilingual nature of Greco-Roman civilization and gave literary expression to an integrated Greco-Roman cultural identity.

Up to Tacitus and Juvenal inclusively, Latin authors frequently outshone their Greek contemporaries. With Plutarch, a first-rate author, however, there came about a renaissance of Greek literature, and from the time of Hadrian Greek literature took the lead even in the city of Rome.

GENRES

Historical conditions produce changes in the configuration of literary genres.

With the emergence of monarchy political oratory lost its significance. Rhetoric was confined to the lecture hall and relegated to a corner, so to speak, with all the importance of an indoor plant. Instead of political orators people now admired brilliant professors of speech and declaimers. Instead of being viewed as a noble means of influencing the masses, oratory was becoming at best an instrument of education and self-education[1] and at worst a playground for star performers. There appeared an entire *corpus* of literature on the causes of the decline of oratory (Petronius, Quintilian, and Tacitus). Declamation, originally a school exercise, now permeated other literary genres. Philosophical writers now attempted—in contrast to comparable works of Cicero—to influence the reader directly. 'Manuals for princes' and 'praise of the emperor' became productive types of literary expression. Seneca's *De clementia* and Pliny's *Panegyricus* set the standards.

Praise of the emperor assumed specific forms even in poetry; this is true of pastoral, of descriptive lyric and even more of epic. Actually, there appeared, even in the time of Domitian, epic poetry of universal scope, including political themes. Republican ideals and praise

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[1] In addition, we should emphasize the educational achievement of the *grammatici*. In the 1st century there were towering figures like Remmius Palaemon and Probus. Their scholarly work set the standards for later generations. In the long run, however, even the commentaries on poems—originally a domain of the *grammatici*—increasingly fell under the sway of rhetoric.

of the emperor, indeed, often figured side by side unexpectedly in Neronian and Flavian epic.

Absolute monarchy contributed indirectly to the rise of Aesopic fable to the range of literature. It was not by accident that this genre became a legitimate form of poetry only then, for it provided an opportunity for indirect political criticism.

Considering that only under Trajan it was possible for a senator to write a classical historical work in Latin, we can measure the difference of quality between Trajan and most of his predecessors. After Livy, this genre had been unproductive; Valerius Maximus dissolved history into mere collections of rhetorical *exempla*; Velleius limited it to a soldier's mediocrity and faithful allegiance to his emperor, and, if there were better representatives, they were brought to silence through violent measures. Now under Trajan history found a unique proponent in Tacitus. After this zenith historiography would for a long time decay into mere biography. The repression, flourishing and decline of historiography, as well as its specific character at each moment was in keeping with a given historical situation.

After the state had lost its attractiveness as the traditional sphere of action for the Roman individual, it was time to discover new worlds. In the first place there was the physical universe: a serious Roman had had until now no time for natural science and philosophical investigation. The principate removed any feelings of guilt for pursuing such study. Didactic poetry, which had already concerned itself with such inquiry in the late Republican period (Cicero's *Aratea* and Lucretius' *De rerum natura*), was no longer ashamed to define contemplation of the heavens as the true goal of man (Manilius and, earlier, Ovid). Germanicus' translation of Aratus and some parts of Pliny's *Natural History* are other examples of such intellectual interests. Of principal importance was Seneca's preface to the *Naturales quaestiones*, to which should be added the *De otio*. Granted, this pursuit was not carried out merely for the sake of pure knowledge, there was a great part of bookish polymathy and of edifying contemplation in it.

A second world to discover was the individual person. In prose such a private type of text as the personal letter was raised by Pliny to a literary genre mirroring an indivual and its epoch. There had been a discovery of the personal dimension that went further: Seneca's philosophical pedagogy, which followed psychological and rhetorical principles, produced a new category of philosophical letter. There were similar trends in poetry: Ovid fashioned psychological mono-

logues, Lucan enlivened his epic through emotional and critical comment. Tragedy seemed to lose its public appeal, but lived on as an expression of the dark, ominous, and tense atmosphere of the times and as an indirect critic of tyranny; epic achieved once more political importance in Lucan's *Pharsalia*; under Domitian Silius' *Punica* marked a neo-classical final stage of the genre. The last true masters of grand epic, Valerius Flaccus and Statius, did justice to the intellectual atmosphere of the time, which demanded a synthesis of Greek and Roman culture. Corresponding to increasingly private perspectives, there gradually followed more modest genres as successors to grand epic: the realistic novel of Petronius was—as far as we know—in its specific features an innovative genre and typical of the time of Nero. In the same epoch satire brought to light the painful contradiction between reality and appearance (Persius); then, Juvenal made it a sort of mirror of the world, which stigmatized, solemnly, the discrepancy between the purported proud legacy of idealized Roman values, and the wretched conditions under which their heirs actually lived. The greater prominence given to private matters is reflected in the rise of genres that up to that time had been largely ignored: epigram gained universal importance through Martial; with Statius the 'improvised' occasional poem won its literary rank.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

In early imperial literature there occurred close interaction of the styles of poetry and prose. On the one hand prose diction became more recherché, on the other, rhetoric exerted an influence on poetry. Both prose and poetry reflected the fact that every educated man had attended a school of rhetoric.

Yet, in the period under study literary style was by no means uniform. There were several changes in taste.

Cicero had found a classical mean between Atticism and Asianism. Since the time of Augustus, however, prose adopted an Asian 'pointed' style. Prose became more 'poetic'. From this school, which had been the continuation of Hellenistic oratory, grew Seneca's style, Neronian 'modernism'. The emperor Caligula, a declared enemy of tradition, had been a radical forerunner of that modern trend.

On the other hand with the public appointment of a professor of rhetoric under Vespasian and Domitian, classicism was established:

its moderate representative was Quintilian. Pliny basically agreed with him. Tacitus, in his *Dialogus*, followed the style of Cicero, in his historical works that of Sallust. In principle such an attitude may be called neo-classical, even though Tacitus in detail shows a definite preference for developing further some 'un-classical' features of Sallust's language and style. Under the Flavians and Trajan 'classicism' was not as unoriginal or unproductive as one would imagine.

In the area of poetry Lucan under Nero perfected the assimilation of rhetoric into epic, a process which had already been heralded by the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Persius on the other hand boldly introduced the extensive domain of colloquial speech to literature. The language of the poets was thus revived from very different sources during that colorful epoch of Nero. Petronius went as far as introducing vulgar colloquial speech into certain passages of dialogue in his novel, while in his narrative he adopted a stricter style. A change of taste to classicism—as expected in the Flavian period—was realized by Silius Italicus in his epic. His contemporary Statius, however, must be considered closer to Ovid as an author, his deliberate emulation of Virgil notwithstanding. Juvenal, eschewing the linguistic extremes of Persius, created a special, markedly rhetorical form of satire, which, in the eyes of later generations, would make him a 'classic' of the genre.

IDEAS I
REFLECTIONS ON LITERATURE

Conditions were such that now even senators were more proud of their literary or scholarly than their political accomplishments. Pliny the Elder, who devoted all of his leisure time to the acquisition of knowledge, adhered, however, to an old Roman tradition by professing the intention to benefit his country through his writings. Tacitus, like some of his contemporaries, reflected on the causes of oratory's decline and the possibilities of a poetry or a historiography critical of their times, thus providing us with a key to understanding the literature of the era. Convinced of the power of literature to immortalize, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus' contemporary, consciously perpetuated his own memory: his letters render a comprehensive image of their author, not merely of his political activity.

Virgil's homage to Augustus in the *Georgics* established the *topoi* which

became convention for poets and writers of prose under Tiberius. The emperor was both addressee and divine source of inspiration: a double function which in literature corresponded to the janus-faced political position of the princeps. This concept continued with new intensity under Nero, who clearly adhered to the Apollo worship of Augustus and even surpassed Augustus by seeking to impersonate Apollo through his poetic creativity. The above-mentioned topos is attested both in the bucolic poetry of Calpurnius and the prooemium of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a work which in this respect followed closely the *Georgics*, not the *Aeneid* (as would have been suggested by the genre). The prooemium of Lucan's *Pharsalia* is the literary peak of this development; in a later book the same poet would (in the Homeric setting of Ilion) converse with Caesar on the immortality of his *Pharsalia*.

A somewhat later generation would be inspired by private patrons to compose works of less bulk. In the epics of Domitian's era, poets—outside the adulatory prooemia or excursuses—dared to acknowledge their *real* sources of inspiration: their brilliant predecessors, just as Lucretius had already done. At the conclusion of his *Thebaid*, Statius presented the imitation of Virgil as a driving force behind his creativity. Silius Italicus did homage to Homer in his descent into the underworld (Sil. 13. 778–797); in his reference to Sardinia he extolled Ennius (Sil. 12. 390–419); shorter but no less enthusiastic was the glorification of Mantua as the cradle of Virgil (Sil. 8. 593–594).

The awareness that one had to cope with an indigenous tradition became evident in different ways, according to the changing phases of the early imperial period: the first wave was the rise of the modern trend, which was enraptured with its own *ingenium* to the point of opposing it to literary tradition. Characteristic of this phenomenon were the anti-Ciceronian prose of Seneca and Lucan's anti-Virgilian epic. The Flavian period brought a neo-classical reaction: Quintilian and Pliny followed a Ciceronian line. Archaism would be the next phase. Having grown weary both of classicism and of the modern trends, a generation of epigones looked to Old Latin for a source of rejuvenation.

It was probably not by chance that the self-confidence of writers in the time of Nero harmonized with the heigthened spirit of the age, which animated Nero the 'Sun King', even after the end of his first brilliant quinquennium. Nor was it accidental that the period of classicism coincided with a consolidation of the empire under the Flavians. And, finally, it was not mere coincidence that the phase of

archaism began with Hadrian, who, parting with a policy of further expansion, ushered in the late summer of empire.

IDEAS II

The hundred years of disorder from the Gracchan era to Augustus provided good reason to seek comfort in religion. The imperial period, during which any citizen experienced his own powerlessness, could only enhance this need. Archaic Roman religion, originating from a small agrarian community, had become alien to the educated and could hardly meet the need for personal edification and salvation. Into this vacuum rushed the mystery cults and the schools of the philosophers.

Mystery cults, persecuted in the Republican period and even under the first emperors, had already become a part of religious practice of the Augustan public, and for that very reason even Ovid's sharp tongue stopped short of Isis and Bacchus. The future belonged to the gods of salvation.

Even philosophy in spite of its scientific past adapted itself to the spirit of the times. The transition from cosmology to anthropology in the days of Socrates and of Greek Enlightenment, it is true, had given some impulse even to the development of science: dialectic acumen was exercised in the Academy, and the school of Aristotle untiringly committed itself to empirical research. However, there was already in the Alexandrian era an increasing tendency to restrict anthropology to ethics, to have physics serve edification and to consider logic, at best, a preparatory course. In Roman times various philosophical systems competed with religion to lead man to happiness and fulfillment in life, and, to some extent, philosophy used the vernacular of the mystery cults in order to offer the educated a rational way to enlightenment. Practice took precedence over theory and differences in dogma became less important. In the first half of the 1st century B.C. Posidonius enriched Stoicism with elements of Platonism and gave it a cosmological and religious coloring. The Romans used Stoic arguments to justify their traditional belief in prodigies. The same is true of their inclination for astrology, as Manilius' relevant work demonstrates, a work which emerged partly under the reign of Tiberius, one of astrology's adherents. Neo-Pythagoreanism, to which Ovid and Virgil had been receptive, did not fail to leave an impres-

sion on the young Seneca. In the 1st century this author was an exponent of a practical, psychologically oriented Stoicism with slightly religious overtones, and he was not one to spurn even Epicurean or Platonic thought. Somewhat later Plutarch, following in the footsteps of his teacher Ammonius, would revive a syncretistic Platonism. The Academy switched from Ciceronian skepticism to Apuleius' Middle Platonist concept of demonology.

The emperors in turn did not miss the opportunity to make use of the religious mood and fashion of their times or to experiment with new ideas. Caligula's pharaonic pretensions, Nero's posing as Apollo, Domitian's identification with Jupiter, and many later attempts of this sort were responses to the timeless longing for a change for the better, which, under the given circumstances, the people themselves could not bring about.

The theological or philosophical idealization of the emperor's role would still find a strong echo in epic, eclogue, *silvae*, and panegyric: Lucan and Calpurnius bore witness to Nero's sun kingship; Seneca's Stoic work *De clementia* was intended to commit the young monarch to the political wisdom of Augustus; Statius—not by accident—glorified clemency in his poems dedicated to Domitian and in the *Thebaid*; the *Panegyricus* of Pliny associated Trajan with the Stoic concept of the ideal ruler.

In almost all of the literature of the period we find protests against individual emperors and against tyranny (not, however, against monarchy *per se*), in more or less overt form; the most impressive—but unfortunately *post festum*—are those of Tacitus and Juvenal. We should also mention the *Octavia* attributed to Seneca, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, Lucan's epic, the arrest scene in book I of Valerius Flaccus, and the characterization of the tyrants in Seneca's tragedies. Indirect protest was also expressed in Phaedrus' *Fables* and in Martial's *Epigrams*.

Under the Flavians and Trajan, Epictetus returned in a sense to the Old Stoa. A parallel development, in the field of style, was the return to classicism in literature. Apart from Seneca's short-lived philosophical regency, philosophy was at best merely tolerated in Rome during the 1st century. The Stoic spirit of senatorial opposition was a sign of inner autonomy; the Stoicism of the last Flavian epic poet, Silius Italicus, was indeed a dangerous stance under Domitian, who persecuted philosophers. This situation would not change until the 2nd century. In an impressive revolution 'from above', comparable only to what happened later under Constantine, the strongest intellectual

force—at the time, Stoic philosophy—would be transformed from a cradle of opposition to the mainstay of the regime. The philosophers who had been persecuted under Vespasian and Domitian were permitted to return under Trajan. Dio Chrysostom became the harbinger of a Stoic monarchy, an idea that would remain prevalent through the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Close upon that enlightened age there again followed attempts to legitimize domination religiously.

If trends of thought typical of different eras were expressed less in speculative form than through the medium of poetry and artistic prose, this was due to a feature of the Roman mind which had been, from the very beginning, adverse to dogmatic and ideological constraints. Just as a citizen of ancient China was born a Taoist, lived according to the principles of Confucius and died a Buddhist, so many a Roman, as *homo politicus*, was a Stoic, an Epicurean in his private life, and in his philosophical leanings perhaps a Platonist or a Neo-Pythagorean. The essence of that attitude, which a witty Englishman unkindly categorized as 'typically Roman indifference to truth', could be, to put it in a friendly way, an originally rustic distrust of the purely theoretical and a strong orientation towards the more practical aspects of life.

This mentality produced both short and long-term effects: Latin philosophical texts stand without certain scholastic refinements, upon which the differences among philosophical schools are based. This loss is partly compensated for by some typically Roman elements: there is an emphasis on the application of philosophy to the conduct of life, and there is a convincing literary form making philosophical thought universally understandable. Furthermore, the Romans bequeathed to western Christianity and to European philosophy a serious concept of the unique importance of human existence; it was under their auspices that a philosophy of history could develop; they gave us the concept of 'person' and the idea of human creativity; and, finally, it was their example which again and again encouraged European thinkers—from the moralists of the early modern period up to the Existentialists—not to subordinate life to philosophy but, on the contrary, to have philosophy serve life.

This situation had its effects on the general physiognomy of imperial literature: we seldom find empirical methods in the area of natural science—Pliny's *Naturalis historia* is erudition rather than science based upon experimentation. In the field of philology there were

important achievements both in the considered era and in later periods: Latin texts were being edited and annotated; jurisprudence, a typically Roman discipline, which would evolve later in the subsequent phase of development, was also beginning to take shape in our period.

The following fact pointed ahead to the next epoch of Roman literature: Jewish culture was entering the Roman field of vision more and more. In the first half of the 1st century A.D., Philo applied Greek allegorical interpretation to the Old Testament. Later on, the methods used by Philo would facilitate the assimilation of the Old Testament by non-Jewish Christians. The hellenization of Jews during the Hellenistic period paved the way for the dialogue of Christianity with pagan culture and consequently for its propagation. In the long run, a blending of Greek, Roman, and Christian culture would become possible in late antiquity. During the considered period Jerusalem was destroyed, and Judaism repeatedly forced into a defensive intellectual isolation. The *Talmud* was the expression of this alienation, whereas Christianity, which had been receptive to classical culture since its inception, would become an increasingly decisive factor and fashioner of the further development of intellectual life.

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römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis Konstantin, München 1988, esp. 178–314. * E. Cizek, L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques, Leiden 1972. * E. Cizek, La littérature et les cercles culturels et politiques à l'époque de Trajan, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 3–35. * P. Dams, Dichtungskritik bei nachaugusteischen Dichtern, diss. Marburg 1970. * T. A. Dorey, ed., Empire and Aftermath, Silver Latin 2, London 1975. * H. Erdle, Persius. Augusteische Vorlage und neronische Überformung, diss. München 1968. * S. Fein, Die Beziehung der Kaiser Trajan und Hadrian zu den *litterati*, Stuttgart 1995. * A. Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines. A History of the Roman Empire, A.D. 14–192, London 1974. * M. Griffin, Nero: The End of a Dynasty, London 1984. * A.-M. Guillemin, La critique littéraire au 1er siècle de l'empire, REL 6, 1928, 136–180. * A.-M. Guillemin, Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps, Paris 1929. * C. Habicht, Die augusteische Zeit und das 1. Jh. nach Christi Geburt, in: W. Den Boer, ed., Le culte des souverains dans l'Empire romain, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 19, Vandœuvres-Genève 1973, 41–88. * R. Häussler, Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie, Heidelberg 1978. * A. Hardie, Statius and the *Silvae*. Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World, Liverpool 1983. * K. Heldmann, Dekadenz und literarischer Fortschritt bei Quintilian und bei Tacitus. Ein Beitrag zum römischen Klassizismus, Poetica 12, 1980, 1–23. * G. O. Hutchinson, Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal. A Critical Study, Oxford 1993. * H. Juhnke, Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Szenen-Nachbildungen und Strukturentsprechungen in Statius' *Thebais* und *Achilleis* und in Silius' *Punica*, München 1972. * W. Kissel, ed., Die römische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, vol. 4: Kaiserzeit I, Stuttgart 1985 (bibl.). * R. Klein, ed., Prinzipat und Freiheit, Darmstadt 1969 (WdF 135). * B. Kühnert, V. Riedel, R. Gordesiani, eds., Prinzipat und Kultur im 1. und 2. Jh., Bonn 1995. * W. D. Lebek, Lucans *Pharsalia*. Dichtungsstruktur und Zeitbezug, Göttingen 1976. * E. Lefèvre, Die Bedeutung des Paradoxen in der römischen Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit, Poetica 3, 1970, 59–82. * Leo, Biogr., esp. chapters 12–15. * S. Mratschek-Halfmann, *Divites et praepotentes*. Reichtum und soziale Stellung in der Literatur der Prinzipatszeit, Stuttgart 1993, esp. 14–40. * Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 251–343. * J. P. Sullivan, Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero, Ithaca 1985. * Syme, Tacitus. * G. Thiele, Die Poesie unter Domitian, Hermes 51, 1916, 233–260. * G. Williams, Change and Decline. Roman Literature in the Early Empire, Berkeley 1978. * Wirszubski, Libertas.

II. POETRY

A. EPIC

LUCAN

Life and Dates

M. Annaeus Lucanus was born on November 3rd, 39 A.D. in Corduba; his father was M. Annaeus Mela, a brother of Seneca the philosopher. Lucan was young when he came to Rome; he enjoyed a thorough training as an orator. The Stoic philosopher Cornutus was one of his teachers; Persius, whose poetry he admired (*Vita Persii* 5), was his friend. Nero summoned him from an academic sojourn in Athens and appointed him to his court. He became quaestor before the age prescribed for the office and held the augural priesthood. He made his debut as a poet in 60 at the festival of the Neronia. After a number of works which have not come down to us[1] he published the first three books of his *Pharsalia*; then the emperor, who was jealous of his acknowledged talent, forbade him to publish his works and prohibited him from forensic pleading. Lucan took part in the Pisonian conspiracy. After the intrigue was unmasked, he named his accomplices and even denounced his own mother. On April 30, 65, he was forced to have his veins opened. His wife Polla Argentaria maintained the honor of his memory.[2]

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[1] Lost works: Iliacon, Catachthonion, Laudes Neronis, Orpheus, De incendio urbis, Adlocutio ad Pollam (or: Ad uxorem), Saturnalia, Silvarum X, Medea (unfinished tragedy), Salticae fabulae XIV (texts for pantomimes), Epigrammata, twin speeches for and against Octavius Sagitta, Epistulae ex Campania, a poetic invective against Nero; as for FPL 130 Morel cf. M. J. McGann, The Authenticity of Lucan, CQ 51, 1957, 126–128.

[2] One of the vitae came down to us in mutilated form; it shows a critical attitude to the poet and is thought to be Suetonian. It is criticized in its turn by another biography, attributed to a certain Vacca, which is preserved at the head of the scholia (Adnotationes super Lucanum). According to M. Martina (Le vite antiche

He published the first three books after the first Neronia, therefore not before 61. The entire work could have appeared roughly between 59 and 65. Parallels with Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* (written in 62 and 63) in the early books could reflect discussions between uncle and nephew and therefore do not compel us to date the *Pharsalia* later. Still greater speed of production, which some scholars[1] propose (8 months for 10 books) is unthinkable for an epic writer in ancient Rome.

In the best manuscripts the title of Lucan's main work reads *Belli civilis libri X*. He himself calls it (9. 985) *Pharsalia*.[2]

Survey of the Work

1: The announcement of the subject, the dedication to Nero, the list of causes of the war and the characterization of Pompey and Caesar are followed by the crossing of the Rubicon, a catalogue of troops, the panic of Pompey and of Rome's inhabitants and finally a series of prodigies and prophecies.

2: A description of the atmosphere at Rome includes a flashback to the times of Marius and Sulla. Cato comforts Brutus and allows his former wife to return. After a digression on the Apennines and on public opinion in Italy, we hear of Caesar's clemency in his dealings with Domitius near Corfinium. Pompey flees to Brundisium; when Caesar threatens to block the harbor there with floating wood obstacles, Pompey leaves Italy.

3: En route Pompey dreams of his former wife, Julia, Caesar's daughter, who haunts him like an evil spirit. Caesar enters Rome with fierce determination, availing himself of the state treasury in spite of Metellus' protests. Pompey rallies the peoples of the East to his cause. Caesar besieges Massilia and a sea battle ensues.

4: In Spain Petreius prevents a fraternization of the armies. Cut off from water supply, the Pompeians surrender and are released. The Caesarian Vulteius and his troops, faced with a hopeless situation near Salona, slay each other. The myth of Antaeus is included in the account of Curio's defeat in Africa.

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di Lucano e di Persio, CCC 5, 1984, 155–189) this so-called Vacca Vita is independent of Suetonius. In the codex Bernensis 370 besides the Vacca Vita there is a fragmentary curriculum, which is based on Suetonius.

[1] K. F. C. Rose, Problems of Chronology in Lucan's Career, TAPhA 97, 1966, 379–396.

[2] In favor of Pharsalia as the title of the work: F. Ahl 1976, 326–332; the opposite view in J. P. Postgate, edition of book 7, Cambridge 1917, p. xc; A. E. Housman, edition 296.

5: The 'senate' deliberates in Epirus. Appius unbars the oracular shrine of Apollo at Delphi to consult the oracle but receives an ambiguous response. Caesar quells a mutiny and becomes both consul and dictator in Rome. A daring sea voyage confirms Caesar's luck. Pompey takes leave of Cornelia.

6: The Pompeians, hemmed in by Caesar at Dyrrhachium, try to break out, but Scaeva courageously prevents their attempt. A description of Thessaly follows. The witch Erictho calls a dead man back to life and has him prophesy.

7: In a dream Pompey sees himself in his former glory; then follows the great battle of Pharsalus. Pompey flees. Caesar remains victorious.

8: Pompey continues his flight; on Lesbos he sees Cornelia again. He is murdered as he arrives in Egypt. An unknown man lays his decapitated body to rest.

9: Pompey's soul takes refuge in Brutus and Cato. Characterization of Cato. In Africa Cornelia meets her sons and Cato; the latter convinces the troops to fight on and leads them through serpent-infested deserts to Leptis. The Perseus myth explains the origin of snakes. On the occasion of Caesar's visit to Troy Lucan compares his *Pharsalia* to the *Iliad*. When he arrives in Egypt, Caesar 'mourns' Pompey.

10: Caesar visits Alexander's tomb and then spends some time with Cleopatra. After an excursus on the sources of the Nile we see Caesar threatened by the treacherous Egyptians. Here the work breaks off unfinished.[1]

Sources, Models, and Genres

The earliest poet of Lucan's native town of Corduba, Sextilius Ena, had written an epic on Roman history, as had Cornelius Severus. We do not know if Lucan was inspired by such works. According to the scholiasts, the subject matter was provided by the lost books 109–112 of Livy, whose Pompeian sympathies are known; moreover, one thinks immediately of a collection of *exempla*. Direct consultation of Caesar's *Commentarii* is hardly likely. The introductory analysis of the causes of the war is reminiscent of Asinius Pollio or, more generally, of pragmatic historiography, the motives of which found a new

[1] From the content of 10. 525–529 some have concluded that the work was planned to end with the murder of Caesar; it was even assumed that Lucan also intended to treat Octavian's wars against Brutus, Cassius, and Antony. In any case book 10 is incomplete, and it seems probable that the work originally was intended to have 12 books. Less convincing is B. M. Marti (1968) who suggests 16 books. With 18 books, the tetradic structure would be destroyed.

and typically Roman expression in Lucan.[1] Does that introduction have its earliest origin in Posidonius? And was it, again, Livy who transmitted these ideas to Lucan? The lost *Annals* of Cremutius Cordus and the *Historia ab initio bellorum civilium* of Lucan's grandfather, Seneca the Elder, were also sympathetic to Pompey. In some passages Lucan might have freely adapted letters of Cicero.[2] A great variety of sources have been conjectured for the geographic and ethnographic excursuses; in some parts the 10th book corresponds literally to Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*.[3] Lucan showed himself knowledgable in other fields—even in herpetology and magic—as befits his concept of a universal poetry; but he drew his knowledge more often from intermediate sources such as Licinius Macer (catalogue of snakes)[4] and Ovid than from Posidonius directly.

Lucan changed the genre of epic. He dispensed with the heretofore obligatory scenes involving the gods; myth was only of marginal significance for him; he stressed instead geography and natural science. He abandoned the reservation characteristic of traditional epic poets: on almost every page our author passionately expresses his personal opinion and comments on the events. What disturbed Roman readers about Lucan's poetry we can deduce from Petronius' epic on the civil war, which was probably conceived as a 'positive' counterpart to Lucan's work. Homer himself and his interpreters, however, were more important in the conception of the *Pharsalia* than one would expect.[5] Lucan did not really combat Virgil's *Aeneid* but tried to outshine it; the *Georgics*, however, were no less important as an example of cosmic poetry dedicated to a ruler. A comparative study of Lucan and another 'universal' poet, the didactic author Lucretius, would be rewarding. For Lucan Ovid's[6] *Metamorphoses* were an inspir-

[1] R. Häussler 1978, 2, 85; 87; cf. 104.

[2] E. Malcovati, Lucano e Cicerone, Athenaeum 31 (Studi Fraccaro), 1953, 288–297.

[3] H. Diels, Seneca und Lucan, Abh. Akad. Berlin 1885, 1–54.

[4] Cf. I. Cazzaniga, L'episodio dei serpi libici in Lucano e la tradizione dei Theriaka Nicandrei, Acme 10, 1957, 27–41.

[5] M. Lausberg, Lucan und Homer, ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1565–1622; C. M. C. Greene, Stimulos dedit aemula virtus: Lucan and Homer Reconsidered, Phoenix 45, 1991, 230–254.

[6] E. Thomas, Some Reminiscences of Ovid in Latin Literature, in: Atti del Convegno internazionale ovidiano, Sumona 1958, 1, 145–171; M. von Albrecht, Der Dichter Lucan und die epische Tradition, in: Lucain, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 15, 1968, esp. 293–297.

ing authority not only for mythology but for natural science as well. As rhetorical epic poets preceding Lucan, Cornelius Severus and Albinovanus Pedo deserve to be mentioned. The pointed, almost epigrammatic, style is patterned after Ovid and Seneca, including the latter's tragedies.

Literary Technique

Lucanus magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus, 'Lucan—more suitable for imitation by the orator than by the poet'? Before repeating Quintilian's easy formula (*inst.* 10. 1. 90), we should ask what Lucan as a poet owed to his rhetorical training.

Let us begin with the so-called *evidentia.* Lucan accompanies his discourse with a well-structured series of vivid images: thus, in the 1st book we can glean from the similes the course of the events and their importance: the first simile illustrates the general theme, 'the end of the world' (72–82); the second reveals the elimination of the last treshold of inhibition between the adversaries: with the death of Crassus the isthmus, as it were, between the two seas has disappeared, and they now crash into one another (100–106). Then we see Pompey as a venerable but brittle oak (135–143) and Caesar as the lightning that strikes it (151–157). The constant paralleling of the actual event with a logically constructed sequence of symbolic images melts rhetorical meditation and the tradition of the epic simile into a new poetic creation.

In addition, Lucan—*ardens* and *concitatus*, 'fiery and passionate' (Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 90)—accompanies the events with emotional comments which often try to provoke the reader's response. Rhetoric, therefore, provides far more than a rational method of analyzing complex psychological processes. Rather, Lucan proves himself to be a great orator; his narrative does not simply remain stagnant in dry *recitativo*, but rises to an *arioso* full of inner life. The academic anithesis of poetry and rhetoric turns out to be misleading: what appears outwardly as an application of rhetorical skill in Lucan often turns out to be a means of lyrical expression. An unbroken impetus pervades Lucan's text and, as a 'continuous melody', forges it into a unity. This constitutes an emotional coherence that was formerly not usual in epic. A novel, specifically poetic quality is achieved here by means of rhetoric. Even small details of Lucan's invention—e.g. in

the Scaeva episode[1]—show that rhetoric did not enslave Lucan's talent but liberated it.

The 'dissociation of the plot into individual scenes' and the 'repetition of events which have already been portrayed in an altered perspective'[2] contribute to the abrogation of the seeming objectivity characteristic of traditional epic. The poetic 'ego' penetrates the expanses of the universe and of history with his personal response.

Lucan's metamorphosis of epic through rhetoric is a logical and, in a sense, radical development of tendencies which had already been prepared by Virgil. The lyric *ethos*, which Virgil had contributed to epic, in Lucan assumed a character of *pathos* and gained a life of its own. As Virgil in his epic had fulfilled many of the intentions of ancient Roman tragedy, Lucan transferred the rhetorical style of Seneca's tragedies to epic.

In Servius' opinion (*Aen.* 1. 382),[3] Lucan was an historian, not a poet. Servius certainly overstated the antithesis; the two terms are not mutually exclusive in Lucan's case. To be sure, Lucan did learn much from ancient historiographers. The *prooemium* of the 1st book is skillfully arranged around the praise of Nero, and melts historiographical and poetic techniques. Again and again the reader is tempted to relate the dramatical style of his narrative to the literary principles of Hellenistic historiography.[4] As in a work of history, numerous speeches reveal the motives of the characters and Lucan places much importance on this feature. Once the depths of human psyche have been plumbed, the poet often brings his scene to conclusion with few lines. Not only individuals but also anonymous groups[5]—for example, the soldiers—are allowed to speak; thus Lucan anticipates some of the manners of Tacitus. There is no need to emphasize that many of his speeches are products of his imagination: even Thucydides was not beyond inventing speeches that were appropriate to the

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[1] B. M. Marti, Cassius Scaeva and Lucan's inventio, in: L. Wallach, ed., The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of H. Caplan, Ithaca 1966, 239–257; on the Scaeva episode s. also G. B. Conte 1988, 43–112.

[2] W. Görler, Caesars Rubikon-Übergang in der Darstellung Lucans, in: Studien zum antiken Epos FS F. Dirlmeier and V. Pöschl, ed. by H. Görgemanns and Ernst A. Schmidt, Meisenheim 1976, 291–308; on the 'Technik der isolierten Bilder': F. Mehmel, Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius, Hamburg 1940, 106–129.

[3] I.e. Suetonius: R. Häussler 1978, 2, 239–241.

[4] B. M. Marti, quoted above n. 1.

[5] Andreas W. Schmitt, Die direkten Reden der Massen in Lucans Pharsalia, Frankfurt 1995.

occasion. In the case of an oration attributed by Lucan to Cicero, the fake is evident: Cicero, who is depicted advocating war, was not present in Dyrrhachium at that time and, furthermore, was an advocate of peace (7. 68–85). As a poet, Lucan mastered the technique of condensation: he possessed the ability to summarize a complex sequence of events in one momentous scene.

As for character portrayal, we will come back to it in the context of Lucan's ideas. Let it be mentioned here, however, that Lucan produced unforgettable character sketches of Roman women,[1] passages which did not fail to leave an impression, for instance, on Dante. In such portraits Livian *humanitas* is blended with epic tradition. Thanks to Lucan's uncommon ability—acquired perhaps from Homer—to mould details into a convincing unity, the *Pharsalia* has become one of very few historical epics which can claim to be of timeless value. Lucan's text oscillates between historical inaccuracy and a sometimes surprising attention to detail; far from being an end in itself, historiographical fidelity is subordinate to the poetic vision.

Lucan is not a radical iconoclast of the epic tradition. His abovementioned rejection of the so-called divine apparatus was an intelligent decision, given his topic; otherwise his 'world war' would have become a 'twilight of the gods'. Catalogues and excursuses are retained to document the richness of a world both horrifiying and beautiful, the expanses of the empire and the magnitude of the catastrophe. The catalogues which confer on real objects both universal meaning and poetic splendor, combine a quasi-didactic intent with 'scientific' explanation. For the portrayal of the storm (5. 541–702) he used and revised Seneca's version (*Agam.* 460–578). Scenes such as Lucan's storm at sea or his Scaeva-episode are to be considered within the epic tradition, but at the same time they make a new conquest of that tradition under the banner of rhetoric. Important thematic elements are placed even at similar points as they are in the *Aeneid*: thus, the retrospective view of Sulla and his time in the 2nd book is a counterpart to Virgil's destruction of Troy; similarly, the necromancy in book 6 corresponds to that of the 6th book of the *Aeneid*. At this point history reveals itself as anti-myth[2] or, rather, something greater than myth.

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[1] Ovid had been an authoritative predecessor in this respect: R. T. Brueère, Lucan's Cornelia, CPh 46, 1951, 221–236.

[2] E. Narducci, La provvidenza crudele. Lucano e la distruzione dei miti augustei, Pisa 1979.

In certain respects the structure of the *Pharsalia* as a whole is reminiscent of the *Aeneid*: in the *Pharsalia* there are also significant parallels between books 1 and 7, 2 and 8, etc. As in the *Aeneid*, this bipartite structure competes with another one which is in three tetrades; in fact, books 5 and 9 mark new beginnings. This makes it probable that the work was planned for 12 books, which would extend to the death of Cato. Individual books, though relevant as artistic units, are less self-contained than Virgilian books; 'scenes', 'complexes',[1] and more subtle compositional units[2] command attention. What is important is a perennial, ever progressive internal movement, which replaces the contemplative mood of traditional epic with a novel, indefatigable dynamism and lends unity to variety. Lucan's original literary technique makes him a reformer, not a destroyer of epic.

Language and Style

Lucan is a master of language, style, and meter. Typical are new words coined with *super-*, denoting an upward impetus or a climax: *superevolo, superenato, superinvolvo, superaddo.*[3] The purported mechanical monotony of meter is pure legend, for it is just that unobtrusive art of variation—applied without detriment to strict metric structure—that is characteristic of Lucan.[4] Enjambment[5] is an especially significant device enhancing his 'unending' *melos* and his passionate discourse (*pathos*).

Lucan's persistent animation and ardor of style prepared the way for Juvenal's *Satires*. Extravagant use of direct address is a feature of Lucan's technique of emotional appeal: in his *prooemium* he addresses, one after the other, the citizens (1. 8), Rome (21–23), the gods (37), the emperor (41–66), Rome once more (84–85), and the triumvirs (87).

Rhetorical acumen triumphs as early as the *prooemium* (1. 1–7). The poet succeeds again and again in writing memorable lines. Thus, he

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[1] W. Rutz 1950, 50–127 = 1989, 53–119.

[2] W. D. Lebek 1976.

[3] The two last named are in tmesis: J. Fick, Kritische und sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Lukan, Programm Straubing 1889/90, 47–55; on Lucan's style in the Scaeva-episode, s. G. B. Conte 1988, 43–112.

[4] G. Möhler, Hexameterstudien . . ., Frankfurt 1989; cf. also L. O. Scher, The Structure of Lucan's Hexameter, diss. Stanford 1972; cf. DA 33, 1972, 2351 A.

[5] A. Holgado Redondo, El encabalgamiento versal y su tipología en la Farsalia de Lucano, CFC 15, 1978, 251–260.

unveils the contradiction between material success and moral substance: *victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*, 'if the victor had the gods on his side, the vanquished had Cato' (1. 128). Of Pompey he remarks: *stat magni nominis umbra* (1.135); of Caesar: *nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum*, 'he thought nothing done while anything remained to do' (2. 657). The expression *furor Teutonicus*, 'the wild career of the Teutones' (1. 255–256), which later would be frequently cited, was also coined by Lucan. In his hands a stylistic device such as hypallage,[1] a mutual exchange of elements in an expression, achieves a deeper sense, as (6. 311) *nec sancto caruisset vita Catone*, 'nor would the land of the living have lost the stainless Cato'. Cato's losing his life is no loss for Cato but for life itself, which has become poorer through his death.

A secret of Lucan's style is the creation of an uninterrupted stream of consciousness—and that is achieved despite the brilliance of the individual sentence. One of the means to maintain fluency of syntax is the use of coordinating particles (*nam*, *quodsi*, etc.) and the postponement of the end of sentence beyond the end of the line. It would be wrong to explain Lucan's fluid style, which does not avoid repetition of words, as a 'spontaneous, result of hasty and sketchy composition. Rather, the introduction of 'endless melody' into epic is the result of conscious artistic work, an achievement that cannot be reduced to the catchword 'rhetorization' since it lends a permeating poetic momentum and often an almost lyrical touch to the text.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

On the occasion of Caesar's visit to Troy,[2] Lucan says to his hero: 'Our *Pharsalia* will live on' (9. 980–986). He proudly competes with Homer: the typological series Caesar—Alexander—Achilles is just as obvious as the contrast to Virgil, who—likewise in the 9th book—promised eternal glory to Nisus and Euryalus (*Aen.* 9. 446–449). The great and sacred creativity of the poets (*sacer et magnus vatum labor*) rescues everything from oblivion. In Lucan Caesar found his Homer. However, Lucan has in no way forgotten that his subject is the most

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[1] U. Hübner, Hypallage in Lucans Pharsalia, Hermes 100, 1972, 577–600; id., Studien zur Pointentechnik in Lucans Pharsalia, Hermes 103, 1975, 200–211.

[2] O. Zwierlein, Lucans Caesar in Troja, Hermes 114, 1986, 460–478.

unfortunate battle in world history; and he even stresses this insight. Nor is there any contradiction to the first proemium with its tidings of Roman self-destruction and of the enthronement of crime. Lucan's choice of a negative theme and a negative hero impart to the *topos* of poetry's immortalizing powers a wholly original twist. The poet's solidarity with his anti-hero in the face of eternity is an especially sublime feature.

Ideas II

To understand Lucan's political attitude, we should make a clear distinction between the image of Nero as the 'new Augustus' (Suet. *Nero* 10. 1.) and that of Caesar, who, at the outset of the imperial period was largely put into the shade by Augustus and even by Pompey. The early homage to the Sun King, who actually seemed at first under Seneca's tutorship to inspire great expectations and indeed introduced a new cultural epoch, cannot have been meant ironically.[1] The only point open to discussion is whether Lucan's eulogy served as a camouflage or whether—more plausibly—his appraisal of Nero changed along with the sovereign's attitude towards the poet. Lucan expressed his disappointment in the later books,[2] but we should not attribute to him any clearly defined political program. As all distinguished Romans of the time, our poet experienced the antagonism between theoretical republicanism (which was even a part of the programs of Augustus and his successors) and practical acquiescence to autocracy (1. 89–95), a tension which would be some-

[1] Rightly P. GRIMAL, L'Eloge de Néron au début de la Pharsale est-il ironique?, REL 38, 1960, 296–305; allusions to Horace throw light on parallels between Nero and Augustus: M. PASCHALIS, Two Horatian Reminiscences in the Proem of Lucan, Mnemosyne 35, 1982, 342–346; more comprehensive is I. BORZSÁK, Lucan und Horaz, ACD 14, 1978, 43–49; according to D. EBENER Lucan wanted to disguise his real intentions: Lucans Bürgerkriegsepos als Beispiel poetischer Gestaltung eines historischen Stoffes, Klio 66, 1984, 581–589; for an assessment of the homage to Nero: R. HÄUSSLER 1978, 76–80; 256–257; on the change of Lucan's attitude and his increasing obstinacy ibid. 84, n. 82; 92, n. 81; cf. also A. M. DUMONT, L'éloge de Néron (Lucain, Bellum Civile 1. 33–66), BAGB 1986, 22–40; M. DEWAR, Laying it on with a Trowel. The Proem to Lucan and Related Texts, CQ n.s. 44, 1994, 199–211; irony is defended by G. BELDON, Lucanus anceps, RCCM 14, 1972, 132–145; on Lucan and Calpurnius: K. KRAUTTER, Lucan, Calpurnius und Nero, Philologus 136, 1992, 188–201.

[2] On the increase in anti-monarchic vocabulary in book 7: K. F. C. ROSE, Problems of Chronology in Lucan's Career, TAPhA 97, 1966, 379–396, esp. 388 with n. 26.

what relaxed during the enlightened monarchy of the 'good emperors'. His advocacy of the senate's rights, however, is something quite different from any serious intention to reestablish the republic.

Fully aware of Caesar's greatness, Lucan repeatedly identified him with Alexander[1] who, despite his undisputed fame, was often viewed negatively at Rome. Even a Lucan could not pass over Caesar's *clementia* in silence (2. 511–525: 3. 134–140; 4. 363–381); but to true republicans, a life spared merely out of capricious imperial mercy appeared to be the deepest of humiliations. Furthermore, Lucan considered Caesar's 'mourning' for Pompey (9. 1035–1108) purely self-motivated and contrived. He depicted Caesar as a new Hannibal (1. 303–305), a quasi-oriental despot (cf. 10. 169),[2] a demoniacal tyrant of satanic majesty (e.g. 3. 437). *Ira, furor,* lonely greatness and belief in Fortuna are characteristic of Lucan's Caesar.[3] As in Seneca, *furor* becomes a consciously induced madness, which releases latent powers, and monstrous crime becomes a gladly self-imposed duty.[4] Lucan projects Senecas 'tragedy of *nefas*' into the larger dimensions of epic and transposes it from private life to world history.

However, the portrait of Caesar, like that of Pompey, is hardly consistent; as situations change, certain individual features disturb the harmony of the portrait, though enlivening it.[5] It is difficult to prove that in the portrayal of Caesar there is a systematic increase in dark colors. The presence, however, of a certain fascination with evil, to which the author, too, succumbs, is undisputed. The poet's warm espousal of Pompey's cause, his constant declarations of sympathy with an aging, somewhat lachrymose man, who finds himself continually on the run, elicit a sense of romantic futility;[6] without a doubt, Pompey is the most 'human' character in the *Pharsalia.*[7] His ally, Brutus, in the main, is portrayed favorably, and Cato, whose character in the 2nd book was exposed to a serious conflict of conscience, finally exceeds human bounds in his perfection. It is no wonder that Cato has been viewed as the embodiment of the Stoic sage; yet,

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[1] All three main characters are occasionally paralleled with Alexander: W. Rutz, Gnomon 39, 1967, 793.

[2] Manfred Gerhard Schmidt 1986, 251.

[3] W. Rutz 1950, 129–163 = 1989, 122–152.

[4] R. Glaessar 1984, 151–152.

[5] W. Rutz 1950, 163–167 = 1989, 153–156.

[6] All this makes him unsuited for the role of a Stoic proficiens.

[7] B. M. Marti, The Meaning of the Pharsalia, AJPh 66, 1945, 352–376.

Cato, in his glowing passion for freedom, sacrifice and death resembles more a holy ascetic and martyr than a serene philosopher.

Cato is a good substitute for the gods, whom Lucan banished from his epic.[1] Does he not surpass in virtue the immoral deities of epic tradition or the forces of history (whether it be *fata*, *fortuna*, or *superi*)? Lucan's Cato is the noblest expression of a typically Roman experience, finding the presence of an immaterial god in one's own heart. In his own way Caesar, who is both the exponent and a caricature of the new apotheosis, possesses his own strong *numen*: in fact, he conquers the old gods of the sacred grove of Massilia on his own authority (3. 399–452). In this respect Lucan's theology and anthropology are strikingly modern.

It is true that the course of events cannot be changed, but the sage, Cato,[2] takes sides, thus changing what had been the 'Pompeian' into the 'Republican' and, therefore, nobler cause. Such readiness to action without any real hope reminds the modern reader of Existentialism. On his march through the desert Cato chooses hardship for its own sake. Scaeva performs superhuman exploits—but to what purpose (*quanta dominum virtute parasti*, 'how bravely you have fought that a tyrant might rule over you!' 6. 262)?

The *fata* have no immediate positive goal; hardly can they be reconciled with the Stoic λόγος and εἱμαρμένη, unless the critic has the enviable strength of faith to maintain the validity of the initial prophecy to Nero for the whole work. Fortuna is, in its fickleness, the adversary of man and his *virtus*, of his staunch resolution never to relinquish his freedom, but, if necessary, to translate it into reality by death.[3]

Lucan's gods, who have decided in favor of Caesar, are close conceptually to Fortuna. Elements of Stoic philosophy, therefore, are traceable, but exaggerations ('love of death') and inconsistencies in their application demonstrate that in poetry they are not an end in themselves but a means to an end.

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[1] Traces of gods: F. M. Ahl, The Shadows of a Divine Presence in the *Pharsalia*, Hermes 102, 1974, 566–590.

[2] For Cato as the Stoic sage: J. M. Adatte, Caton ou l'engagement du sage dans la guerre civile, EL 8, 1965, 232–240; P. Pecchiura, La figura di Catone Uticense nella letteratura latina, Torino 1965.

[3] For the Pharsalia as a Cato tragedy: G. Pfligersdorffer, Lucan als Dichter des geistigen Widerstandes, Hermes 87, 1959, 344–377.

Lucan stresses repeatedly the interaction between macro- and microcosm:[1] this is the core of his invention. The war which shakes the world of the Roman state is seen as a cosmic catastrophe brought about by men. Within this framework, prophesies, prodigies, and cosmic similes serve a meaningful purpose; to be sure, they tangibly portend destiny (this also according to the belief of the Stoics).[2]

Transmission

From a rich textual transmission six manuscripts and two fragments are normally selected: Parisinus Lat. 10314 (Z; 9th century), Montepessulanus, bibl. med. H 113 (M; 9th–10th century), Parisinus Lat. 7502 (P; 10th century), Gemblacensis = Bruxellensis, bibl. Burgund. 5330 (G; 10th–11th century), Leidensis Vossianus Lat. XIX f. 63 (U; 10th century), Leidensis Vossianus Lat. XIX f. 51 (V; 10th century), fragmenta librorum VI et VII in cod. Palatino Vaticano 24 (Π; 4th–5th century), fragmenta librorum V et VI in cod. Bobiensi (4th–5th century) extantia, cuius discerpti particulae sunt codd. Vindobonensis 16 et Neapolitanus IV A 8.

Housman objects to an overestimation of M. If ZP are opposed to GUV, GUV often have the better reading. If opposed to PUV, TG often prove to be correct. P and U can be classified 'average', Z, G, and V are 'eccentric'. Z is relatively the least often interpolated, G the most; nevertheless, G is especially close to the ancient palimpsests. Housman did not establish a stemma. His views have now to be supplemented by the studies of Gotoff, Ehlers, Håkanson, and Luck.[3]

Influence[4]

Lucan was confident in the immortality of his work (9. 985–986). It met with the criticism of Petronius (118–125), and Quintilian recommended it to orators rather than to poets for imitation (*inst.* 10. 1. 90).

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[1] L. Eckardt, Exkurse und Ekphraseis bei Lucan, diss. Heidelberg 1936; M. Lapidge, Lucan's Imagery of Cosmic Dissolution, Hermes 107, 1979, 344–370.

[2] Stoic thought in Lucan: P. Grimal, Quelques aspects du stoïcisme de Lucain dans la Pharsale, BAB 69, 1983, 401–416; D. B. George, The Stoic poet Lucan. Lucan's Bellum Civile and Stoic Ethical Theory, diss. Columbus, Ohio 1985; cf. DA 46, 1985, 1616 A.

[3] W. Rutz, Lustrum 26, 1984, 114–115; id., ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1459–1460.

[4] M. Cytowska, Lucain en Pologne, Eos 60, 1972, 137–148; W. Fischli, Studien zum Fortleben der Pharsalia des M. Annaeus Lucanus, Luzern sine anno, originally: Beilage zum Jahresbericht der kantonalen höheren Lehranstalten in Luzern 1943/

Martial attests to high figures in sales (14. 194). Statius admired Lucan (*silv.* 2. 7; cf. Martial 7. 21–23 and 10. 64), Silius imitated him, and Florus used him.[1]

In late antiquity Christians took pleasure in reading Lucan; the very fact that he had reduced the role of the pagan gods may have favored his acceptance; furthermore, Lucan's characters played an important role as *exempla.* Prudentius, for example, who learnt much from Lucan for his portrayal of martyrs, inaugurated a line of great lyric poets whom Rome's most modern, melancholy and subjective epic poet would attract. Before the middle of the 6th century Arator extolled the *felix culpa* of the Fall of Man with Lucan's own words from the eulogy of Nero (Lucan. 1. 37; Arator, *act.* 1. 62 *scelera ipsa nefasque/hac potius mercede placent, mundoque redempto/sors melior de clade venit,* 'even such crimes and such guilt are welcome if this is the reward for them and since the world was redeemed a better lot came through the disaster'). The great grammarian Priscianus, who taught in Constantinople, quite often used references from the *Pharsalia* to support his rules: that in itself is evidence for his readers' familiarity with Lucan's work. Vacca, the commentator on Lucan, is most often placed in the same century, especially since he cites Martianus Capella and Boethius and was probably used by Isidore; he is most likely the source of the *Adnotationes super Lucanum.*[2]

In the Middle Ages Lucan was read extensively as a classic.[3] Abaelard's Héloïse in her hour of desperation prays with the words of our poet (2. 14–15; *hist. calam., epist.* 4); when taking her leave to become a nun, she quotes Cornelia's words of farewell from Lucan (8. 94–98; Abael. *epist.* 1). Just as Cornelia embodies[4] the ethics of

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44; V.-J. Herrero-Llorente, Lucano en la literatura hispano-latina, Emerita 27, 1959, 19–52; O. Schönberger, Eine Nachwirkung Lucans bei Heinrich von Kleist, GRMS n.s. 12, 1962, 318–321; O. Zwierlein, Cäsar und Kleopatra bei Lucan und in späterer Dichtung, A&A 20, 1974, 54–73.

[1] Cf. e.g. H.-D. Leidig, Das Historiengedicht in der englischen Literaturtheorie. Die Rezeption von Lucans Pharsalia von der Renaissance bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jh., Bern 1975, 7 (on Mart. 14. 194) and 12–16 (summary of criticism on Lucan in antiquity).

[2] Edition: J. Endt, Lipsiae 1909; a new edition by H. Szelest is in progress.

[3] T. A. Creizenach, Die Aeneis, die Vierte Ekloge und die Pharsalia im Mittelalter, Progr. Frankfurt 1864; recently: A. S. Bernardo, S. Levin, eds., The Classics in the Middle Ages, Binghamton 1990, index s.v. Lucan, esp. 165–173 (J. G. Haahr, William of Malmesbury's Roman Models: Suetonius and Lucan).

[4] P. von Moos, Lucan und Abaelard, in: G. Cambier, ed., Hommages à A. Boutemy, Bruxelles 1976, 413–443.

pure, unselfish love, so Cato's refusal to quench his thirst (9. 500–510; Abael. *epist.* 8)[1] demonstrates that leaders have to live for others, not for themselves. The putative republican poet also provides the cardinal lines on the indivisibility of monarchic power (1. 89–93; *epist.* 8). He was read primarily as an historian (or as a natural philosopher). English authors (Geoffrey of Monmouth and Richard of Cirencester) cited with much gusto Lucan's ironic remark concerning Caesar's flight from the Britons (2. 572).[2] In addition, reminiscences are found in the biography of St. Willibrord by Thiofrid of Echternach (12th century).[3] In Dante's opinion Lucan ranks with Homer, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid as one of the greatest poets (*inf.* 4. 90). In the *Divine Comedy* Julia, Marcia, and Cornelia come back (*inf.* 4. 128; *purg.* 1. 78–79), as do Curio (*inf.* 28. 100–102), Nasidius, and Sabellus (*inf.* 25. 94–95) and even the pauper Amyclas (*parad.* 11. 67–69), but above all, Cato Uticensis, whose march through the desert Dante admired (*inf.* 14. 13–15) and whom he elevated to keeper of Purgatory. In the *Convivio* (4. 28) Cato is assigned a still loftier role: Marcia's return to him connotes the return of the soul to God.

Apart form such spiritualization, but roughly contemporary with it—and in keeping with a general trend—Lucan was used for the historical material he provided: Jehan de Tuim thus composed a paraphrase of the *Pharsalia* in Old French; at the close of the 13th century Jacot de Forest adapted the work to Alexandrine verse in rhymes *à tirade*; the *Pharsalia* was transformed into a courtly novel about knights errant and love. In the 14th century Charles V ('the Wise') commissioned a translation of Lucan in French. In the 15th century Juan de Mena (*Laberinto* 241–243: Lucan. 6. 670–672; *Lab.* 164–166: Lucan. 1. 526–528) set Lucan's texts to Spanish verse. Pomponius Laetus (d. 1498) wrote a commentary on books 1–8. 733.[4] Readers developed literary interests: Gradually, Lucan taught Renaissance poets how to transform contemporary history into poetry.[5] Torquato Tasso, in whose epic, as in Lucan's, scholars have found traces of 'mannerism', was inspired in books 13 and 18 of his *Gerusalemme liberata* by

[1] It is often ignored that the refusal of drink relates to the younger Cato and to Lucan.
[2] HIGHET, Class. Trad. 577, n. 30.
[3] K. ROSSBERG, Ein mittelalterlicher Nachahmer des Lucanus, RhM 38, 1883, 152–154; on quotations from Lucan in medieval biographies and historical works: J. G. HAAHR, op. cit. above, p. 926, note 3, esp. 170.
[4] CONTE, LG 450.
[5] C. SCHLAYER, Spuren Lucans in der spanischen Dichtung, diss. Heidelberg 1927.

the scene in the grove of Massilia (Lucan. 3. 399–452). Martín Lasso de Oropesa published a Castilian prose translation in Lisbon (1541). Spanish epic poets took delight in their classical countryman and kindred spirit.[1] Through a brilliant poetic translation of Lucan, Juan de Jáuregui y Aguilar (d. 1641) provided the Gongorists with a 'classical' authority for their baroque concettismo. Two generations earlier (1561) J. C. Scaliger, who adored Virgil, had called Lucan *taedii pater*[2] and had adduced examples, showing how the poet could have expressed himself more briefly. Montaigne's approach was totally different: He liked reading our poet but 'less for his style than for the merits of his character and for the truthfulness of his opinions and judgments' (*Essais* 2. 10). In his *House of Fame* Chaucer placed Lucan on top of an iron column, an honor he shared only with Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Statius.[3] In the 16th century Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton wrote epic poems on contemporary civil conflicts in the footsteps of Lucan and Homer. Towards the end of the 16th century Marlowe translated the 1st book into English; complete translations were written by Sir Arthur Gorges (1614) and Thomas May (1627) who was also the author of a Latin supplement extending to Caesar's death (printed e.g. in Oudendorp's edition of Lucan); inevitably, Caesar turned out to be his hero. Some features of Milton's Satan are reminiscent of Lucan's Caesar; in *Paradise Lost*, the *Pharsalia* is viewed from a new angle. Veit Ludwig Von Seckendorff[4] (d. 1692), Chancellor of the University of Halle, a jurist and church historian, invented for his translation of Lucan the rhymeless Alexandrine, a bold innovation in German poetry after Opitz. In the modern period, Lucan's *Pharsalia* held a key position in the discussion of historical epic. Voltaire recognized Lucan's 'original genius'; according to him, the scene 3. 399–452 shows 'to what degree the greatness of a real hero is superior to that of an invented one'.[5] Cato's proud refusal to consult an oracle (9. 544–618) elicited from him the following remark: 'All that has been said about the gods by classical poets is childish talk compared to this passage from Lucan'.[6] His friend, Fred-

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[1] Bibl. in HIGHET, Class. Trad. 602–603.

[2] J. C. SCALIGER, Poetices libri septem, Lyon (1561), repr. Stuttgart 1964, 114; A. R. BACA, A Mordant Judgement. J. C. Scaliger's Criticism of Lucan, in: Pacific Coast Philology 8, 1973, 5–9.

[3] CONTE, LG 450.

[4] F. GUNDOLF, Seckendorffs Lucan, SHAW 1930–1931, 2.

[5] Essai sur la poésie épique, ch. 4.

[6] Dictionnaire philosophique, s.v. Epopée.

erick the Great, however, called the *Pharsalia* 'a bombastic gazette'.[1]

Shakespeare's and his contemporaries' dramas on Roman subjects were influenced by the *Pharsalia*, as were plays on contemporary history.[2] From a later period Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* (1631) and J. Addison's (d. 1719) *Cato* deserve mention. In France, Lucan's influence was still stronger: there were Robert Garnier's tragedy *Cornélie* (1574), Charles Chaulmer's *La mort de Pompée* (1638), and Corneille's *Pompée* (1641); Corneille was attracted to the 'force of Lucan's insights' and the 'majesty of his way of thinking' (*Pompée: Au lecteur*) and seems to have preferred him even to Virgil. The Pharsalian Fields are the setting of Goethe's[3] *Klassische Walpurgisnacht* (*Faust II*, 2nd Act), which is introduced by the witch Erichtho known to us from Lucan.

It is not mere chance that Lucan was discovered again and again by lyrists: The great neo-Latin poet Conrad Celtis[4] paid homage to him, as did Shelley's universal lyrical genius;[5] Hölderlin in his youth translated long passages from book I in powerful hexameters; Baudelaire confessed that the *Pharsalia* 'ever brilliant, melancholy, heartrending, Stoic' comforted him from his early years.[6] C. F. Meyer's (d. 1898) lyrical ballad *Das Heiligtum* was inspired by the same scene that Voltaire had admired (3. 399–452). During the French Revolution, a line of Lucan (4. 579 *datos, ne quisquam serviat, enses*) was engraved on the sabres of the French National Guard of the First Republic; later, the same line would be used by the German poet Ernst Moritz Arndt (d. 1860). The tragic experience of civil war in our century produced a modern Russian translation of the *Pharsalia*; its author is Lev Ostroumov, a born lyrist.

Editions: Roma 1469. * F. Oudendorp (TC, with the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*), Lugduni Batavorum 1728. * C. F. Weber (TC, with the scholiasts), 3 vols., Lipsiae 1821–1831. * C. E. Haskins (TC), London 1887. * C. M. Francken

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[1] T. A. Creizenach (cited above n. 50), 36; similarly, Louis XIV had deemed the Pharsalia a dangerous reading for the Dauphin, whereas Hugo Grotius had praised Lucan as poeta φιλελεύθερος (Conte, LG 451).

[2] W. von Koppenfels, Our Swords into our Proper Entrails. Aspekte der Lucan rezeption im elisabethanischen Bürgerkriegsdrama, A&A 21, 1975, 58–84.

[3] O. Schönberger, Goethe und Lucan, Gymnasium 65, 1958, 450–452.

[4] O. Schönberger, Aneignungen antiker Gedanken in deutscher Literatur, Gymnasium 91, 1984, 496–506.

[5] R. Ackermann, Lucans Pharsalia in den Dichtungen Shelleys; mit einer Übersicht ihres Einflusses auf die englische Literatur, Zweibrücken 1896; Alfieri, Leopardi (Bruto minore) and Foscolo (I Sepolcri) were influenced by Lucan (Conte, LG 450), certainly not merely for ideological reasons, but on grounds of his poetic qualities.

[6] Letter to Sainte-Beuve, January 15, 1866 (Correspondance générale 5, 216).

(TC), Lugduni Batavorum 1896–1897. * C. Hosius, Lipsiae 3rd ed. 1913. * R. Badalì (TTrN), Torino 1988. * A. E. Housman (editorum in usum), Oxford 2nd ed. 1927. * D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Stutgardiae 1988. * R. Badalì, Roma 1992. * S. H. Braund (TrN), Oxford 1992. * W. Ehlers (TTr), München 2nd ed.1978. * G. Luck (TTr), Berlin 1985. * J. D. Duff (TTr), London 1928. * *Book 1*: R. J. Getty (TC), Cambridge 2nd ed. 1955. * P. Wuilleumier, H. Le Bonniec (TC), Paris 1962. * *Book 2*: E. Fantham (TC), Cambridge 1992. * *Book 3*: V. Hunink (C), Amsterdam 1992. * *Book 6, 118–260*: G. B. Conte (TC) 1988 (s. below) 43–112. * *Book 7*: O. A. W. Dilke (TC), Cambridge 1960. * *Book 8*: J. P. Postgate (TC), Cambridge 1917. * R. Mayer (TTrC), Warminster 1981. * *Book 10. 1–171*: M. G. Schmidt (C) 1986 (s.below). * *Ancient Vitae*: C. Braidotti, Bologna 1972. * *Scholia*: *Commenta Bernensia*, ed. H. Usener, Lipsiae 1869. * *Adnotationes super Lucanum*, ed. J. Endt, Lipsiae 1909 * Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum I (libri I–V), ed. by G. A. Cavajoni, Milano 1979; II (libri VI–VII) 1984. * Arnulfi Aurelianensis glosule super Lucanum, ed. by B. M. Marti, Roma 1958. ** *Ind., Concordance*: G. W. Mooney, Hermathena 44. 1, Dublin 1927. * R. J. Deferrari, M. W. Fanning and A. S. Sullivan, Washington 1940. * M. Wacht, Hildesheim 1992. ** *Bibl.*: W. Rutz, Lustrum 9, 1964, 243–340; 10, 1965, 246–259; 26, 1984, 105–203; 27, 1985, 149–166. * W. Rutz, Lucans *Pharsalia* im Lichte der neuesten Forschung (with bibl. add. 1980–1985 by H. Tuitje), ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1457–1537. * Andreas W. Schmitt, in: Rutz 1989.

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VALERIUS FLACCUS

Life and Dates

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus[1] was of senatorial rank and a member of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (1. 5–7).[2] These highly respected priests of Apollo had to consult the Sibylline Books and to survey cults introduced to Rome from abroad. In Valerius' epic, certainly not by chance, religion plays an important part. If Setia, a wine-producing town in Latium, was his home, he is not to be identified with the Patavine Flaccus mentioned by Martial (1. 76; cf. 1. 61). He died before Quintilian's *Institutio* (10. 1. 90) was published, i.e. before 96.[3] The *Argonautica* in all probability never comprised more

[1] W.-W. EHLERS, Lustrum 16, 1971–1972, 106–108; id., rev. of J. STRAND 1972, Gymnasium 82, 1975, 487; W.-W. EHLERS 1985.

[2] P. BOYANCÉ, La science d'un quindécimvir au 1er siècle après J.-C., REL 42, 1964, 334–346.

[3] Despite his noble ancestry he never became a consul; but this is neither proof of an early death of the author nor of a late date of the work; for a different view

than eight books;[1] the last book is preserved incompletely.[2] The proem was written after the conquest of Jerusalem (70), still under Vespasian (1. 12–18), parts of books 3 (3. 208–209) and 4 (4. 507–511) after the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (79). Since the work was used by Statius, it was published earlier than the *Thebaid.*

Survey of the Work

1: On the request of Jason, who must win the Golden Fleece for Pelias, Minerva has the Argo built, and Juno looks for heroes to accompany Jason. She is angry that her stepson Hercules, too, wants to join the group. Jason is encouraged by an eagle prodigy and persuades Acastus, the son of Pelias, to go with him. Then he builds altars, preys to Neptune and listens to two prophets. During the celebration of the departure Orpheus sings of Phrixus and Helle. In a dream, the ship's guardian spirit comforts Jason, who, in the morning, takes leave from his parents. After the departure of the ship, Sol complains with Jupiter, who, as an answer, gives a prophecy und sends a bolt of lightning to encourage the Argonauts. After a sea storm, soothed by Neptune, Jason prays and brings a sacrifice. In the meantime, Pelias in his rage compels Jason's parents to die.

2: After a voyage through the night the Argo approaches the island of Lemnos. Here the poet inserts a story within the story: the Amazones had killed their husbands, and Hypsipyle had saved her father. The Argonauts meet with a good reception, and Jason stays with Hypsipyle. Hercules, however, reminds them of their duty to continue their expedition; near Troy, he rescues Hesione. During the travel, the spirit of Helle appears and gives a prophecy. The Argonauts land on King Cyzicus' shore.

3: The Argonauts put to sea; during the night, however, they are driven back to Cyzicus, without recognizing the place. After a gory battle in the dark, in the morning they realize what had happened. They mourn and bury the dead and undergo a ritual purification. At the next stop, young Hylas gets lost; unfaithfully, the Argonauts abandon Hercules, while he is in search for Hylas.

4: An appearance of Hylas comforts Hercules, whose next task is to rescue Prometheus. Orpheus sings for the Argonauts. Pollux wins a boxing

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s. SYME, Tacitus 1. 69 and id. 1929; R. J. GETTY, The Date of Composition of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, CPh 31, 1936, 53–61. Allusions to historical events later than 79 (R. PREISWERK, Zeitgeschichtliches bei Valerius Flaccus, Philologus 89, 1934, 433–442) are uncertain.

[1] W. SCHETTER 1959; J. ADAMIETZ 1976, 107–113 with a discussion of the contrary view.

[2] A different view in E. COURTNEY, ed. p. v (the work was interrupted by the author's death).

match against the ferocious king Amycus. To explain the name of Bosporus, the poet inserts the Io myth. Having arrived in Phineus' country, the sons of Boreas chase the Harpies, and Phineus predicts the future. The Argo passes through the Symplegades and arrives at the Mariandyni. The book is rounded off by a mention of Amycus.

5: Idmon the prophet and Tiphys the helmsman fall ill and die. In Sinope new companions join our heroes. After the Argo's landing in Colchis, Juno and Pallas meet to consider the situation. Jáson, who leads a delegation to King Aeetes, meets Medea, who has been stirred up by an oppressive dream. Like Homer's Nausicaa she shows him the right way, which he follows, protected by a cloud. The doors of Aeetes' palace are adorned with pictures. Aeetes puts up a friendly mien and asks Jason to become his ally in the war against Perses. A dialogue of Mars, Jupiter, and Pallas culminates in a prophecy of Jupiter and in a feast of the gods.

6: Mars comes down to earth to destroy the Argonauts. During the battle (which is interspersed with two invocations of the Muses: 333–34 and 516), Juno asks for Venus' help to make Medea fall in love with Jason. Then, Juno appears to Medea in the guise of her sister Chalciope and joins her to observe Jason's exploits from the height of the wall. The poet intertwines the description of the battle and the Medea scenes.

7: While Medea, who has fallen in love with Jason, is deliberating what to do, furious Aeetes gives new and more difficult tasks to Jason. Juno sends Venus, who, in the guise of Circe, leads Medea to Jason by force. Thanks to Medea's magic Jason tames the fiery bulls and conquers the earth-born warriors.

8: Medea puts the dragon to sleep; Jason robs the Golden fleece and flees with Medea. Her brother, Absyrtus, catches up with the Argonauts at the mouth of the Danube. Juno raises a sea storm against the Colchi. Jason considers surrendering Medea.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Valerius' most important models have come down to us: Homer, Pindar (*Pyth.* 4), Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil (including the *Georgics*), Ovid, and Lucan. Only Varro Atacinus is lost. It is fascinating to observe how Flaccus 'transposes' Apollonius' subject matter into a Virgilian (and partly a Homeric) framework by adding 'divine' scenes, ritual, dreams and prophecies. Instead, he gives up a good deal of Apollonius' erudition, though not without intimating that he has studied even the scholia to Apollonius.[1]

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[1] Wilamowitz, commentary on Euripides, Herakles 1, 167–168.

Literary technique

The *Argonautica* may be called a triumph of 'epic technique'. This is true both of the work as a whole and of its details. Out of four lengthy books of Apollonius Valerius made eight books without increasing the total number of lines. On the one hand he added speeches, scenes of gods and new episodes, on the other he shortened the wearisome scholarly lore in the description of the route. This leads to a shift in the proportions of the whole: while the narrative loses its uniform flow, individual scenes and images come to the fore.[1] Valerius is eager to present his subject in a lively way. Nevertheless, there is a definite structural design.

As Apollonius had done, Valerius in his introduction invokes Phoebus; and like his Roman predecessors (beginning with Virgil in the *Georgics*) he addresses the emperor. The structure of the work reveals that Flaccus competes with Virgil: the sequence of themes in the 1st book is reminiscent of the 1st book of the *Aeneid*: there is a sea storm, a prophecy of Jupiter, a prophetic description of a work of art, and a banquet with a song. Correspondingly, Flaccus signposts the beginning of the second half (in book 5) by means of literary devices: there is an invocation of the Muse combined with a flashback and a prospect of things to come (5. 217; *Aen.* 7. 37; Apoll. 3. 1). Unlike Apollonius but in accordance with Virgil Valerius in the second half of his work describes a war.

As early as in book 1 the paintings on the Argo (1. 130–148) indicate the theme of the last book: a marriage with a murderous epilogue (similarly, in the 1st book of the *Aeneid*, the images on the doors of the temple foreshadow events of the second half of the work). In book 1 Jason takes with him the son of the tyrant Pelias, in the last book he abducts Aeetes' daughter.[2]

Like Dido who before her death had recapitulated her exploits (*Aen.* 4. 653–656), Medea in the last book of the *Argonautica*, after giving farewell to the dragon, catalogues all her sins or, rather, the services she rendered Jason: (8. 106–108). All this shows that Valerius boldly uses Vergilian techniques to give structural hints.

As Ovid had done, he often veils the transitions between books; as in Virgil, the announcement of the second half of the work is slightly

[1] F. Mehmel 1934.
[2] J. Adamietz 1976, 28.

postponed: actually, it appears in a later passage (5. 217–224), not at the beginning of the relevant book.

Within a single book, there occur several shifts of perspective: in book 6 this is true of the fighting warriors' 'masculine', and the onlooking Medea's 'feminine' view of the world. A similar technique is observed in parts of books 5 and 7; the 1st book oscillates between a human and a divine plane of action.

Often Valerius separates elements that by nature are linked together (the reader recalls the beginning of book 7, where the action repeatedly shifts from Jason to Medea), and the author wants us to be aware of this. As he does on the level of style, Valerius shows a preference for *hyperbaton* even in the large scale structure of his work. Each individual part is not meant to be a self-contained entity; its brevity and its incompleteness arouse in the reader an expectation to which the poet will react and which he will fulfill later on. Whoever knows the impressive psychological development of Medea's love as presented by Apollonius, will be disappointed by the brevity of 7. 1–25; yet, what he misses will follow in lines 103–140 after the Aeetes scene. The reader is constrained to keep in mind simultaneously two processes and two emotional attitudes, a plurality of levels of understanding which might be called 'bi-tonality'.

The juxtaposition of contrasting scenes and moods is often bridged dexterously. Thus, Jason's concern or even his ignorance form a transition to the story of his parents' death and, again, back to Jason (1. 696–699; 2. 1–5).

Valerius stresses important themes by means of literary technique: as a rule, there is an invocation of the Muse before battles which, to Valerius, are always realizations of *furor.*[1]

Imagery conveys coherence of meaning: apart from the above-mentioned paintings on the Argo, the doors of Aeetes' palace deserve mention (5. 408–414): they show pictures from the history of Colchis, but also Phaethon and other ominous hints not yet understandable to the people of Colchis. Nor does Valerius neglect the links between this motif and the immediate context: the descriptions in 1. 130–148 deal with the Argonaut Peleus, those in 2. 409–417 with Hypsipyle.

Similes are especially frequent and sometimes far-fetched to the

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[1] 5. 217–219; cf. 5. 20 furias; 6. 33–35, ibid. furores; 3. 14–16, cf. 19 Erinys; 3. 212–219, cf. 214 Tisiphonen, 215 rabie.

point of rather obscuring than illuminating their subject. In Apollonius, Jason and Medea face each other like trees, whereas, in Valerius, they become 'walking trees'.[1] Many similes have a psychological function; Bacchic elements and the Furies play a significant role.[2] The closeness of Virgil's Dido to tragedy (Pentheus, Orestes: *Aen.* 4. 469–473) was a point of departure for this development. No doubt, *furor* is an important theme in the *Argonautica*, as is shown by the Io simile (7. 111), which links Medea's love-sickness to the episode of Io (4. 346–421), a story which holds a crucial position in Flaccus' epic. No less relevant to the unity of the *Argonautica* are the Hercules similes which help to remind the reader of that favorite hero of Valerius, even after he has left the stage.[3] The poet successfully elevates Roman experiences such as the civil war (6. 402–406) or the eruption of Vesuvius (4. 507–509) to the rank of epic similes. In other cases, such as many a celestial scene, for all his subtle reshaping and outdoing his models, Valerius cannot spare his reader the impression that here a passionate perfectionist sometimes exaggerated his efforts, so that the last turn of the screw produced irritation, not tension.

His forte is the daring, often surprising image. Hence his effect on modern readers is more 'poetic' than that of Lucan or Silius. Actually, he succeeded in describing the first night voyage with the intensity of a first experience (2. 38–47).

Language and Style

Valerius has neither the fiery eloquence of Lucan nor the quiet dryness of Silius nor the fluency of Statius. His language is uneven, now abundantly rich, now condensed to the point of obscurity:[4] *mixta perit virtus*, 'in the mêlée valor goes for naught' (6. 200; that is: *viri fortes mixti aliis pereunt*) or: *mediam moriens descendit in hastam*, 'and dying sinks down to the middle of the shaft' (6. 244; i.e.: *corporis pondere usque ad mediam hastam qua perfossus est delabitur*). An exception is a clear and trenchant maxim like: *nullus adempti/regis amor*, 'there is no love for a

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[1] A sensitive explanation: W. Schubert, Von Bäumen und Menschen, Arcadia 19, 1984, 225–243.

[2] Dionysiac elements: 3. 260; 5. 80; 6. 755; 7. 301; 8. 446; Ino: 8. 21; Furies: 2. 192; 227; 7. 112; Typhon: 3. 130; 4. 236; 6. 169.

[3] 7. 623; 8. 125.

[4] P. Langen, commentary 1896, 5–9.

slain king' (4. 315–316). Hyperbata are typical; a simple example is: *fingit placidis fera pectora dictis*, 'he shapes the fierceness of his heart into peaceful words' (5. 533). We are not suprised, therefore, to find zeugma and parenthesis (8. 159–160). Our author is especially fond of participles, since their close connection with the main verb permits simultaneous expression of two different actions and emotions.[1]

In exploring subtle psychological shades, Valerius' terse and nervously wavering style paved the way for Tacitus. In the field of metrics as well, there is more variety than might have been expected.[2]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

From the very beginning of his epic, there is a close link betweeen priesthood and authorship for Valerius Flaccus. As a *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* he is a priest of Apollo, and in this function he invokes his god to support his poetic efforts. As a writer he promises immortality to pious Hypsipyle, not to Medea (2. 242–246). She, who saved the honor of her country shall live as long as Latium, the Lares of Ilion, and the Palatine will last. Poetry guarantees the immortality of *pietas*, on which the commonwealth is based, and, vice versa, the institutions of the Roman empire ensure the survival of literature. In retrospect, we understand the invocation of the emperor in the 1st book. Since he has opened the seas by continuing the conquest of Britain, he is the guiding-star of the *Argonautica*. Just as his victories prove the truth of myth, his government safeguards the life of poetry. Valerius' idea of the poet's mission is rooted in the *theologia civilis*.

Ideas II

We should take seriously the Roman aspects of the *Argonautica*. Valerius is deeply impressed by painful experiences such as civil wars and an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. He convincingly depicts a despot's *hybris*,

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[1] M. von Albrecht, Die Erzählung von Io bei Ovid und Valerius Flaccus, WJA 3, 1977, 139–148.

[2] H. C. R. Vella, Enjambment: A Bibliography and a Discussion of Common Passages in Apollonius of Rhodes and Valerius Flaccus, in: FS E. Coleiro, Amsterdam 1987, 152–165; H. C. R. Vella, Lack of Metrical Variety in Valerius Flaccus' Hexameters?, Helmantica 34, 1982–1983, 23–42.

the numb anxiety of his subjects, the pride of those destined to die, the general relief at the death of a tyrant. His experience of contemporary history enabled Valerius to shape the end of Jason's parents as a drama of resistance.

Despite all darkness Valerius believes that history does have a goal. Jupiter prophesies (1. 542–560) the decline of Asia and the rise of Greece; in their turn, the guilty Greeks would be succeeded by the Romans (2. 573). Rome should become a better Troy. This promise is given in Troy, in connection with Hercules, to whom Valerius dedicates an additional episode (Hesione: 2. 445–578). Generally, our poet assigns a more important role to this hero than his Greek predecessor[1] had done. Moreover, the figure of Hercules has to be considered in a Roman context: already in the *Aeneid* this hero embodies the ruler of the Roman state. Jason cannot help being measured against Hercules. Jupiter exhorts his sons—Hercules, Castor, and Pollux—to strive for the stars (1. 563). There is a recompense waiting for the heroes in the Elysian fields (1. 835–851). *Gloria* is an important cue (Valerius emphasizes it by using apostrophe).

Jason, the leader of the Argonauts, has more authority than he had in Apollonius. To convince his Roman readers of Jason's heroism—*virtus*—Flaccus introduces the war against Perses. As later in Tacitus, conquests are presented as *materia virtutis. Religio* is much more prominent than in Apollonius. More often than we would expect, Jason is presented offering sacrifices, praying, and listening to prophecies or revelations; like Aeneas and Pindar's Jason he is under divine guidance, and in this respect he even gives proof of a scrupulous conscience. Hence, the *Argonautica* is intended to be a 'sacred poem' in the wake of the *Aeneid.* Jason's fallibility in the field of ethics does not contradict this, it gives the hero a human touch and even facilitates the reader's response. In fact, Jason cannot be perfection incarnate, since he is neither a son of gods nor a Roman.

After the *otium* of Saturn's era had ended (1. 500), the expedition of the Argonauts opened a new period of history which initially looked more promising than Catullus' dark panorama in his epyllion on Peleus. Human activity is now welcomed by the gods (1. 498–502). The Argonauts and Hercules are the fulfillers of the will of the gods, as the liberation of Hesione, Phineus, and Prometheus shows. More

[1] J. Adamietz, Iason und Hercules in den Epen des Apollonios Rhodios und Valerius Flaccus, A&A 16, 1970, 29–38.

than the Greeks, the Romans regarded the Argo as the *first* ship; hence, the opening of the seas (1. 246–247)[1] is a leading theme for Valerius in which he is much more interested than in the golden fleece of the old myth.

Historical progress, triumph over barbarism, fulfillment of the will of the gods: these themes are matched by a contrary motif: more than Apollonius, Valerius emphazises the limits of human freedom, a man's addiction to passion, the tragic chain of action and suffering. Tragedy, which will dominate the second half of the work, is announced in the first half: in the episode of Cyzicus the Argonauts unwittingly become the executers of a ghastly divine punishment. This story embodies the experience of 'man's powerlessness and divine vengeance'.[2] Venus-Circe violently compels Medea to help Jason; despite all her magic, this mortal woman is only a puppet in the hands of the goddess—a view which almost amounts to a plea for her innocence. The *Argonautica* has been called 'a perfect example of *fata furorum*'.[3] In the second half, Jason's character exhibits serious flaws, though his treason of Medea might be varnished over as a sacrifice of private interests on the altar of the community. Valerius does not conceal that Jason proved his *virtus* in a fraternal strife and in book 6 he actually alludes to the civil wars. The second half of the work increasingly comes under the spell of Lucan's epic and Seneca's tragedies. The repeated admonitory references to Hercules show that Jason, who—unjustly—abandoned him, turns out to represent a tragic Greek deviation from the mainstream of history, which for Valerius leads from Hercules to Troy and, finally, to Rome. This does not impair Jason's achievement, the opening of the seas, a leading theme of Valerius' epic.

Over Olympus Jupiter dominates together with Jason's tutelary goddesses, Juno and Pallas.[4] The party of his enemies has no permanent, only momentary representatives (Sol, Mars, the gods of the sea). Jupiter is much more than a mere instrument of *fata*, he removes whatever obstacle might hinder the course of events. He often assumes the rewarding role of reestablishing order and reinstating persons into

[1] J. Adamietz 1976, 21, n. 52; cf. Eratosth. Catast. 35.
[2] E. Burck 1969, esp. 197.
[3] E. Lüthje 1972, 375.
[4] Pallas and Juno both assist at the preparation of the expedition, the passage through the Symplegades, and the arrival in Colchis.

their rights.[1] His justice is almost never called in question (5. 627); he is devoid of burlesque features. One might call him the ideal of a god (almost of *theologia naturalis*) or of a ruler,[2] certainly he is a great educator of mankind.

Valerius takes a 'Roman' approach to his subject matter. What was the message of that hackneyed myth to the Romans of his day? The following categories are telling: active heroism, a striving for glory, a sense of power and terror, an independent spirit courageously facing death; on the other hand, there is *religio* and an awareness of being part of a universal empire. For an earlier generation Virgil had defined what he felt to be the position of the Roman empire in space and time. Valerius tried to interpret the myth of the Argonauts as a prelude to Roman history, as a piece of an 'Old Testament' foreshadowing Greco-Roman culture. Thus he was led to measure the myth of the Argonauts against the *Aeneid*. What is important is not 'imitation' as such but the act of referring a mythical subject matter to the Roman empire and creating a new continuity in both space and time. As if in a 'stage on the stage', the Argonauts are viewed as a link in a development leading to Rome. Rather than a mere arsenal of epic technique, the *Aeneid* in the hands of Valerius became an instrument of integrating Greek myth into a contemporary and Roman view of history.

Transmission[3]

Only one manuscript of the *Argonautica* reached the Middle Ages; at the beginning of the 9th century it was copied (α). This (lost) copy was the ancestor of the (rather complete) Vaticanus Latinus 3277 (V; written in Fulda about 830–850) and the lost Sangallensis (S; 9th–10th century). In 1416 Poggio and his friends discovered this manuscript which now must be reconstructed from copies; it contained 1. 1–4, 317 with omissions. The Laurentianus plut. 39, 38 (L; written in 1429 by Nicolaus Niccoli) represents a class independent of α; it is the source of all complete later manuscripts. The additional lines found in this tradition are, therefore, genuine.

[1] 2. 356–357; 3. 249–253; 4. 1–37; 385; 391; 414–415.

[2] W. Schubert 1984, 260–261; 295.

[3] G. Cambier, Un manuscrit inconnu des Argonautiques de Valérius Flaccus, Latomus 29, 1970, 913–918; F. T. Coulson, New Evidence for the Circulation of the Text of Valerius Flaccus?, CPh 81, 1986, 58–60.

Influence

In classical antiquity Quintilian was the only one to mention Valerius Flaccus. He was used, however, by Statius, Silius, Terentianus Maurus, Claudian, Dracontius, Marius Victor.[1] In the Middle Ages Valerius was quoted in florilegia. Among his readers in the 13th and 14th century were Joseph Iscanus,[2] Lovati, Mussato,[3] and, perhaps, Chaucer.[4] Later on, Pius Bononiensis[5] wrote a Latin supplement modeled on Apollonius. J. C. Scaliger found in Flaccus talent, taste, diligence, and artistic judgment, but he missed sublety and grace.[6] Burmann used Flaccus to justify the reading of poets by future statesmen.[7] The fact that Valerius met with little favor among his contemporaries inspired the great Wilamowitz to a dry comment: 'justly'.[8]

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[1] C. Schenkl, Studien zu den *Argonautica* des Valerius Flaccus, SAWW 68, 1871, 271–382, esp. 303.

[2] W.-W. Ehlers, Lustrum 16, 1971–1972, 140.

[3] G. Billanovich, Veterum vestigia vatum nei carmi dei préumanisti Padovani, IMU 1, 1958, 178–179.

[4] Highet, Class. Trad. 101; 593, n. 70; E. F. Shannon, Chaucer and the Roman Poets, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, esp. 340–355.

[5] Accessible in P. Burmann's edition of Valerius Flaccus, Leiden 1724, 684–721.

[6] Poetices libri septem, Lyon 1561, 323. Other verdicts of Renaissance and Baroque authors in Burmann ibid. before p. 1 (fasc. 18, 3–9).

[7] Introductory poem to his edition.

[8] Hellenistische Dichtung 2, 165, 2.

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STATIUS

Life and Dates

P. Papinius Statius was born in Naples,[1] supposedly about A.D. 40 or 50. His father (d. about 80) was a Roman knight (*silv.* 5. 3. 116) from Velia and a teacher of Greek literature. He wrote epic verse on the civil war of 69 in honor of the Flavian dynasty (*silv.* 5. 3. 203–204). Thanks to his father, Statius was imbued with Greek culture at an early date and was introduced at court.

In his father's lifetime he carried off the prize at the *Augustalia*; later (probably in 90) he won the contest of Alba with a panegyric on Domitian's victories over Germans and Dacians (*silv.* 4. 2. 66). He lived in Rome and was happily married with Claudia, the widow of a singer. She accompanied him through the twelve-years' work on the *Thebaid* (about 80–92); by public readings, Statius earned great renown but no riches (Juv. 7. 82). He was compelled, therefore, to write a libretto for the *Agaue* of the pantomime Paris.[2] However, he was not a 'poor poet'. He frequented largely the same patrons as did Martial (who occasionally makes disparaging remarks on epic poems in 12 books: 9. 50; 14. 1. 11). His Maecenases were the poet Arruntius Stella, Atedius Melior, Lucan's widow Polla Argentaria, and, of course, the emperor, to whom he gives his thanks for having secured a water supply for his *Albanum* (*silv.* 3. 1. 61–62). Statius participated unsuccessfully in the *Ludi Capitolini* (probably in 94).[3] After this (in 95) he retired to Naples for reasons of health (*silv.* 4, *praef.*). We do not know if he returned to Rome later. He did not live to see Domitian's death (96).

The 1st book of the *Silvae* was written after 89, Domitian's victory over the Dacians (1. 1. 27; 1. 2. 180). In the 2nd book, the funeral poem on Glaucias (2. 1) dates from 90 (Mart. 6. 28–29). In book 3 the war against the Sarmatians is over and Domitian has renounced a triumph (in 93; cf. 3. 3. 171). The 1st poem of the 4th book celebrates the emperor's seventeenth consulate (in 95); the *Via Domitiana*

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[1] Stat. silv. 1. 2. 260; 3. 5. 12; 106 etc.

[2] Before 83, when Paris was executed. Other lost works: Epistola ad Maximum Vibium (cf. silv. 4, praef.). The existence of an opusculum for Plotius Grypus (ibid.) is open to question.

[3] Stat. silv. 3. 5. 31; 4. 2. 67; 5. 3. 225.

was opened in the same year (4. 3). In all probability, book 5 was published after the poet's death.[1]

The *Achilleid* was the unfinished work of the poet's last years. He mentions it in the later books of the *Silvae*.[2]

Survey of Works

Thebaid

1: Polynices wanders through a stormy night and meets Tydeus in Argos at the court of Adrastus. A quarrel is followed by a reconciliation and a banquet.

2: Laius' ghost exhorts Eteocles, who resides in Thebes, to break the agreement with his brother and not surrender the crown to him. In Argos Adrastus marries his daughters to Polynices and Tydeus. The latter comes as a messenger to Eteocles, but is turned away. On the way back he overcomes the murderers that have been sent to kill him.

3: The only survivor returns to Eteocles, breaks the news and commits suicide. While the Thebans are mourning, Jupiter sends Mars to the country of Argos, but Venus tries to stop the god of war. Tydeus returns to Argos. Despite the warnings of the prophet Amphiaraus, the godless Capaneus and Polynices' wife push Adrastus to begin the war.

4: Catalogue of the 'Seven against Thebes'. Conjured up by Tiresias, the dead Laius prophesies the victory of Thebes and a double murder. Bacchus punishes the people of Argos with water shortage, and Hypsipyle leads them to the source of Langia.

5: While Hypsipyle tells the story of her life up to her imprisonment by Lycurgus, the latter's child she had taken charge of is killed by a serpent.

6: In honor of this boy, Archemorus, the Nemean Games take place for the first time.

7: As in the *Aeneid*, the war begins in the 7th book. At the end of the book the seer Amphiaraus is swallowed up by the earth.

8: In either camp, this event is commented on. Ismene's bridegroom Atys falls. Tydeus is killed as well.

9: During the battle, the enemies get hold of Tydeus' corpse. Hippomedon fights in the river and dies. Young Parthenopaeus is killed.

10: After a 'notturno' (reminiscent of the 10th book of the *Iliad* and the

[1] In book 5 the funeral poem for Statius' father (5. 3) is the earliest piece; Statius wrote it 3 months after his father's death and later added lines 225–233 without eliminating the contradiction caused by the portrait of himself as a timid beginner (237–238).

[2] 4. 4. 93; 7. 23; 5. 5. 36; cf. 5. 2. 163.

9th of the *Aeneid*) Creo's son Menoeceus sacrifices his life for Thebes. Capaneus is struck by lightning.

11: Despite the warnings of Iocaste and Antigone, the brothers face the fatal duel. Their mother commits suicide. Creo prohibits the burial of enemies.

12: Having walked all night (cf. book 1), Argia and Antigone encounter each other at Polynices' corpse. The women of Argus ask Theseus for help; he kills Creo in a fight and enforces the burial.

Achilleid

Thetis wants to prevent her son Achilles from participating in the Trojan war; so she abducts him from his tutor, Chiron, disguises him as a girl and hides him among the daughters of King Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. Achilles falls in love with the princess Deidamia; their son is Neoptolemus. Diomedes and Ulixes discover Achilles, and he follows them into the war.

Silvae

These are 32 'occasional poems' in 5 books, written for the most part in hexameters.[1] A dedicatory letter in prose[2] is placed in front of each book. Books 1–4 are addressed to Stella the poet, Atedius Melior, Pollius, and Marcellus. Especially in books 1 and 4 the emperor is much in evidence.[3]

Sources, Models, and Genres

The *Thebaid*'s subject matter is a part of the great tradition of Greek tragedy and epic. Unfortunately too little is known of the Greek epic poet Antimachus, from whom Statius, as far as we can judge, differs in several instances. The cyclic *Thebaid* and other epic poems are no more than names for us; under Augustus, a Ponticus had written a *Thebaid*. Hellenistic poetry had been included in the teaching program of Statius' father: for our poet, Callimachus was not a remote author. Again and again Statius interspersed his work with Hellenistic elements, thus creating charming contrasts[4] to the sublime *pathos* of epic.

Moreover, we have to take into account the influence of mythographers and scholarly books (commentaries on Euripides); since Statius

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[1] Exceptions: hendecasyllabi 2. 7; 4. 3; 4. 9; Sapphic strophes 4. 7; Alcaic strophes 4. 5.

[2] In book 5, which in all probability was published posthumously, the letter only refers to the 1st poem.

[3] S. T. Newmyer 1979.

[4] C. Reitz, Hellenistische Züge in Statius' Thebais, WJA n.s. 11, 1985, 129–134.

had a painter's eye, we should not neglect either the traditions of fine arts. The poet, who had enjoyed a completely bilingual education, had at his disposal all the treasures of the past. Like Virgil, he must have devoted himself to preliminary studies for a long time. Therefore we should reject the theory of a 'single source'. Likewise, the *Achilleid* draws on mythographic traditions; Euripides' *Skyrioi*[1] also probably influenced him.

Virgil and Homer are the main models of his epic poems. As in the *Aeneid*, the war begins in the second half of the work, that is with book 7. The games, however, are found in book 6, not 5, and the Nekyia in book 4, not book 6. A mechanical transposition of structures is out of the question. Direct influence of Homer is traceable in scenes omitted or treated perfunctorily by Virgil, such as the 'battle in the river' (book 9) and even in passages fully handled by Virgil. Unlike Virgil, who had placed his *notturno* in book 9, Statius follows Homer in locating it in book 10. The ultimate duel—in contrast to Virgil—does not figure in the last book; instead, the action is allowed to subside quietly: as in the *Iliad*, the last book becomes a triumph of humanity and clemency.

Ovid makes himself felt as a model everywhere, especially in the *Achilleid*; Valerius Flaccus is present in the Hypsipyle story; Lucan and Seneca lurk behind many a ghastly and eerie scene of the *Thebaid*. Yet, far from Lucan's revolutionary aspirations, Statius clings to the traditions of the genre; he even savors the possibilities offered by it—up to the humanization of gods. For Statius this form of epic is a way of putting poetic ideas into reality.

Conversely in the *Silvae* he was attracted to the task of putting reality into poetry. The source of these 'occasional poems'[2] is real life in Statius' time. We come to know a great deal about houses, monuments, streets, baths, life and death, love and friendship of the people who lived then. Nevertheless the formal patterns for these poetic *impromptus* bear the stamp of literary traditions: we find rhetorical *encomia* in poetic eulogies, epideictic oratory in poems of congratulation, epic (and rhetorical) *ecphrasis* in descriptions, *consolatio* in funeral poems. There are reminiscences of Catullus in the hendecasyllabi and *epicedia* for animals; Horatian elements in the rare lyrics,

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1 A. Körte, Euripides' Skyrier, Hermes 69, 1934, 8.

2 Lucan's Silvae are lost; we do not know anything about form or content of this work. Nor is there any other comparable collection.

sacred language in votive poems giving thanks for rescue or recovery. Epigram and elegy are omnipresent. Statius enjoys introducing a myth by playfully evoking the style of archaic lyric; then, surprisingly, he chooses Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for his model; this is the genesis (*aition*) of Atedius Melior's tree (2. 3). Another *aition* explains how on the estate of Pollius Felix a temple of Hercules was erected in no time (3. 1). *Epithalamia* and *epicedia* have long traditions of their own, in which a poetic and a rhetorical strand may be discerned. Both merge in Statius. Again and again there are new combinations of literary genres: Statius enriches an *epithalamium* with elegiac elements (1. 2), and there is a *propempticon* addressed to a lock of hair (3. 4). Epic techniques and characters are transposed into every day life. For Statius generic traditions are a source of inspiration, not a chain. The same is true of rhetoric. Statius coins many new types of poems by elevating small forms to epic grandeur: *soterion, propempticon, genethliacon, eucharisticon.* It is equally possible to describe the *Silvae* as independent developments of elements, which before had been parts of other works: the praise of the emperor, hitherto a part of the epic proem, in 4.1 appears as a separate poem, to our knowledge,[1] for the first time. Statius' descriptive poems can be viewed as detached developments of *ecphrasis*. The poem addressed to the god of sleep felicitously isolates a theme which since Homer had been firmly rooted in the epic tradition: 'the lonely vigil.'[2] If elements hitherto incorporated into epic as digressions or integral components gained a life of their own through Statius, this was a corollary from a general preference of that age for poetic 'purple patches' (now raised to 'purple pieces'), and also from Lucan's introduction of quasi-lyrical discourse into epic.

Literary Technique

Epic poems. Statius' epic poems are less fraught with material than are the works of Valerius Flaccus and Silius. Hence, each individual episode can be worked out at ease. Though Statius (like Valerius Flaccus) arranges his text by scenes and pictures and though his

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[1] Of course, we have to take into account the great number of lost texts. Ovid's praise of Augustus written in the Getic language was, in all probability, a poem on its own.

[2] Cf. A. D. LEEMAN, The Lonely Vigil. A 'Topos' in Ancient and Modern Literature, in: LEEMAN, Form 213–230.

narrative perspective successively shifts from one party to another, the flow of his text is never abrupt nor 'chopped', each melody is allowed to fade away quietly. The poet knows how to put the story before the reader's eyes, a talent he shares with Ovid and Claudian. Moreover he is able to convey to the reader his large-scale design by means of parallel and contrast.

There are correspondences of meaning between the two halves of the *Thebaid*: in books 5 and 6 Hypsipyle became guilty of the death of a boy, who had been in her charge—ironically the accident happened while she was telling the story of her own pious behavior. The disaster was atoned for by the Nemean games. The last two books exhibit a similar sequence of guilt and atonement. In retrospect the episode of Hypsipyle turns out to have foreshadowed events to come.

Tydeus is tellingly introduced through a boar's simile (1. 488–490); in book 2 he gives proof of heroism by conquering the murderers; this tour de force can only be outdone by cruelty in the wake of Lucan (book 8); again the parallel between the two halves of the work (books 2 and 8) and the gradation are part of the author's design.

The deaths of heroes are arranged to form a climax: Amphiaraus is swallowed by the earth (book 7), Hippomedon is overwhelmed by water (book 9), Menoeceus falls through the air, Capaneus is consumed by heavenly fire (book 10). In between there are events of extreme harshness or tenderness: here the unhuman cruelty of Tydeus (book 8), there the piety of dying Parthenopaeus (end of book 9). There are frequent changes from touching to horrific; Statius strives to give his books impressive finales; on the other hand it is typical of his art that dramatic endings find a tranquil epilogue at the beginning of the following book. Thus the duel of book 11 is succeeded by the more contemplative last book.

The dark apparitions of Oedipus and Laius form a solid framework. Oedipus with his curse is indeed the perfect prologue-speaker for a tragedy of fratricide (1. 46–87); in fact, his curse is the first mover of the entire action. In the second place Laius, urged by Jupiter, induces Eteocles to insist unjustly on his right to the throne (1. 295–302; 2. 1–133, esp. 122). Before the end of the first third of the *Thebaid* Laius is conjured up form the netherworld to predict the future (4. 604–645). It is with the sword of Laius that Jocaste will kill herself (11. 636). Oedipus, too, will have his come-back and

belatedly renounce his hatred and his curse (11. 605–606 *pietas, clementia*) transferring onto Creo the abomination linked to Laius (11. 701–705); thus he prepares Theseus' final revenge and the end of the disaster. Hence the *Thebaid* has an inner structure of its own, and mere imitation of models cannot be the real reason for introducing scenes.

Characters are mutually complementary; what is more, each character by itself is multi-faceted and sometimes even subject to change. Adrastus,[1] a kind father-in-law, finds his match in the harsh father, Oedipus, who, however, in the end draws a lesson from his sufferings. The two inimical brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, form a contrast with the two friends, Polynices and Tydeus. Polynices himself is not indifferent to Antigone's supplication. For all her pride Antigone, in order to protect her father against Creo, unexpectedly turns out to be gentle and conciliatory. Thus Statius makes his characters more credible for his readers by lending them humane features. Where this is not the case, as with the tyrant Creo (e.g. 11, 61), a positive character is introduced as a counterpart: Theseus.

Statius is rather extravagant with personnel and costume: in order to induce Eteocles to insist on his kingship, Mercury, on Jove's behest, sends Laius, who in his turn takes the shape of the seer Tiresias. This is reminiscent of the puzzling metamorphoses of gods in Valerius Flaccus. Statius extends his care even to the portrayal of secondary characters: an example is the bringer of bad tidings, who in presence of the tyrant takes his own life (3. 59–60).

Many ingenious similes are drawn from daily life, many from myth. To characterize Deidamia, Statius evokes no fewer than three goddesses: Venus, Diana, and Minerva (*Ach.* 1. 293–300). But to count self-complacently 16 bull-similes and 13 lion-similes—is to miss the subtlety of Statius' art. He shows his mastery especially in mirroring consistently in his imagery the inimical brothers and the two friends (Polynices—Tydeus).[2]

Along with the gods, to whom we shall come back in the context of Statius' ideas, allegories play an important role. In the tradition of Virgil's *Fama* (*Aen.* 4. 173–188) and Ovid's 'House of Sleep' (*met.* 11. 592–615) we find in Statius significant allegories (Pietas, Clementia, and numerous smaller personifications) and allegorical descriptions

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[1] He is reminiscent (1. 557) of Virgil's Euander.
[2] H.-A. Luipold 1970.

of places (House of Mars 7. 40–63). The dispute between Pietas and the Fury Tisiphone (11. 457–496) paved the way for Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, and the personification of Pietas would successfully replace Venus in Christian authors (Corippus, *Iust.* 1. 33–65).

Silvae. The literary technique of the *Silvae* betrays the influence of rhetorical training and would be unthinkable without it. However, rhetoric cannot explain the quality of the poems. In the introductions to his books Statius justifies his publishing such ephemeral products of his Muse. He seems to be one of the first poets to do this on a large scale. There had always been occasional poems, but rarely had anyone made a point of preserving them. Statius raises certain types of private occasional poems to the rank of literature.

The four books published by the poet exhibit a circular structure: two books concerned with Domitian frame two personal books. This large-scale framework is echoed on a smaller scale in the structure of single poems. The arrangement of poems within the books as well as the structure of individual poems is more harmonious and balanced than one would expect in a so-called 'mannerist'.

Through exercise Statius' art has become second nature; therefore it is often taken for granted and underrated. Whoever tries to believe in Statius' 'speedy production'—at least of some of the *Silvae*—might resort to comparing him with a Chinese painter, who, after having trained his eye and his hand for years, in a few minutes, apparently without effort, commits to paper a picture which is perfect in every detail. It goes without saying that Statius nevertheless filed and corrected his poems before publication—but it would have been bad taste to mention it. Anyhow, this collection was a sensational novelty on the market. And it remains a challenge.

Language and Style

Statius' language is elegant and sophisticated: a typical example is *retexere* ('unweave') for the 'unveiling' of the sky.[1] Following a Virgilian tradition, Statius omits the copula and is cautious in his use of archaism; he is by no means a forerunner of the archaists. His linguistic

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[1] W. Schetter, Statius, Thebais 5, 296, RhM 122, 1979, 344–347; bibl. on language and style in: H. Cancik 1986, 2686–2689; H.-J. van Dam 1986, 2733–2735; cf. also S. von Moisy 1971; A. Hardie 1983; D. W. T. Vessey 1986 I and II.

resourcefulness can compete with Ovid's; but he does not share the latter's inclination to quote his own lines.

In both groups of his works his style would not be possible without his mastery of epideictic rhetoric, which, far from oppressing his poetic talent, lent wings to it. In epic his narrative style aims at emotional reponse; he wants those attending his recitals to follow his poetic discourse with empathy. To this end he uses apostrophes and short reflections; moreover, he enlivens inanimate objects through affective epithets (*Theb.* 9. 94 *miserae* . . . *carinae*). The preference for the historical present as a narrative tense, however, is not Statius' invention; it is one of the stock elements of Latin epic. Statius' maxims are less artificial than Lucan's; they do not stick out from their context but seem to arise spontaneously: *quid numina contra/tendere fas homini*?, 'what power has man against the gods?' (*Theb.* 6. 92–93). Clementia *mentes habitare et pectora gaudet*, 'to dwell in hearts and minds delights Clemency' (12. 494). His versification is dexterous and fluent.[1]

In the *Silvae* so-called 'un-poetic' words and constructions redolent of prose may bridge the distance between author and reader and make the reader feel as if he were the confidant of the 'improvising' poet. On the other hand, Statius' lyrics benefit from the 'Pindaric way' as well; hence we should not overvalue the differences of style between Statius' lyric and epic production.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The epilogue of the *Thebaid* pays homage to Virgil with an humility liable to make modern readers believe that Statius' epic is only an imitation of the *Aeneid.* Conforming to Roman habits, our poet stresses what is 'traditional' in his *Thebaid,* although it is innovative indeed. More boldly in his 10th book he expressly challenges Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus when immortalizing two friends through his poetry (10. 448). There are more passages showing that Statius is aware of his originality as an epic poet.[2]

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[1] The shortening of final -o in verb forms of the first person deserves mention; on metrics: O. MÜLLER, Quaestiones Statianae, Progr. Berlin 1861; J. A. RICHMOND, Zur Elision anapästischer Wörter bei Vergil und Statius, Glotta 50, 1972, 97–120; for further information s. the bibliographical surveys: H. CANCIK 1986, esp. 2689–2697; H.-J. VAN DAM 1986, 2733–2735.

[2] Stat. silv. 3. 5; 4. 3; 4. 4; 5. 3; 5. 5.

In the *Silvae* the very title ('miscellaneous material') is an understatement. His prose introductions[1] to the books of the *Silvae* were no less detrimental to his reputation: was the alleged speed of production (a stock motif in occasional poems) meant as an excuse for possible flaws or should it rather serve as a background throwing into relief the actual perfection of the poems? In any case Statius' aesthetics, no matter if we call it 'mannerist' or simply 'Roman', exhibits a preference for what is huge and brilliant. Last but not least, it is firmly rooted in a solid knowledge of rhetoric and its terminology.

Ideas II

To Roman readers the theme of 'fratricidal war' had been of current interest since Romulus. Lucan had shaped it into an historical epic, and Valerius Flaccus—without being constrained to do so by tradition—had introduced it into his *Argonautica* as a broad episode. Whoever had lived the 'year of four emperors' knew that the empire's self-destruction was a burning contemporary problem, and under Domitian 'hate between brothers' was even a dangerous theme. The stress laid on *clementia*[2] and the mention of *reges* (e.g. 11. 579) remind us of 'handbooks for princes'.

The much-discussed homages to the emperor were a matter of mere formality; more interesting is the idea of kingship as developed in the *Thebaid.* While Eteocles (3. 82) and Creo (11. 661) are typical tyrants, Oedipus develops from cruelty to clemency (11. 605–606). Adrastus is a gracious king, and Theseus embodies an ideal. Jupiter, being a projection of earthly rulers, shows human weaknesses and is not always consistent in his actions. He wants the war to come, but the prodigies he sends are so terrible that they could have deterred men from making war—if mankind were not as irrational as the lord of gods himself. Despite his preference for war he exhibits no personal cruelty. The blasphemer Capaneus has provoked him to the point where he cannot but throw his thunderbolt at him. Yet he does so without relish: should he really, after so many giants, condescend to smash this pygmee (10. 910)? Gods have to encourage him; thunder, rain and clouds have to anticipate his orders, until he finally decides to act.

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[1] Introductory prose letters to books of poetry seem to appear for the first time here and in Martial; later on e.g. in Ausonius and Sidonius.

[2] 11. 606; 12. 175; 481–505.

For Statius this anthropomorphic god of myth—'poetic theology'—is the guarantor of retaliation; it is through him that Oedipus' curse comes true. In this function he advocates war—in accordance with the gods of the underworld, who without needing his orders enact the same curse on their own. Once this goal has been achieved, the cosmic gods have done their duty. Hence it is no chance, but quite logical, that in the last book of the *Thebaid* Jupiter is less prominent. The new powers are called Pietas and Clementia; they are not parts of myth or nature but dwell within man and have to be practised by man. This is why Theseus, despite the objections raised against this character, is indispensable: it is he who gets these values adopted. Moral acts, which can only be done by human beings, break the chain of *fatum*. Creo has to be compelled to behave humanely (*in hominem* 12. 166). The dead, as human beings (repeated 12. 155–156), have a right to be buried. Here we are entitled to speak of 'human rights'. Unlike the *Argonautica*, which are dominated by divine power and caprice, the *Thebaid* treats of a disaster caused by a man and of the reinstalment of humanity, again through a man. This explains also why the story of Hypsipyle's *pietas* is given so much space in the books preceding the center. Her double position between merit and guilt anticipates the problem of the entire work; only against this background can the reader fully understand the meaning of the war. World order is not to be taken for granted but it has to be established by man; it is a task, not a gift.

We mentioned that each hero had to struggle with a different element; this suggests the idea of an analogy between destruction in the human world and in nature. This use of imagery is even more revealing: Tydeus, the 'boar', a grim fighter, is finally unmasked as inhuman; Polynices and Eteocles, often compared with lions or bulls, in the last battle become swine (11. 530–536). No other image could better illustrate their downfall.

Conversely, the 'savior' Tydeus is enhanced by similes drawn from the world of Dionysus (12. 787–788; 791–793). This is not a far-fetched idea in the city of Bacchus who, in fact, is omnipresent throughout the epic. Statius puts his myth into its proper context. In the last book Statius insists on humanity and clemency as crucial values. In the *Thebaid* Greek and Roman culture are melted into a unity. It is a document of this synthesis.[1]

[1] Pessimistic interpretations of the Thebaid are numerous; s. esp. W. SCHETTER 1960.

In the *Silvae* as well humanity is a vital theme. These poems celebrate whatever lends grace and dignity to human life and whatever brings some beam of eternity to it: love, friendship, poetry and art. The intellectual world of Statius is adequately reflected in the literary world of the *Silvae*. As the magnificent Roman villas are an aesthetic expression of their owner's private life and as the emperors' cosmic importance is evinced from their palaces, the poems of Statius reflect a civilization that was elaborate and sophisticated to a degree difficult to imagine in our Machine Age. Like the villas with their gardens and statues, the poems of Statius, too, were a part of life. In the lines written to those who were close to him there is a warm and personal note. Unlike the satirists who are inspired by indignation, Statius' poetry springs from comfort and ease, as does the Younger Pliny's prose. In fact, in the civilization of his day there was an equilibrium of Greek and Roman elements and the city of Rome was a radiant political and cultural center. Soon disintegration would begin. Statius' description of Domitian's palace puts this center before the reader's eyes (4. 2) and verbalizes the silent message of imperial architecture for his contemporaries. Within Roman literature Statius was the founder of both a court poetry and a private occasional poetry laying claim to literary excellence. This achievement was of pioneering importance to the further development of poetry in late antiquity and Renaissance.

Transmission[1]

Thebaid and *Achilleid*. The Parisinus 8051 Puteaneus (P; 9th century) is the only representative of its class; it contains the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid*. A related group (for the *Achilleid*) consists of the Etonensis 150 (E; 11th century) and the Monacensis 14 557, olim Ratisbonensis (R; 14th century). All other manuscripts are different from these and form the Omega class. In all probability all the manuscripts ultimately originate in a single archetype.

Silvae. In the Middle Ages the *Silvae* were little known; Poggio discovered them (together with Silius and Manilius) during the Council of Constance. He had a copy made, from which all younger manuscripts are derived. This fact stresses the importance of the Matritensis 3678 (M; early 15th century). There is an older tradition for *silv*. 2. 7: Laurentianus plut. 29, 32 (L; 10th century).

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[1] On the transmission of Statius s. the praefationes of the editions; critical overviews of recent studies: H. Cancik 1986, esp. 2682–2686; H.-J. van Dam 1986, 2727–2733.

Influence

The poet of the *Thebaid* was acknowledged in his lifetime already.[1] More and more he became a school author. A commentary from late antiquity (5th to 6th century) is ascribed to Lactantius Placidus,[2] and Fulgentius proposed an allegorical interpretation.[3] Gordian I used the *Achilleid* together with the *Aeneid* as a model for his *Antoninias*.[4] Claudian, a kindred spirit to Statius, was indebted to the *Thebaid* in matters of language and literary form. The *Silvae*, which were read by Claudian, Ausonius, and Sidonius Apollinaris, set the standard for personal and occasional poetry in late antiquity.

In the Middle Ages the *Silvae* found some readers under Charlemagne but they were much less known than Statius' epic poems which by the 10th century were used as textbooks.[5] As a part of the *Libri Catoniani*,[6] an anthology for class use, the *Achilleid* was largely read; Konrad of Würzburg (13th century) and the British monk Josephus Iscanus (*De bello Troiano*, 13th century) made use of it. Dante (who followed a medieval legend) idealized Statius into a secret Christian (*purg.* 22, 64–66) converted by Virgil's messianic eclogue. He adapted the image of the flame which split in two while consuming the hostile brothers (*Theb.* 12. 429–430). The Norman *Roman de Thèbe* (around 1150) treated the same subject as the *Thebaid* but from a different viewpoint. Chaucer proclaims: 'first follow I Stace'.[7] Did he read the original? This seems plausible for *Troilus and Criseyde* 5. 1480–81 but in 2. 100–108 Pandarus finds his niece reading the *Romaunce of Thebes*, where 'the bishop Amphiorax' (!) falls through the ground to hell.

Renaissance epic owed much to Statius: in his *Africa* Petrarch (d. 1474) followed in his and Virgil's footsteps, thus outshining Silius' still undiscovered *Punica*. To write his *Teseida* Boccaccio (d. 1375) studied the *Thebaid* and the respective scholia; Statius was also known to the author of the *Borsias*, Tito Strozzi (d. 1505). A poet inimical

[1] Iuv. 7. 83; Stat. Theb. 12. 814; on Statius' influence cf. also G. Aricò, Per il Fortleben di Stazio, Vichiana 12, 1983, 36–43.

[2] Ed. R. D. Sweeney, Leipzig 1994.

[3] Fulgentius, ed. R. Helm, Leipzig 1898, 180.

[4] Script. hist. Aug., Gordiani tres 3. 3.

[5] Manitius 1, 634; further information ibid. 633; 731; 971.

[6] M. Boas, De Librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione, Mnemosyne 42, 1914, 17–46.

[7] Anelida and Arcite 21.

to tyrants, Alfieri (d. 1803), in his *Antigone* was inspired by our poet's dramatic talent.[1] The *Silvae*[2] were authoritative for neo-Latin occasional poetry; and Goethe would recognize their vivid descriptive art.[3] In an epoch not particularly sympathetic to Latin poetry, Wilamowitz passed an independent judgment on Statius: *Et inveniendi sollertia et dicendi audacia quidquid post Ovidium Camenae tulerunt facile superat poeta semigraecus*, 'both in originality and in boldness of expression, this half-Greek poet easily suprasses whatever the Muses brought forth after Ovid'.[4]

Editions: *Theb.*: sine loco et anno (about 1470). * *Ach.*: I. De Colonia, Venetiis 1472; A. Gallus (A. Belforte), Ferrara 1472. * *Silvae*: D. Calderini, Venetiis 1472. * *Complete editions*: A. Traglia, G. Aricò (TTrN), Torino 1980. * J. H. Mozley (TTr), 2 vols., London 1928. * C. H. Moore (Tr), Boston 1933. * *Theb.* and *Ach.*: H. W. Garrod, Oxford 1906. * *Theb.*: A. Imhof (Tr), Leipzig 1885–1889. * K. W. Bindewald (Tr), Stuttgart 1868–1875; Berlin 2nd ed. 1907 (books 1–8 only). * A. Klotz, Lipsiae 1908, ed. corr. T. C. Klinnert, Leipzig 1973. * D. E. Hill, Lugduni Batavorum 1983. * A. D. Melville, D. W. T. Vessey (TrN), Oxford 1992. * R. Lesueur (TTr), 3 vols., Paris 1990–1994. * *Theb. 1*: H. Heuvel (TTrC), Groningen 1932. * F. Caviglia (TTrC), Roma 1973. * *Theb. 2*: H. M. Mulder (TC), Groningen 1954. * *Theb. 3*: H. Snijder (TC), Amsterdam 1968. * *Theb. 6*: H. W. Fortgens (TTrC), Zutphen 1934. * *Theb. 7*: J. J. L. Smolenaars (C), Leiden 1994. * *Theb. 9*: M. Dewar (TTrC), Oxford 1991. * *Theb. 10*: R. D. Williams (TC), Leiden 1972. * *Theb. 11*: P. Venini (TTrC), Firenze 1970. * *Ach.*: A. Klotz, Lipsiae 1902. ** O. A. W. Dilke (TC), Cambridge 1954. * J. Méheust (TTr), Paris 1971. * H. Rupprecht (TTrN), Mitterfels 1984. * *silv.*: F. Vollmer (TC), Lipsiae 1898. * A. Klotz, Lipsiae 1900 (2nd ed. 1911; repr. 1971). * R. Sebicht (Tr), Ulm 1902. * J. S. Phillimore, Oxford 2nd ed. 1918. * F. Frère, H. J. Izaac (TTr), Paris 1944; rev. and corr. by C. Moussy, vol. 1, 3rd ed. 1992; vol. 2, 2nd. ed. 1961. * A. Marastoni, Lipsiae 1961, 1974. * E. Courtney, Oxford 1990. * *silv. 2*: H.-J. Van Dam (C), Leiden 1984. * *silv. 4*: K. M. Coleman (TTrC), Oxford 1988. ** Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida commentarii libri XII, ed. R. D. Sweeney, Stuttgart 1994. ** *Concordance*: R. J. Deferrari and M. C. Eagan, Brookland, D.C.

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[1] Highet, Class. Trad. 679.

[2] In his inaugural lecture Politian discussed Statius' *Silvae* (and Quintilian): Conte, LG 488.

[3] F. Hand, Statii Hercules Epitrapezios, Jena 2nd ed. 1849, 7.

[4] Kleine Schriften, vol. 2, Berlin 1941, 256 (dating from 1893); cf. furthermore: F. and D. Hiller, eds., Mommsen und Wilamowitz. Briefwechsel 1872–1903, Berlin 1935, 456.

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SILIUS ITALICUS

Life and Dates

Tiberius Catius Asconius Silius Italicus[1] was of noble origin, perhaps from northern Italy.[2] Born between 23 and 35, he became consul in 68 under Nero and, in all probability, did not shrink from

[1] His full name is found on an inscription discovered at Aphrodisias in 1934: W. M. CALDER, Silius Italicus in Asia, CR 49, 1935, 216–217.

[2] Cf. D. J. CAMPBELL, The Birthplace of Silius Italicus, CR 50, 1936, 56–58 (Patavium?); cf. SYME, Tacitus 1, 88, n. 7; for Capuan origin (cf. Sil. 11. 122–126): D. W. T. VESSEY, The Origin of Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, CB 60, 1984, 9–10.

playing the role of an accuser.[1] Soon after this he was a friend of Vitellius;[2] probably in 77 he became a proconsul in Asia.[3] Then he gave up politics and oratory and passed the last years of his life in Campania in his villas, which were filled with works of art. He proved his admiration for authors by buying lots such as a villa of Cicero's and Virgil's tomb (Mart. 11. 48. 2; cf. 11. 49). He admired Virgil with almost religious awe. When not occupied with the work of his old age,[4] the *Punica*, he talked with his friends about philosophy and literature: the Stoic Cornutus dedicated a book on Virgil to him[5] and no lesser a figure than Epictetus deemed him the most philosophical mind among Romans.[6] Despite his delicate health he enjoyed a long life. When struck with an incurable disease he, as a true Stoic,[7] killed himself through fasting (probably about 101).[8]

Survey of the Work

The *Punica* describe the Second Punic War in 17 books.[9]

1: The war originates from Juno's projects, but also from Hannbal's nature and his being educated to hate the Romans (1–143). The main action begins in Spain: Hannibal attacks the Saguntines, who send messengers to Rome for help. The Romans, in their turn, dispatch an embassy to Hannibal, threatening to declare war, if Hannibal did not stop fighting against Saguntum.

2: Turned away by Hannibal, the Roman messengers go on to Carthage, where Fabius before the discordant Punic senators declares the war (270–390: an oratorical duel between Hanno and Gestar). Though bravely defending themselves and being assisted by *Fides* personified, the Saguntines are about to succumb. Now they decide to commit suicide. Hannibal, who owes

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[1] The chief source on his life is Plin. *epist.* 3. 7; cf. also the inscriptions Dessau 6125; 9059.

[2] Cf. also Tac. *hist.* 3. 65.

[3] Inscription: cf. above, 1st note on Silius Italicus.

[4] It is certain that he wrote the *Punica* in his old age; for the details we have to rely on conjectures, cf. E. Wistrand 1956 (with earlier bibl.).

[5] Char. *gramm.* 1. 125. 16–18 Keil = p. 159. 27–29 Barwick.

[6] Epict. *diss.* 3. 8. 7; F. Buecheler, Coniectanea de Silio Italico, Iuvenale, Plauto, aliis poetis Latinis, RhM 35, 1880, 391.

[7] For a positive evaluation of suicide cf. Sil. 11. 186–188.

[8] One of his two sons died before him, the other lived to become a consul (Plin. *epist.* 3. 7).

[9] S. now: L. Braun, Der Aufbau der *Punica* des Silius Italicus, WJA 19, 1993, 173–183 (bibl.).

his victory to Juno's and Tisiphone's help, enters an empty city (391–456: Hannibal's shield).

3: In the center of the 3rd book there is a catalogue of the Carthaginian troops and their allies (222–414); after this display of the quantity of Rome's enemies, Silius immediately shows the seriousness of the Punic threat: Hannibal succeeds in crossing the Pyrenees and the Alps. At Venus' request, Jupiter, in a historical prophecy, reveals his true aims: *hac ego Martis/mole viros spectare paro atque expendere bello*, 'I mean to test their manhood by this great conflict and to try them in war' (573–574).

4–5: Books 4 and 5 report three devastating defeats, which Rome suffered despite her citizens' readiness to defend themselves. Once the blameless consul Scipio has lost the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia, his unworthy successor, Flaminius, by his *neglegentia deorum*, causes the catastrophe of Lake Trasimene.

6–7: After two books treating a chain of dramatic events the 6th book constitutes a retardation in the progress of the action. In an ample retrospective vision of the First Punic War Silius praises the exploits of Atilius Regulus. Then, the appointment of Fabius to the office of dictator (609–640) prepares book 7 which describes Fabius' 'delaying' strategy.

8–10: The Romans' defeat at Cannae fills books 8 to 10. As in the case of the battle of Lake Trasimene, a general is to blame for the disaster: the consul Varro is a new Flaminius. His colleague Paullus is a positive counterpart to him.

11: Book 11 forms a break after Cannae as did book 6 after the débâcle of Lake Trasimene.[1] Hannibal makes his entry into lovely Capua and Venus sends her Cupids to assail the Carthaginians.

12: This book notes a first Roman success: in the battle of Nola Marcellus beats Hannibal. However, far from surrendering, Hannibal turns against the Capital.

13: The positive turn of the fortune of war continues. Without having achieved his purpose, Hannibal abandons Rome. He loses even Capua. On the other hand, in Spain the two Scipios fall. This gives occasion to insert the *Nekyia*.

14–17: Victorious Roman generals dominate the last 4 books, thus outweighing Hannibal's series of successes which had been described in the first third of the work: while Marcellus conquers Syracuse (book 14), young Scipio is successful in Spain, as are Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator at the river Metaurus (book 15); after a respite (book 16 with funeral games) the Roman victory of Zama and Scipio's triumph form a climax.

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[1] Cf. E. Burck 1979, 262.

Sources, Models, and Genres[1]

Silius' main source for history is Livy; but he also consulted other historians.[2] Although the *Punica* often adopts Livy's subject matter and even his interpretative remarks, it is something more than a 'Livy put into verse'.[3] For instance, Silius holds a positive view of Scipio's piety, whereas the Augustan historian considered it hardly more than a clever political move.[4]

Silius expressly pays homage to his predecessors Virgil (8. 593–594), Ennius (12. 387–419), and Homer (13. 778–797). Imitation of Homer can be traced everywhere; the following Homeric scenes omitted by Virgil are reflected in Silius: the hero giving farewell to his spouse[5] (3. 61–157; *Il.* 6. 392–493; cf. also Lucan 5. 722–815), the battle in the river (Sil. 4. 570–703; *Il.* 21 passim), and the battle of gods (9. 278–10, 325; cf. *Il.* 20 and 5).[6] In all probability, the parallels between Scipio and Achilles[7] are relevant to the overall structure of the *Punica*; the same is true of the position of the games which are placed in the penultimate book as they had been in the *Iliad*.[8]

However, Silius, though directly using the *Iliad*, usually views it through the prism of the *Aeneid*. This shows from passages such as the *Nekyia*[9] which combine Homeric and Virgilian elements.

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[1] For a comparison with his predecessors cf. M. von Albrecht 1964, 15–89.

[2] For a general overview: J. Nicol 1936 (largely based on A. Klotz): s. now H. G. Nesselrath 1986.

[3] Silius no *versificator Livi*: P. Venini, Cronologia e composizione nei *Punica* di Silio Italico, RIL 106, 1972, 518–531; K. O. Matier, Prejudice and the *Punica*: Silius Italicus. A Reassessment, AClass 24, 1981, 141–151; E. Burck, Die Endphase der Schlacht am Metaurus bei Silius Italicus (*Punica* 15. 759–16. 22), WS n.s. 16, 1982, 260–273; H. G. Nesselrath 1986.

[4] On the gods in the *Punica*: O. Schönberger, Zum Weltbild der drei Epiker nach Lucan, Helikon 5, 1965, 123–145, esp. 137–145; W. Kissel 1975; W. Schubert, Jupiter in den Epen der Flavierzeit, Frankfurt 1984, esp. 45–70 and passim.

[5] M. von Albrecht 1964, 146; H. Juhnke 1972, 221: this scene contributes to the portrait of the 'enemies'; the 'dream' and the 'catalogue' are drawn from the 2nd book of the *Iliad* (Sil. 3. 163–216; 222–405).

[6] In this case there is Ennius between Silius and Homer, as follows from *Aen.* 10. 11–15 (M. von Albrecht 1964, 152).

[7] M. von Albrecht 1964, 148; H. Juhnke 1972, 222.

[8] G. Lorenz 1968, 231.

[9] Homeric parallels to book 13: H. Juhnke 1972, 400–404; C. Reitz 1982 brings into prominence Silius' own achievement, e.g.: the second sibyl, the ten doors, the judgment of tyrants. On enhancement of horror: M. Billerbeck, Die Unterweltsbeschreibung in den *Punica* des Silius Italicus, Hermes 111, 1983, 326–338.

Besides, Hellenistic influences can be traced in poetic medallions painted in more tender hues,[1] often but not always conveyed through the medium of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Contemplative miniatures such as the Falernus episode and some smaller excursuses in the bucolic vein have an unobtrusive lyric charm congenial with the poet's peaceful nature and his withdrawal from active life.[2]

Silius could not overlook Ennius, who had treated, in the main, the same subject. However, the material at our disposal does not allow reliable conclusions as to the directness and the extent of Ennius' influence, since, whenever we are in a position to spot reminiscences from Ennius, Silius could have drawn them from the same sources as we do: Cicero and early commentaries on Virgil.[3]

The *Aeneid* strongly influenced the overall structure of the *Punica*: examples are the proem and Juno's speech in book 1, and the dialogue between Jupiter and Juno preparing the end of the war in the last book (Sil. 17. 341–384; *Aen.* 12. 791–842). Silius deliberately transposed the sea storm from the 1st into the last book and onto the enemy: a double inversion! (*Aen.* 1. 50–156; Sil. 17. 218–289).[4] In the context of the *Punica* Venus' complaint and Jupiter's prophecy make sense at the moment when Hannibal has reached the heights of the Alps and the threat for Rome has become evident (Sil. 3. 557–629). As in the *Aeneid*, in the *Punica* the 2nd book describes the destruction of a city.[5] Saguntum is a new Troy. To emphasize this Silius goes as far as to introduce his retrospective mention of Saguntum's destruction in the first line of book 3 with *postquam*, as had done Virgil with reference to Troy at the corresponding place (*Aen.* 3. 1). In many situations Roman heroes turn out to be reflections of Aeneas, and Hannibal is an inimical hero reminiscent of Turnus.[6]

Silius uses integral components of former epic, especially from the *Aeneid*, to illumine crucial passages of his work, skillfully inserting them as gems, as it were, into his historical mosaic. It is true that Silius

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[1] M. von Albrecht 1964, 154–161.

[2] In *Pun.* 13. 314–347 the pastoral god Pan makes his appearance in order to prevent the Romans from devastating Capua and then returns to Arcadia. This is a daring amalgam of literary genres (excused by the precedent of Virgil who had introduced the political element into his *Eclogues*).

[3] On Silius and Ennius: M. von Albrecht 1964, 161–164; M. Bettini 1977; R. Häussler 1978, 148–161; 176–177.

[4] Neptune arouses the storm as he had done in the *Odyssey* (5. 282–294).

[5] Cf. D. Vessey 1974.

[6] On Silius and Virgil: M. von Albrecht 1964, 166–184.

does not depict mythical events but (as Ennius had done) individual historical facts; however, through artistic invention—imitations of scenes, similes, quotations—he makes his text transparent while letting the *Aeneid* appear behind it as an immovable background to the ever changing events of history. The *Punica* is meant to be, so to speak, a continuation of the *Aeneid* in the historical dimension.[1] Given such a goal, 'imitation' becomes an essential.

Along with Virgil, Lucan[2] is of importance for Silius. This is true of both his interpretation of moral behavior in terms of Stoic philosophy and of his geographical excursuses, which give his epic a universal dimension. Silius himself is knowledgeable in geography,[3] a fact which counterbalances his introverted interest in moral philosophy. Apart from introspection, epic poets need an eye open to the world around them, like Homer, who, for Silius, had been the founder of cosmic poetry (13. 788). Silius tries to do justice to this side of Homer by introducing Hellenistic geographical erudition in the way of Lucan. It follows that the *Punica* might be called, *cum grano salis*, a projection of Virgilian categories onto an Ennian subject matter in a spirit akin to Lucan (if less dark and ardent than that poet's genius).

Literary technique

Scholars have surmised that Silius originally planned to extend the *Punica* (which now has an odd number of books) over three hexads (18 books).[4] In the first hexad Hannibal dominates, in the second, Fabius and Paullus oppose him, in the third, Marcellus and Scipio vanquish him. But there are more approaches to the structure of the poem.[5]

Silius' narrative technique is unlike Virgil's; like Ennius he arranges

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[1] The historical perspectives are far-reaching: civil wars (13. 850–867) and Silius' own time (3. 597–629; 14. 684–688).

[2] On Silius and Lucan s. M. v. ALBRECHT 1964, 164–166; cf. 75; J. H. BROUWERS, Zur Lucan-Imitation bei Silius Italicus, in: J. DEN BOEFT, A. H. M. KESSELS, eds., Actus. Studies in Honour of H. L. W. NELSON, Utrecht 1982, 73–87. The chronological relationship to Statius is disputed: G. LORENZ 1968.

[3] This is true even of epic simile: 17. 592–596.

[4] E. BURCK 1984, 5; 1979, 260–268; W. KISSEL 1979, 211–213. Unfortunately, hexadic structure in most of the authors to whom it is ascribed, is subject to certain flaws. On the other hand, the number 17 does have Hellenistic precedents, cf. also Horace's *Epodes*. In addition, E. ZINN defended the number of 17 books with reference to the years of war (in: M. VON ALBRECHT 1964, 171, n. 11).

[5] J. KÜPPERS 1986, 176–192; L. BRAUN 1993 (quoted above, p. 960, n. 9).

single elements in series and presents a plurality of heroes. His Stoic approach is reminiscent of Lucan; at every step the new tastes of the 1st century make themselves felt.[1] Unlike the *Aeneid* the *Punica* does not describe a unified action of archetypal significance, but a multitude of historical events. Hence lists and catalogues acquire a structuring function: initially, the action, like a huge wave, is mainly directed towards Rome; Silius emphasizes this direction by placing lists of past and future defeats at crucial points (cf. already the prophetic speech of Juno 1. 42–54).[2] The contrary movement that begins after the middle of the work is to be seen in the speech of Voluptas: she wants to frighten Scipio by mentioning Cannae and other defeats but produces the contrary effect (15. 34–35). And the end of book 15 Nero, by winning the battle of Metaurus, has taken revenge for the humiliations of Cannae, Trebia, and Lake Trasimene (814–818). The reversal of the fortune of war is by now an accomplished fact. In the last book Hannibal's dream is an artistic inversion of the most important battles: now the dead Roman generals and soldiers chase the Carthaginian from Italy (17. 160–169). In his allocution Hannibal once more reminds his soldiers of their previous victories (295–337); finally, Scipio overwhelms all winners of former battles (494–502). This is the consummation of the Roman counter-attack.[3]

This technique of inversion (combined with reminiscences of Virgilian scenes) establishes a close relationship between the beginning and the end of the *Punica*. Within individual books, too, there are parallels and contrasts between beginnings and endings: in book 1, the first simile emphasizes Hannibal's *perfidia* (1. 324–326; cf. the *dea Dira* in *Aen.* 12. 856–860), whereas the last simile in the same book dwells on Fabius' circumspection (1. 687–689). At the beginning of book 9 the contrasting characters of two Roman generals find expression in a simile (9. 41–43) and in speeches (Varro 9. 25–36; Paullus 9. 44–64). The ending is a mirror-image of this beginning: there are literary portraits of Paullus and Varro enlivened by two further speeches.

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[1] Silius, though not a 'mannerist', is a 'classicist', not a classic.

[2] Other enumerations of Hannibal's victories are: 1. 125–133; 546–547; 4. 59–66; 5. 153–164; 6. 106–112; 296–298; 700–716; 7. 147–150; 378; 8. 38; 664–670; 9. 185–191; 11. 134–146; 12. 547–550; 695–697; 13. 716–718.

[3] Hannibal's dream is fulfilled insofar as Scipio had drawn his victorious power from the dead heroes in the underworld (cf. 13. 381–895; 15. 179–213; 16. 586–589). The spear thrown in honor of the dead bursts into leaf.

Generally speaking, structure often helps to illustrate moral issues. This is true of the *exempla* inserted by Silius as stories within the story: after the disaster of Lake Trasimene Serranus is encouraged by listening to the story of the exploits of his father, Regulus (6. 117–551).[1] After the battle of Cannae Cloelia's narrative puts the unbending and invincible character of the Romans before Hannibals eyes (10. 449–502). At the beginning of the last book the story of Claudia Quinta conveys a subtle message: the gods confirm Claudia's innocence, thus foreshadowing the end of Roman sufferings.[2] Claudia Quinta symbolizes Rome, which after hard trials finally is justified by the gods.

Silius' narrative technique has a 'static' rather than a dynamic effect; this is owing to a specific blend of a typically Roman delight in factual detail and a no less Roman preference for abstract moral terms. On the whole the *Punica* differs from the *Aeneid* not only in following the chronology of history but also in lining up self-contained, 'ready-made' elements, thus announcing in some points the 'technique of isolated pictures' of late antiquity.[3] While Statius lends vivid motion to his images, Silius' similes give a peaceful and unhurried impression, as if they were miniature portraits.[4] Individual scenes have a balanced structure.[5]

Language and Style

His language and style exhibit similar characteristics. Some expressions bordering on tautology reveal the even temper of old age. The consequences are not exclusively negative—sometimes the reader is reminded of the caution and gentleness of authors like Adalbert Stifter. Unlike Lucan Silius does not try to turn each line into a flash of genius by giving it an unexpected twist—an abstinence which must be called courageous in his days. His most poetic passages attract

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[1] E. L. Bassett, Regulus and the Serpent in the *Punica*, CPh 50, 1955, 1–20; R. Häussler 1978, 168–175.

[2] M. von Albrecht 1968.

[3] In general cf. F. Mehmel, Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius, Hamburg 1940.

[4] M. von Albrecht 1964, 90–118; the simile placed before the change of fortune is especially telling: Marcellus is like a swan who seems to stand still in complete idleness while, under the surface, swimming against the stream with both feet (14. 189–191).

[5] M. von Albrecht 1968.

the reader by simplicity, not brilliance. Silius certainly does not distract us from his subject by giving it a glittering surface.

His versification[1] has been blamed unjustly. He deliberately aims at spondaic gravity. In this respect he is closer to Virgil than any other epic poet of his age.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

We are indebted to Silius for a pertinent description of Homer's achievement: he is the divine poet of the universe, of the three-storied cosmos of epic (13. 788). Moreover, Silius pays homage to his Roman predecessors (s. Sources). Indirectly and with due modesty he hints at his own work (13. 793–797): it is concerned with *virtus* (ibid.) and *decus laborum* (1. 3), the glory ancient Italy won through hardship. Thus he combines the epic tradition of κλέα ανδρῶν ('praises of heroes') with the *gloria* of *virtus* in the vein of Roman historians and the Stoic concept of trial and rehabilitation through *labor*. Silius subordinates literature to a moral idea.

Ideas II

Reading Silius is like reading a mosaic, the meaning of which is not found in the individual stone. To grasp the poet's intentions we have to transcend single scenes and look at their context. It is virtually impossible, therefore, to separate his ideology from his literary technique.[2]

Silius' republican ideas[3] find an artistic expression e.g. in the duel of two brothers at the funeral games (16. 527–556).[4] This scene shows the fatal consequences of a striving for kingship and unmistakably evokes the civil war's heroes from the *Nekyia* (13. 850–867). Probably, there is also an analogy between Silius' description of the chariot race (16. 312–456) and his view of the course of the war.

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[1] A just appraisal in: G. Möhler 1989.

[2] For a different view H. Juhnke 1972, 50 and 225, n. 167.

[3] Silius (like many of his contemporaries) in theory was a republican but in practice accepted monarchy; cf. W. C. McDermott, A. E. Orentzel, Silius Italicus and Domitian, AJPh 98, 1977, 24–34.

[4] G. Lorenz 1968, 170–208.

It follows that individual scenes in Silius are not an end in themselves nor naively superficial[1] but are functionally related to the general idea of his work.

Ultimately, even the general structure of the *Punica* can only be explained by its underlying moral conception. This epic is all about the trial of Roman *virtus* through *labores*,[2] giving these Roman ideas the dignified garb of Stoicism. Hercules, as viewed by the Stoics, serves as a model for many of Silius' heroes.[3] Prodicus' famous allegory 'The Choice of Hercules' is transferred on Scipio standing between Virtus and Voluptas (15. 18–130). There is no single hero; as had done Naevius and Ennius, Silius chooses the entire Roman people for his hero. Different aspects of Roman *virtus* are embodied in Fabius, Paullus, Marcellus, and, especially, Scipio.[4] Hannibal is the 'antagonist' reminiscent of Virgil's Turnus and Lucan's Caesar.[5]

On the Roman side the efficient motifs are virtues like *fides* and *pietas*, matched by *ira* and furor on the Carthaginian side. The same polarity reigns in the world of the gods: Jupiter stands for Rome, reason, order, and peace; Juno for Carthage, passion, and war. The same is true of allegories (which anticipate late antiquity): on the one hand there are Fides and Virtus, on the other, Voluptas.

In the course of the text the outward conflict gradually reveals its inward nature: the war between Rome and Carthage generates conflicts between reason and folly within the Roman camp (Fabius—Minucius; Paullus—Varro) and, finally, an inner conflict in Scipio (book 15). His victory over himself and his awareness of the link between his own and his people's destiny (13. 504) are the prerequisites to his winning the war. Historical decisions are taken by individuals: this insight is both typically Roman and valid beyond the Roman context; it makes Silius a noteworthy interpreter of history, including his own historical situation under the emperors.

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1 H. Juhnke 1972, 267, cf. 253.

2 Cf. also K.-H. Niemann 1975.

3 Even for Hannibal: E. L. Bassett, Hercules and the Hero of the *Punica*, in: L. Wallach, ed., The Classical Tradition. Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of H. Caplan, Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, 258–273.

4 On Scipio's special importance: E. L. Bassett ibid.

5 To a lesser degree also: Hector.

Transmission

The archetype of the *Punica* was an old St. Gall manuscript; the Florentine humanist Poggio discovered it during the Council of Constance (1416 or 1417); discrepancies in our transmission suggest that this witness (which, unfortunately, has been lost) contained numerous interlinear and marginal readings. The stemma, which starts from the Sangallensis, falls into two classes of different quality; between these, there are cross-references (by *codices mixti*). The α class most frequently offers the better readings; its main representative is Laurentianus, Aed. 196 (F; later 15th century), which also contains a vita of Silius.

The text is in need of emendation in numerous instances. Many corrections have been made by humanists (Petrus Odus, Domitius Calderinus, Pomponius Laetus, Bartholomaeus Fontius, Petrus Marsus). Often, however, it was Odus himself who by 'correcting' corrupt passages in the manuscript Γ, paved the way for further corruptions. It is to the merit of J. Delz to have given the text a solid basis.

Influence

In antiquity only Pliny, Martial, and Sidonius mention Silius' name. Although the Middle Ages seem to have had some knowledge of the *Punica*- as certain parallels between Silius and the *Waltharius*[1] seem to attest—, Petrarch's (d. 1374) Latin epic *Africa* is independent of Silius.[2]

After his rediscovery Silius found relatively many readers and imitators, especially in England;[3] later on, Julius Caesar's Scaliger's (d. 1558)[4] and his followers' harsh criticism was detrimental to our poet's reputation. The German poet Ludwig Uhland (d. 1862) wrote a verse translation of 'The Choice of Scipio'.[5] The same scene is the subject of one of Raphael's famous paintings.[6]

Editions: ANDREAS, Bishop of ALERIA (together with Calpurnius and Hesiod, faulty), Romae: C. SWEYNHEIM, A. PANNARTZ 1471. * G. A. RUPERTI (TC),

[1] R. SCHIEFFER, Silius Italicus in St. Gallen. Ein Hinweis zur Lokalisierung des Waltharius, MLatJb 10, 1975, 7–19.

[2] Cf. M. VON ALBRECHT 1964, 118–144.

[3] E. L. BASSETT, Silius Italicus in England, CPh 48, 1953, 155–168.

[4] Poetices libri septem, Lyon 1561, 324.

[5] *Gedichte*, crit. ed. by E. SCHMIDT and J. HARTMANN, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1898, 212–215.

[6] E. PANOFSKY, Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, vol. 18, Leipzig 1930.

2 vols., Gottingae 1795–1798 (excellent). * F. H. Bothe (TrN), 5 vols., Stuttgart 1855–1857. * L. Bauer, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1890–1892. * J. D. Duff (TTr), 2 vols., London 1934. * P. Miniconi, G. Devallet, J. Volpilhac-Lenthéric, M. Martin (TTr), 4 vols., Paris 1979–1992. * F. Spaltenstein (C), 2 vols., Genève 1986 and 1990. * J. Delz, Stutgardiae 1987 (authoritative). * H. Rupprecht (TTr), 2 vols., Mitterfels 1991. * *Book 6*: U. Fröhlich (C), diss. Heidelberg 1996. ** *Ind.*: M. Wacht, Lemmatisierter Index zu Silius Italicus, *Punica*, mit statistischen Anhängen zu Sprache und Metrik, Regensburg 1984. * N. D. Young, Index verborum Silianus, Iowa City 1939, repr. 1964. ** *Bibl.*: R. Helm, Forschungsbericht über nachaugusteische nichtchristliche Dichter, Lustrum 1, 1957, esp. 255–272. * M. von Albrecht 1964, 215–237; s. also the new editions and F. Ahl.

F. Ahl, M. A. Davis, A. Pomeroy, Silius Italicus, ANRW 2, 32, 4, 1986, 2492–2561. * M. von Albrecht, Silius Italicus. Freiheit und Gebundenheit römischer Epik, Amsterdam 1964. * M. von Albrecht, Claudia Quinta bei Silius Italicus und bei Ovid, AU 11, 1, 1968, 76–95. * M. Bettini, Ennio in Silio Italico, RFIC 105, 1977, 425–447. * M. Billerbeck, Stoizismus in der römischen Epik neronischer und flavischer Zeit, ANRW 2, 32, 5, 1986, 3116–3151. * S. Borzsák, Die *Punica* des Silius Italicus und die Alexander-Überlieferung, in: G. Wirth, ed., Romanitas—Christianitas, FS J. Straub, Berlin 1982, 164–174. * E. Burck, Die *Punica* des Silius Italicus, in: E. Burck, ed., Das römische Epos, Darmstadt 1979, 254–299. * E. Burck, Historische und epische Tradition bei Silius Italicus, München 1984. * J. Dingel, Corythus bei Vergil und Silius Italicus, Philologus 139, 1995, 89–96. * R. Häussler, Studien zum historischen Epos der Antike, II: Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie, Heidelberg 1978. * H. Juhnke, Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Szenennachbildungen und Strukturentsprechungen in Statius' *Thebais* und in Silius' *Punica*, München 1972. * W. Kissel, Das Geschichtsbild des Silius Italicus, Frankfurt 1979. * A. Klotz, Silius Italicus, RE 2, 5, 1927, 79–91. * J. Küppers, *Tantarum causas irarum*. Untersuchungen zur einleitenden Bücherdyade der *Punica* des Silius Italicus, Berlin 1986. * G. Laudizi, Silio Italico. Il passato tra mito e restaurazione etica, Galatina 1989. * G. Lorenz, Vergleichende Interpretationen zu Silius Italicus und Statius, diss. Kiel 1968. * K. O. Matier, The Poetic Sources of Silius Italicus with Particular Reference to Book Eleven, AClass 26, 1983, 73–82. * K. O. Matier, The Similes of Silius Italicus, LCM 11, 1986, 152–155. * P. McGushin, The Transmission of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, Amsterdam 1985. * G. Möhler, Hexameterstudien zu Lukrez, Vergil, Horaz, Ovid, Lucan, Silius Italicus und der Ilias Latina, Frankfurt 1989. * V. Neri, Dei, Fato e divinazione nella letteratura Latina del I sec. d. C., ANRW 2, 16, 3, 1986, 1974–2051, esp. 2026–2046. * H. G. Nesselrath, Zu den Quellen des Silius Italicus, Hermes 114, 1986, 203–230. * J. Nicol, The Historical and Geographical

Sources Used by Silius Italicus, Oxford 1936. * K.-H. Niemann, Die Darstellung der römischen Niederlagen in den *Punica* des Silius Italicus, diss. Bonn 1975. * C. Reitz, Die Nekyia in den *Punica* des Silius Italicus, Frankfurt 1982. * C. Santini, La cognizione del passato in Silio Italico, Roma 1983. * C. Santini, Silius Italicus and his View of the Past, Amsterdam 1991. * W. Thuile, *Furiae* in der nachklassischen Epik. Untersuchungen zu Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Papinius Statius' *Thebais* und Silius Italicus' *Punica*, diss. Innsbruck 1980. * A.-M. Tupet, Le serment d'Hannibal chez Silius Italicus, BAGB 1980, 2, 186–193. * D. Vessey, Silius Italicus on the Fall of Saguntum, CPh 69, 1974, 28–36. * W. S. Watt, Siliana, MH 45, 1988, 170–181. * E. Wistrand, Die Chronologie der *Punica* des Silius Italicus, Göteborg 1956.

B. DIDACTIC POETRY

MANILIUS

Life and Dates

Our younger manuscripts ascribe the didactic poem called *Astronomica* to a certain M. Manilius (or Manlius). In one case the Matritensis adds the name *Boetius*. This is explained both by common transmission and similarity of names (Manlius/Manilius). In 983 Gerbert of Aurillac saw *VIII volumina Boetii de astrologia* in Bobbio (*epist.* 8); these were evidently three books of Boethius on arithmetics and the five books of Manilius (Gerbert mentions him in *epist.* 130).

Manilius was perhaps born in the sign of Gemini, which he says to be the sign of poets and astrologers (4. 152–159). The 1st book was certainly written after Varus' defeat (A.D. 9; 1. 898–903). The mentions of *Caesar* are partly referred to Augustus (undoubtedly 2. 509: Capricorn), partly to Tiberius (4. 764 Rhodes; 773–777 Libra). The latter emperor's specific interest in astrology[1] led to the suggestion that he might have been Manilius' addressee from the beginning, but Tiberius officially never used the title of *pater patriae* (1. 7 and 1. 925), and the gigantic sundial of Augustus reminds us that he was not indifferent to astrology either. In all probability books 1 and 2 were written under Augustus, and book 4 under Tiberius.[2]

Survey of the Work

1: The 1st book gives a brief survey of the constellations in the northern and the southern hemisphere. There follow the circles of the sky including the zodiacal belt and the Milky Way. In conclusion, Manilius—all too briefly—presents the planets and comets.

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[1] Tac. *ann.* 6. 20; Suet. *Tib.* 69; Cass. Dio 55. 11; F. H. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics, Philadelphia 1954.

[2] A different view is held by E. Gebhardt, Zur Datierungsfrage des Manilius, RhM 104, 1961, 278–286 (the entire work was written under Tiberius).

2: The 2nd book is on the zodiacal signs and their interaction, depending on their nature, their relative position and their attribution to certain gods and to certain parts of the human body. Each sign, in its turn, falls into twelve parts (*dodecatemoria*). Then, Manilius turns to the discussion of *loca* ('houses').

3: Book 3 displays the 12 'lots' (*athla, sortes*, 'departments of human life'), teaches how to determine the horoscope, and considers the celestial influences governing the phases of man's life ('chronocrators') and the seasons of the year ('tropic signs').

4: Only book 4 lists the influence of the individual zodiacal signs on man. Furthermore each sign is subdivided into three 'decans', which in their turn are assigned to different zodiacal signs. Then Manilius treats the 'insalubrious' grades of the ecliptic (*partes damnandae*) and the respective individual grades within each zodiacal sign. An astrological description of the world and an inspired assessment of the dignity of man as microcosm allow the reader to relax.

5: The last book is dedicated to the *paranatellonta*. Manilius discusses constellations outside the zodiacal belt and their impact on man. They are arranged according to their risings. He extends his study even to constellations which do not rise or set in our latitudes. Finally he comes back to astronomy by classifying the stars according to their magnitude or luminosity.

Despite his announcement in 5. 28, Manilius does not treat of the settings of constellations. Nor does he dwell on the planets (in contrast to his initial design).[1] We have to take into consideration that he may not have achieved his work, that there could be lacunas due to our manuscript tradition and even that he may have changed his plans. A passage at the beginning of book 5 is possibly meant to excuse the omission of the planets. Literary criteria, however, (such as parallels between books 1 and 5) warrant consideration of the transmitted text as a self-contained whole.

Sources, Models, and Genres

For a long time Manilius had been the earliest author on astrology known from classical antiquity; today there are older sources at our disposal.[2] Manilius cites Mercury (i.e. Hermetism) as his authority

[1] 2. 750; 965; 3. 156–158; 587; 5. 4–7.

[2] Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum (CCAG) 1–12, Brussels 1898–1953; Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica, ed. E. Riess, Philologus suppl. 6, 1891–1893, 325–394; W. Gundel and H. G. Gundel, Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte, ZWG, suppl. 6, 1966, 27–36; on Asclepiades of Myrlea s. F. Boll 1950, 12–13.

(cf. 1. 30) for astrology, which he is the first to have put into verse (proems 1 and 2); Manilius' source had been under Egyptian influence; it was written in Greek, and he often shares with us his problems as a translator. Firmicus Maternus (4th century; *math.* 8. 6–17) would follow Manilius (5. 32–70) but, in addition, use a source much like that of Manilius.[1] Our poet's introduction-pieces, excursuses, and epilogues were often traced back to the Stoic philosopher Posidonius;[2] today's scholars are more cautious in this respect.

Manilius does not seem to have known Nigidius Figulus' *Sphaera Graecanica et barbarica*, nor was he familiar with the 6th book of Varro's *Disciplinae*. However, he did use Aratus' (first half of the 3rd century B.C.) *Phaenomena* both as a source and as a model in books 1 and 5. Since he ignores Cicero's translation of Aratus and has no knowledge of Germanicus', he claims to be an original poet within the tradition of didactic poetry (proem to book 2). These high claims establish a parallel to Lucretius, which is more meaningful than common use of didactic formulas (e.g. *nunc age* 3. 43);[3] however, Manilius is much less fond of logical argument.

The *Astronomica* does not belong to the merely 'factual' type of didactic poetry. Virgil's *Georgics* (1. 24–42) as a universal poem inspired by the 'cosmocrator' is Manilius' prototype (1. 7–10). Hence it follows that 'the emperor as inspiring deity'—frequent as this topos may be unter Tiberius[4]—is not a sufficient reason for a late dating of the *Astronomica*. In the way of Virgil Manilius enriches his work with political and general human issues, thus giving his subject matter a deeper meaning and a larger resonance. Significant echoes of the *Georgics* are especially found at the beginnings and endings of the books.[5] The title *Astronomicon* has been coined—like *Georgicon*—after a Greek plural genitive. As in Virgil—and Aratus—the last book of Manilius contains a mythological narrative panel (5. 538–618). The

[1] A. E. Housman, ed., M. Manilii *Astronomicon* liber quintus, Londinii 1930, praef. pp. xliii–xliv.

[2] Here are some passages redolent of Posidonius: cosmogony 1. 118–146; sympathy within the universe 2. 63–86; the human soul being akin to the god of the universe 8. 866–935; the life of primitive men 1. 66–78; permanent change on earth 1. 817–834; astronomical and geographic lore was ascribed to Posidonius as well.

[3] H. Rösch 1911; examples of *color Lucretianus*: 1. 69–74; 149–151; 172; 236; 483–486; 3. 652–656; 4. 892.

[4] Germanicus, *praef.*; Val. Max. *praef.*; Vell. 2. 126. 3.

[5] W. Hübner 1984, 186–320, e.g. 250; 262.

doctrine of the cosmic soul (1. 247–254) and the panorama of heroes (1. 750–804) conjure up the most sublime moments of the *Aeneid* (6. 724–892) and of the *Somnium Scipionis* (Cic. *rep.* 6. 16).[1] Manilius is convinced indeed of the importance of his subject.

In time and style Manilius is close to Ovid;[2] at the beginning of his 3rd book he alludes to the proem of the *Metamorphoses*, and in his Andromeda story (5. 540–618) he emulates Ovid (*met.* 4. 663–739) by creating a contrasting counterpart. It is not by chance that several of his statements on cosmological and anthropological themes recall Ovid (1. 118–214; 4. 866–935; Ov. *met.* 1. 5–88).[3] It may seem that the most important dimension for Manilius is space, for Ovid, time.[4] Yet Manilius regards the movements of the stars as the 'clock' of human life (3. 510–559). Hence we are not entitled to separate space and time in Manilius. It is not surprising then, that his sketches of permanent change in the world (4. 818–865) and of the succession of seasons (3. 618–682) are reminiscent of Ovid (*met.* 15. 176–478).

Literary Technique

As is to be expected in didactic poetry, the books are introduced by longer and sophisticated proems[5] (only the introduction to book 5 is relatively short). The first of these prefaces includes a dedication to the 'inspiring' emperor (s. Sources, Models, and Genres). Furthermore, it contains a recapitulation of the genesis of astrology—an element recalling the ἀρχαιολογίαι in historical works. Generally speaking, the proems treat general issues, including philosophical ideas and literary criticism (s. Ideas I and II).

According to the usage of didactic poetry, the endings of the books (except for book 2) likewise transcend the technical subject matter. The 1st book ends in a discussion of comets, which in its turn gives occasion to considerations on pestilence, war, the disaster of Varus,

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[1] On the philosophical background (Platonism, Pythagoreanism): W. Gundel, RE 7, 1, 1910, q.v. Galaxias, esp. 564–565.

[2] E.g. 5. 554 *supplicia impsa decent*, cf. Ov. *met.* 4. 230; 7. 733; B. R. Voss, Die Andromeda-Episode des Manilius, Hermes 100, 1972, 413–434, esp. 425; helpful F. Paschoud 1982.

[3] Cf. e.g. *discordia concors* 1. 142; cf. Ov. *met.* 1. 433 (with the scholarly commentaries).

[4] W. Hübner 1984, 228–231.

[5] A. Marchi, Struttura dei proemî degli *Astronomica* di Manilio, Anazetesis 6–7, 1983, 8–17.

the civil wars and world peace. Book 3 terminates in an attractive description of the four seasons (excused by the discussion of the zodiacal signs which determine their changes). The finale of book 4—and the culmination of the entire work—is an excursus deriving the dignity of man from his being the universe in a nutshell. Finally, the ending of book 5 compares the magnitudes of the stars with the hierarchic order of human society. Thus, the conclusions of Manilius' books illustrate connections between macrocosm and microcosm.

The beginnings and endings of books, on the one hand, adhere to the literary patterns of didactic poetry (Lucretius, Virgil's *Georgics*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as well); on the other hand, they overlap with satire by their moral and philosophical outlook (cf. the proem to book 4). Elements of diatribe had been found already in Lucretius. The relevant passages in Manilius pave the way for Lucan's rhetorical and reflective epic and for Juvenal's satire. It is true that Manilius' Menandrean serenity (cf. 5. 475) is far from the severity of a Juvenal, but his 5th book with its colorful pictures of human life is a world in miniature. As an epic of a small world, this is a hitherto unnoticed link between epic and satire.

The excursuses partly help to convey the poet's message (e.g. the proof of God's existence 1. 474–531), partly they explain his method, partly they serve as breaks for rest. The common denominator for these functions is that they are means to direct the reader's attention. One of these excursuses gives a detailed account of the useful didactic principal of starting with a general survey and gradually progressing to ever subtler distinctions (2. 750–787). Further digressions point out the necessity of never losing sight of the whole (2. 643–692) and of sifting a given question to the bottom, in order to overcome primitive stereotypes and arrive at an independent judgment (4. 363–442).

Other excursuses bridge the gap between the author and his Roman public—e.g. the catalogue of heroes inserted into the discussion of the Milky Way (1. 750–804) and the historical digression within the proem (4. 23–68). The function of 'interval for rest' is predominant in the map of the world which serves as a prelude to Manilius' astrological geography (4. 585–695);[1] the same is true of the famous myth of Perseus and Andromeda (5. 538–618), which combines epic and

[1] On astrological geography cf. F. Boll, Kleine Schriften 39; 343.

elegiac elements.[1] In the course of the work such ornamental insertions become more frequent. Manilius' relationship to myth is as double-edged as Plato's to poetry, Lucretius' to the gods and Aratus' to catasterisms.[2]

In didactic epic the function of similes is to illuminate the point in discussion. Manilius, who is less fond of argument than Lucretius, is more sparing in his use of similes; instead he accumulates them in certain passages, e.g. when expounding his method (2. 751–787). Here the simile of letters (known to us from Lucretius) does not describe the structure of the world; rather, the process of teaching and learning is illustrated by a reader's gradual assimilation of letters, syllables, words and, finally, sentences. Another simile in point is the construction of a town which can only be begun after the material has been made available.

Venerable images exemplify philosophical ideas and principles of literary criticism: Homer is a stream, from which his successors derive their rivulets (2. 8–11). Unlike all these imitators Manilius has an immediate relationship to the universe, that is: to God. His cosmic journey (1. 13–19; 5. 8–11)[3] leads the inspired poet, who is pleased to play the role of a new Lucretius, through virgin soil, untouched by previous poets (1. 4–5; 113–114; 2. 49–59; 5. 27). For Manilius the birth of his poem is a result of a downward movement (1. 118 *caelo descendit carmen ab alto*, 'from the heights of heaven my song descends'; for the lofty ring of this line cf. Verg. *ecl.* 4. 7): the poet leads celestial art down to earth.[4] Digging for gold and endless travels in search for precious pearls (4. 396–407) give an idea of the difficulty of fathoming the depths of divinity: no other term is sublime enough for Manilius to denote his subject.

Descriptions of different professions (4. 122–293) and of numerous typical characters in book 5 show Manilius as a master of character portrayal and a keen observer of life.

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[1] B. R. Voss, quoted above p. 975, n. 2; W. Hübner 1984, 193–201; K. M. Coleman, Manilius' Monster, Hermes 111, 1983, 226–232 (from the zoological point of view).

[2] W. Hübner 1984, 237.

[3] Cf. Parmenides 1–21; F. Boll, Kleine Schriften 143–155; W. Bousset, Die Himmelsreise der Seele, Darmstadt 1960 (repr. 1971; first in: ARW 4, 1901, 136–169 and 229–273).

[4] W. Hübner 1984, 242–268.

Language and Style

Small pecularities of language are not sufficient to prove that Manilius was not a Roman; sentence constructions redolent of everyday language are rare and almost immaterial; meter is treated carefully.[1] The poet excuses his use of inevitable Greek technical terms.[2] Because of the so-called poverty of the *sermo patrius* (cf. Lucr. 1. 832), there are limits to Latinization (*flectere*). Ultimately our poet gives preference to the 'proper word' (*vox propria* 3. 40–42).

Manilius confers new meanings on some words: he refers *census* metaphorically to the mysteries of the universe and their mathematical analysis (1. 12 *aetherios per carmina pandere census*, 'to display through a poet's song the riches of the sky'). When using *corda* and *pectora* to denote persons (a further development of Lucr. 2. 14), the poet activates dormant powers of the Latin language: the identification of man with his mind is in harmony with the development of psychological introspection in imperial Rome. The metaphorical use of *census* is an intriguing instance of transference of terms from administrative and commercial life to the realm of the mind. A study of the vocabulary of 'harmonious order' (which links astronomy to poetry) would be rewarding.

Formulas asking the reader to pay attention are typical of didactic poetry (3. 36–39), as is the introduction of a new issue with *nunc age* (3. 43).

Manilius uses rhetorical means to emphasize the essence of what he is saying: this is true for the repetition of key words, e.g. heaven (*caelum*) can only be known by heaven's gift (*caeli munere* 2. 115) and knowledge of fate's law is itself a gift of fate (2. 149). In such cases a paradox statement reveals a paradox truth. In fact, Stoics liked using paradoxes as vehicles of their thought (cf. Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*); this form of expression could sometimes assume even a religious ring.[3] In making distinctions between apparent synonyms Manilius develops an almost dialectical stringency: thus, from the very outset, between *mundus* ('universe') and *orbis* ('our earth' 1. 8–9) or, later on, between *fata* and *fortuna* (4. 49). Stoics considered *brevitas*

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[1] On language and style: J. VAN WAGENINGEN, RE 14, 1, 1928 q.v. Manilius, esp. 1129–1130; A. CRAMER, De Manilii qui dicitur elocutione, Strassburg 1882 (still important).

[2] Cf. 2. 694; 909; 4. 818–819; 5. 645–646.

[3] H. LEWY, *Sobria ebrietas*, Giessen 1929.

a quality of style; accordingly Manilius sketches the vicissitudes of Marius by a brief antithesis: *quod, consul totiens, exul; quod de exule consul*, 'an exile after being so often consul, and consul after being an exile' (4. 46). Often few words suffice to express a basic idea: *penitusque deus, non fronte notandus*, 'it is in its interior and not in its outward appearance that the divine is to be apprehended', (4. 309). An even more concise example is: *ratio omnia vincit*, 'reason triumphs over all' (4. 932). Manilius even plays on the astrological connotations of figures of speech, a fact that can be merely indicated here.[1]

Manilius has a command of the 'pointed' style in the Ovidian vein. His finding 'drown reason in wine-cups' (5. 246) would recur as late as in Pushkin. However, his Stoic severity confers a noble touch on such word play. We should not conceal either that Manilius is not free from prolixity.[2]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In didactic poetry, language and literature basically are servants of the author's message. The loftiness of the universe neither needs nor allows beautiful verbal adornments (4. 440). After all, the proper word is the best (3. 40–42). Anyway, teaching cannot be more than a hint (*ostendisse deum nimis est*, 'to show the deity is more than enough' 4. 439). Such statements seem to promise a thoroughly bald and arid discourse. Since this is contradicted by the facts, we have to ask if Manilius deserts his principles or if these are only valid for strictly technical passages.

As he says himself, as a didactic poet, he has to serve two masters: *carmen* and *res* (1. 22). *Carmen* creates another difficulty: The overwhelming noise of the music of the spheres prevents him from writing, since under such circumstances you could hardly write prose, not to speak of poetry (1. 22–24). His 'hearing' the music of the spheres implies that he is very close to his object. Such an immediate relationship to the divine universe, combined with an awareness of treading virgin soil (an awareness reminiscent of Callimachus, Lucretius and the satirists) is a distinguishing mark of Manilius. In his own judgment he is different from the representatives of traditional

[1] W. Hübner 1984, 214–227.
[2] Kroll, Studien 198.

literature, who continue to derive their rivolets from Homer's stream (2. 1–149). Universe alone has the preference over myth, the authority of which he contests, while practically retaining the traditional stories as a code for human relationships. Face to face with the universe, the poet sings—not for the crowd, but in loneliness,[1] filling the stars with amazement and the universe with joy (2. 141–142: *sed caelo noscenda canam, mirantibus astris/et gaudente sui mundo per carmina vatis*, 'I shall sing it for the skies to hear, while the stars marvel and the firmament rejoices in the song of its bard'). By doing so he fulfills, as a poet, in a specific way, what, in his opinion, is the general destination of man, thus contributing personally to the self-knowledge of God.

Consequently the poetic form is not an otiose ornament, but it echoes Manilius' personal, almost religious relationship to his subject matter. In retrospect the 'disturbing' music of the spheres turns out to reflect ironically two facts: Manilius is overwhelmed by his subject, and this finds expression in the acoustic sphere, the specific dimension of poetry.

Our poet is moving on new territory—programmatically adapting the Ovidian *in nova* (Manil. 3. 1; Ov. *met.* 1. 1). Though not an heroic epic, his work is meant to convey *maiora*; in fact, in book 3, an invocation of the Muse (reminiscent of Apollonius' book 3 and of *Aeneid* 7) underscores the author's high claims. He wants to enlarge the compass of poetry. *Maiora* implies things more difficult, defying poetic adornment. High level teaching is matter-of-fact. Truth for advanced students looks technical, its language is straightforward.

Similarly Martial and Juvenal would renounce mythological epic to turn to human life in all its multiplicity and colorfulness. Manilius prepares this change in his last book. Menander as a mirror of life is one of his patron saints (5. 475). The 3rd book, however, still stays within the technical sphere and treats the most difficult part of his doctrine, which, at the same time, is the crucial one. Here the *voces propriae* are appropriate. Do such passages announce the 'new simplicity' of a Persius, whose language, however, is anything but easy to understand? Or do they herald the *De sublimitate* and its marriage of sublimity and simplicity?

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[1] The poet's loneliness under the stars (cf. Lucr. 1. 142) is intimately linked with Manilius' theme, thus gaining a new meaning. On the loneliness of the poet s. also Manil. 5. 334–338.

However, the announcement of simple speech is followed by lines as brilliant as 3. 54; 57; 63. The passage on the influence of the macrocosm on man is written with special care (3. 43–95). Book 5 will artfully embody the 'joy of the universe' in a cheerful garland of human characters. But even in the technical passages and their 'proper words' there is more poetry than we might expect. Lines full of precise information often gain an almost mathematical beauty (3. 290–293): *nam, per quod creverat astrum/Lanigeri stadia aut horas, tot Libra recedit;/occiduusque Aries spatium tempusque cadendi/quod tenet, in tantum Chelae consurgere perstant*, 'for in as many stades and hours the Ram's sign had risen, in so many does the Balance set, and the space and period of descension occupied by the Ram in setting are preserved by the Balance at its rising.' The antagonism between *verum* and *dulce*, *ornare* and *docere* seems to have been annulled.

Ideas II

Stoic influences are evident in the doctrine of sympathy of the 2nd proem, in the praise of man as the microcosm at the end of book 4, and throughout in the equation of God and *ratio*. Occasionally, *natura* may take the same meaning (e.g. 3. 47; cf. Ov. *met.* 1. 21 *deus et melior*... *natura*; cf. Spinoza's *deus sive natura*). The order in the world serves as a proof of God's existence. The macrocosm (*mundus*), too, is *deus* and now and then appears as an active subject (1. 11), as do the *fata* which, according to Manilius, govern the world (4. 14). In this respect the whole subject of Manilius' work, astrology, implies Stoicism. We should not belittle the contrast to Lucretius' Epicurean doctrine, which says that everything came into being by chance.[1]

Moreover, unlike the Epicureans, Manilius leaves no space for human freedom. No Prometheus can steal heavenly fire against the will of the cosmos (1. 26–37). Everything is a gift. God or the universe cannot be forced; he reveals himself when he deems the time ripe (1. 11–12; 40; 2. 115–136). When propounding these ideas with deep conviction Manilius struggles with the titanic figure of Lucretius

[1] 'A Stoic poetic answer to Lucretius': F. Boll, Studien über Claudius Ptolemäus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Astrologie, Leipzig 1894, 136, 3; 'a positive Anti-Lucretius': W. Hübner 1984, 236; only Manilius 1. 485–491 is explicit.

and, despite a perceptible difference of power, does not leave his readers unimpressed.

An advantage of this approach is an enhancement of divine sublimity and an elevated idea of man: God dwells in him through *ratio* and knows himself in man. Manilius' anthropological digressions are among the noblest pages of Latin literature (4. 387–407; 866–935); from man's upright posture[1] he derives a demand for intellectual effort, since a thorough exploration of the heavens requires a man's full engagement. (4. 407 *impendendus homo est, deus esse ut possit in ipso*, 'man must expend his very self before God can dwell in him'); thus he anticipates Seneca's (*nat. praef.*) praise of pure knowledge (Manil. 4. 368 *altius est acies animi mittenda sagacis*, 'the knowing mind's keen edge must cut more deeply').

It is true that his belief in predestination threatens to undermine all morality. Manilius knows this objection and contradicts it; in my opinion, without success (4. 108–117).

The 'universal' character of Manilius' work is not devoid of political overtones. He deliberately inserts 'Roman' excursuses into the *Astronomica*, whereas Cicero, in his turn, had introduced astronomy into his *De re publica*. Manilius gave his poem on the celestial globe to the Roman emperor, a *cosmocrator*, as a kind of poetic 'imperial orb'.[2]

Manilius' didactic methods can be called 'scientific' to some degree; in fact, he wants to convey τέχνη (*ars*) to his readers (3. 394),—not isolated facts or devices, but the intellectual mastery of a system. The author sticks to this purpose: first, he gives the basic elements, sketches the coordinates and takes a bird's eye's view of the whole. This serves, as it were, as a 'mental map',[3] in which the facts are entered successively in ever increasing refinement. As a result, the reader never lacks perspective and is constantly aware of the importance of coordinating and relating facts to each other; in fact, it is only the whole that determines the significance of an individual element.

Manilius' competence in astrology is limited, sometimes however superior to that of his editors.[4]

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[1] Cf. Ov. *met.* 1. 84–86; A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, AHAW 1960, 2.

[2] W. Hübner 1984, 235.

[3] P. Gould, Mental Maps, Boston 1986.

[4] Errors of Manilius: W. Hübner 1984, 147–148 with notes; errors of his editors: Hübner 1987.

Transmission

Our tradition is bad. G. P. Goold names 6 *codices primarii* and 26 *codices secundarii*. One of the most deplorable mistakes which all the manuscripts have in common is the lacuna after 5. 709. Its extent and possible content are disputed.

Our entire tradition is traced to the (lost) codex Spirensis (probably early 10th century), which Poggio brought to Italy. The following manuscripts are direct copies (and therefore precious despite their late dates): the Matritensis (M 31, Bibl. Nat. 3678, 15th century)[1] and the Londiniensis, which was recently discovered by M. Reeve (N; Bibl. Brit. Add. 22 808, 15th century).

The older manuscripts are derived from the same archetype (through a hyparchetype): Lipsiensis (L.; bibl. Univ. 1465, early 11th century), Gemblacensis (now Bruxellensis, Bibl. Reg. 10 012, 11th century) and Venetus (V; 11th century, burnt probably in 1687). Bentley knew readings of this manuscript through collations made by J. F. Gronovius (d. 1671); these were rediscovered in Leiden by M. Reeve. In this group the lines 4. 10–313 are misplaced (after 3. 399); and two lines (3. 188; 4. 731) and two half lines (5. 12–13) have been omitted.

Influence

Manilius never expected to find a large audience (2. 138). In antiquity he was not mentioned by name. Yet it is supposed that the *Astronomica* served as a textbook. His principal readers were Germanicus, the *Aetna*'s author, Lucan, and Juvenal. The two last-mentioned owed to him important stimuli for their renewal of the genres of epic and satire. The following sayings became household words: *nascentes morimur* (4. 16; CE 2, 1489 Bücheler) and *fata regunt orbem* (4. 14; cf. Iuv. 9. 32).[2]

In the 4th century Firmicus Maternus in his 8th book paraphrased Manilius' teachings on the *paranatellonta*. Unlike Aratus (i.e. Germanicus) Manilius is hardly known in the Middle Ages.

Poggio discovered our author in 1417. Although Ptolemaeus, Firmicus, and Arabic authors continued to be the main sources of astrology for European readers, the Renaissance was the heyday of

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[1] The beginning, which is lacking in the Matritensis, is found in the Urbinates 667 and 668, which were copied from it.

[2] Positive traces also in Nemesianus, Claudian, and Dracontius; those in Arnobius and Martianus Capella are less certain.

Manilius' influence. He was an alternative to Lucretius who had been discovered during the same period but whose philosophy was more 'dangerous'. Manilius immediately found poetic followers in L. Bonincontri and G. Pontano who, in their 'universal' approach to their subject, were his kindred spirits.[1] The great mathematician Regiomontanus was Manilius' first editor, later followed by eminent philologists (Scaliger, Bentley, Housman). Scaliger preferred Manilius to Ovid (*Ovidio suavitate par, maiestate superior*, 'equal to Ovid in his charm, superior in his majesty'),[2] Wilamowitz praised him as 'a poet, and a true poet'.[3] On September 2, 1784, Goethe wrote the following lines of Manilius (2. 115–116) in the album on Mount Brocken: *Quis caelum possit nisi caeli munere nosse,/ et reperire deum, nisi qui pars ipse deorum est?*, 'who could know heaven save by heaven's gift and discover God save one who shares himself in the divine?'. Poland's greatest poet, Mickiewicz (d. 1855), was also familiar with our author.[4] Half of the inscription on Franklin's bust is from Manilius (1. 104): *eripuit caelo fulmen, mox sceptra tyrannis*, 'he took away the lightning bolt from heaven, and then the scepters from the tyrants'.

Editions: Ioh. Regiomontanus (the famous mathematician and astronomer Johannes Müller from Königsberg) Nürnberg sine anno, probably 1473/74. * editio Bononiensis 1474 (anonymous). * L. Bonincontri, Rome 1484. * J. Scaliger, Parisiis 1579. * R. Bentley, London 1739 (published by his nephew). * A. E. Housman (TC), London 1903–1930 (repr.: 2 vols. 1972); ed. minor 1932. * J. van Wageningen, Lipsiae 1915. * J. Van Wageningen (C), Amsterdam 1921. * G. P. Goold (TTr), London 1977, corr. 1992. * G. P. Goold, Leipzig 1985. * W. Fels (TTrN), Stuttgart 1990. * *Book 1*: J. Merkel (Tr), Aschaffenburg 1844; 2nd ed. 1857. ** *Ind.*: Complete index of words in the edition by M. Fayus (Dufay) in usum Delphini, Paris 1679 and in: N. E. Lemaire, Poetae Latini minores. De re astronomica, Paris 1826. * M. Wacht, Hildesheim 1990. ** *Bibl.*: R. Helm, Nachaugusteische nichtchristliche Dichter. Manilius, Lustrum 1, 1956, 129–158. * W. Hübner 1984.

F. Boll, Sphaera. Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur

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[1] W. Hübner, Die Rezeption des astrologischen Lehrgedichts des Manilius in der italienischen Renaissance, in: R. Schmitz, F. Krafft, eds., Humanismus und Naturwissenschaften, Beiträge zur Humanismusforschung 6, Boppard 1980, 39–67.

[2] J. Scaliger, 3rd edition of Manilius, Argentorati 1655, *proleg.* 18.

[3] Letter of July 2, 1894, quoted by V. Stegemann in his introduction to F. Boll 1950, p. xvi.

[4] T. Sinko, Maniliusz i Mickiewicz, Eos 20, 1914, 165–169.

Geschichte der Sternbilder, Leipzig 1903 (repr. 1967). * F. Boll, Kleine Schriften zur Sternenkunde des Altertums, ed. by V. Stegemann, Leipzig 1950. * S. Costanza, Ci fu un sesto libro degli *Astronomica* di Manilio?, in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. Della Corte, 5 vols., vol. 3, Urbino 1987, 223–263. * P. Dams, Dichtungskritik bei nachaugusteischen Dichtern, diss. Marburg 1970, 15–37. * B. Effe, *Labor improbus*—ein Grundgedanke der *Georgica* in der Sicht des Manilius, Gymnasium 78, 1971, 393–399. * E. Flores, Contributi di filologia maniliana, Napoli 1966. * G. P. Goold, The Great Lacuna in Manilius, PACA 17, 1983, 64–68. * W. Hübner, Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike. Ihre Darstellung und Verwendung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Manilius, ZWG, suppl. 22, Wiesbaden 1982, esp. 453–634. * W. Hübner, Manilius als Astrologe und Dichter, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 126–320. * W. Hübner, Review of G. P. Goold's edition (s. above), Gnomon 59, 1987, 21–32. * W. Hübner, Grade und Gradbezirke der Tierkreiszeichen. Der anonyme Traktat *De stellis fixis*..., 2 vols., Stuttgart 1994. * F.-F. Lühr, Ratio und Fatum. Dichtung und Lehre bei Manilius, diss. Frankfurt 1969. * F. Paschoud, Deux études sur Manilius, in: G. Wirth, K.-H. Schwarte, J. Heinrichs, eds., Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit, FS J. Straub, Berlin 1982, 125–153. * A. Reeh, Interpretationen zu den *Astronomica* des Manilius mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der philosophischen Partien, diss. Marburg 1973. * M. D. Reeve, Some Astronomical Manuscripts, CQ 74, n.s. 30, 1980, 508–522, esp. 519–522. * E. Romano, Struttura degli *Astronomica* di Manilio, Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Palermo, classe di scienze morali e filologiche, memorie 2, Palermo 1979. * H. Rösch, Manilius und Lucrez, diss. Kiel 1911. * C. Salemme, Introduzione agli *Astronomica* di Manilio, Napoli 1983. * B. Soldati, La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento. Ricerche e studi, Firenze 1906. * H. Wempe, Die literarischen Beziehungen und das chronologische Verhältnis zwischen Germanicus und Manilius, RhM 84, 1935, 89–96. * G. Vallauri, Gli *Astronomica* di Manilio e le fonti ermetiche, RFIC 32, 1954, 133–167. * J. van Wageningen, Manilius, RE 14, 1928, 1115–1133. * A. M. Wilson, The Prologue to Manilius 1, in: PLLS 5, 1985, publ. 1986, 283–298.

GERMANICUS

Life and Dates

Germanicus Iulius Caesar was born on May 24, 15 B.C. His parents were Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia. He was a nephew of

Tiberius, and Augustus was his great-uncle. It was only after his father's death that he was given the *agnomen* of Germanicus. On Augustus' request Tiberius adopted him and Germanicus married Agrippina, a granddaughter of Augustus. Germanicus suppressed a riot in Pannonia (A.D. 7 and 8), participated in a campaign in Dalmatia (A.D. 9), and crowned his victories in Germany with a triumph (A.D. 17). He had been consul as early as A.D. 12. After a short stay in Rome he was ordered to go to the Orient; he died on October 10, A.D. 19, in Antioch under mysterious circumstances. His ashes were solemnly buried at Rome.

He was perhaps the most brilliant and popular prince of the Julio-Claudian family. Being an intelligent and educated man, he was equally admired for his military successes and for his oratorial and poetic gifts.[1] Of his poems (Plin. *nat.* 8. 155) his Latin adaptation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* has come down to us.[2]

His work was written after 14: Augustus has already been deified (558), and Germanicus uses Manilius. The addressee, therefore, is Tiberius or (if we take the emperor's divinity at face value) the immortalized Augustus, who, however, cannot be called 'father' (*pater*) by Germanicus. Since Germanicus in an edict sets great store by the fact that only Tiberius, not himself, is worthy of divine honors, it is a probable suggestion that Tiberius is the addressee of the *Phaenomena.*[3] Although Tiberius declined divine honors for himself, Germanicus had every reason to stress his own loyalty in such a way.

Survey of the Work

What we possess is a complete adaptation of Aratus: the proem is followed by a discussion of the constellations of the northern and southern sky, the circles of the sky, and the synchronisms of risings and settings. In addition we have fragments mostly referring to planets and weather signs; these are perhaps remains of or sketches for another work of Germanicus, not identical with the *Phaenomena.*

[1] Ov. *Pont.* 2. 5. 41–56; 4. 8. 65–78; *fast.* 1. 21–25; Tac. *ann.* 2. 83. 4.

[2] D. B. Gain's (edition, 17–19) plea for Tiberius' authorship is unconvincing; s. B. Baldwin, The Authorship of the Aratus Ascribed to Germanicus, QUCC 36 n.s. 7, 1981, 163–172.

[3] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, F. Zucker, eds., Zwei Edikte des Germanicus auf einem Papyrus des Berliner Museums, SPAW 1911, 794–821, esp. 796, line 27.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The body of the work (1–725) is a free adaptation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (first half of the 3rd century B.C.); unlike his predecessor Cicero (and the epigone Avienus) Germanicus corrects the Greek poet's information with the aid of Hipparchus' (mid-2nd century) commentary on Aratus or of material derived from it. He supplements his model from further books (e.g. on catasterims), without exceeding its dimensions. Of course he must have known astronomical globes and illustrations to Aratus. The unknown source of the fragments had supposedly been written in prose. Occasionally Manilius' influence is felt.[1] Germanicus diligently updated the *Phaenomena* both in form and content, thus replacing Cicero's version.

Literary Technique

In terms of literature Germanicus conformed to the high standards of post-Augustan time. He did not adhere slavishly to his model. New additions were some descriptions[2] and astral myths,[3] the invocation of Virgo Astraea (96–98) and the description of the zodiac (351–564). The proem exhibits substantial changes. The body of the poem consists of a larger number of self-contained sections, which are clearly kept separate from their context by means of ring composition and similar devices. On the whole the Latin text is more emotional and less graphic than its Greek model.

Language and Style

Language and meter follow the laws of Augustan poetry; however, direct imitation of Latin classics is relatively rare. This may be due to the nature of Germanicus' subject matter. An important advantage of his style is conciseness. Despite many additions his text is even slightly shorter than the original.

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[1] 387; 562 (Manil 1. 272); 71 (Manil. 5. 253); 184 (Manil. 5. 23).

[2] Ursa Maior 26–27; Cygnus 275–283; Orion 328–332; Argo 344–355; Corona Austrina 391 (first mentioned here).

[3] 70–72; 90–92; 157–173; 184–186; 235–236; 264; 275; 315–320; 363.

Ideas I and II

Germanicus is a teacher with heart and soul; he emphasizes the 'didactic' mode.

In agreement with the Stoics Germanicus regards the constellations as gods.[1] However, this idea is common knowledge in his time. Likewise his description of the Golden Age (103–119) develops the vulgate version—here deviating from Aratus (117–118).[2] Germanicus takes the stars seriously; *fides* and *iustitia* reign among them. He suppresses skeptical hints found in Aratus. His myths are rooted in a 'moral' view of the world.

Transmission

The broad transmission falls into two families (O and Z); O, which is divided into two branches, is lacunary, but it contains scholia. Z exhibits more corruptions; yet, it is not always inferior to O. In manuscripts of both classes there are illustrations, derived from illustrated manuscripts of Aratus; the best are found in the Leidensis (9th century).

Influence

Lactantius used Germanicus' work and even knew scholia on Germanicus; these were based on Aratus' commentators (ed. A. Breysig, Berlin 1867, 2nd ed. Lipsiae 1899). Priscian quoted one line and a half, which are not transmitted elsewhere (*frg.* 6). The Middle Ages learnt astronomy from Germanicus. In more recent times, no lesser a figure than Hugo Grotius (*Syntagma Arateorum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1600) at an age of 17 deserved especially well of our author.

Editions: Ugo Rugerius, Bononiae 1474. * A. Breysig (T with scholia), Berlin 1867; Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1899. * D. B. Gain (TTrC), London 1976. * A. Le Bœuffle (TTr), Paris 1975. ** *Complete ind.*: in the edition by A. Breysig 2nd ed., 62–92. ** *Bibl.*: A. Traglia; W. Hübner (s. below); D. B. Gain (s. editions).

L. Cicu, La data dei *Phaenomena* di Germanico, Maia 31, 1979, 139–144. * E. Courtney, Some Passages of the *Aratea* of Germanicus, CR 83 n.s. 19,

[1] 165; 180; 234; 440–441; 563; 601.

[2] E. Norden, Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie, Leipzig 1892 (= Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, suppl. 19), 427.

1969, 138–141. * A. E. Housman, The *Aratea* of Germanicus, CR 14, 1900, 26–39, repr. in: J. Diggle, F. R. D. Goodyear, eds., The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman, Cambridge 1972, 2, 495–515. * W. Hübner, Die Astrologie der Antike, Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 8, 1985, 7–24. * W. Kroll, Randbemerkungen, RhM n.s. 60, 1905, 555–557. * Id., Zu den Fragmenten des Germanicus, WKPh 35, 1918, 306–309. * A. Le Bœuffle, Notes critiques aux *Aratea* de Germanicus, RPh 47, 1973, 61–67. * A. Legner, ed., Sternenhimmel in Antike und Mittelalter, Köln 1987. * W. Ludwig, Anfang und Schluß der *Aratea* des Germanicus, Philologus 112, 1968, 217–221. * T. Mantero, *Aemulatio* ed espressività in alcuni *excursus* originali di Germanico, in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. Della Corte, vol. 3, Urbino 1987, 201–221. * G. Maurach, Aratos und Germanicus über den Schlangenträger, Gymnasium 84, 1977, 339–348. * Id., Aratus und Germanicus on Altar and Centaur, AClass 20, 1977, 121–139. * Id., Germanicus und sein Arat. Eine vergleichende Auslegung von V. 1–327 der *Phaenomena*, Heidelberg 1978. * W. Morel, Germanicus' *Aratea*, CR 57, 1943, 106–107. * C. Santini, Il segno e la tradizione in Germanico scrittore, Roma 1977. * P. Steinmetz, Germanicus, der römische Arat, Hermes 94, 1966, 450–482. * A. Thierfelder, Adnotationes in poetas Latinos minores. 2. In Germanicum, RhM n.s. 91, 1942, 209–216. * A. Traglia, Germanico e il suo poema astronomico, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 321–343. * L. Voit, Arat und Germanicus über Lyra, Engonasin und Kranz, WJA n.s. 10, 1984, 135–144. * Id., Kassiopeia bei Arat und Germanicus, in: W. Suerbaum, F. Maier, G. Thome, eds., FS F. Egermann, München 1985, 81–88. * Id., Die geteilte Welt. Zu Germanicus und den augusteischen Dichtern, Gymnasium 94, 1987, 498–524.

C. BUCOLIC

CALPURNIUS

Life and Dates

The pastoral poet Calpurnius lived under Nero.[1] We may doubt if his *cognomen* Siculus refers to his homeland or to the Sicilian Muse of Theocritus, whose declared follower he is. In his poems he hides himself under the mask of Corydon. This figure is excluded from the higher ranks of society and leads a wretched life; in the amphitheater, he has to sit on the highest ranks among the poor (7. 26–27; 79–82); he even runs the risk of being exiled to Spain, until his patron, Meliboeus, who has access to the imperial court, takes pity on him (4. 29–49). From Meliboeus Corydon now hopes to get a little house (4. 152–159). If Meliboeus is to be identified with Piso, Calpurnius could be the author of the *Laus Pisonis.*

The 1st Eclogue dates from late 54 or early 55. The accession to the throne of young Nero who, from the mother's side, was a descendant of the Julii (1. 45), is praised in this poem as the return of the Golden Age (cf. Sen. *apocol.* 4. The comet of A.D. 54 announces a new age (1. 77–88). Ideas from Nero's inaugural speech are echoed (1. 69–73; Tac. *ann.* 13. 4. 2–4; Cass. Dio 61. 3. 1). Our poet identifies the emperor—as Nero himself had done—with Apollo (4. 87; 159; 7. 84). For the seventh eclogue we have a *terminus post quem*: Corydon assists at the emperor's games in his wooden amphitheater,[2] which was built in 57.

Survey of the Work

1: The herdsmen Corydon and Ornytus discover a prophecy of Faunus, which has been engraved in a beach tree. It says that with the accession of

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[1] For his date: G. B. Townend, Calpurnius Siculus and the *munus Neronis*, JRS 70, 1980, 166–174; T. P. Wiseman, Calpurnius Siculus and the Claudian Civil War, JRS 72, 1982, 57–67; for a different date (under Severus Alexander): E. Champlin, History and the Date of Calpurnius Siculus, Philologus 130, 1986, 104–112.

[2] Calp. 7; cf. Suet. *Nero* 12. 1; Tac. *ann.* 13. 31. 1.; Aur. Vict. *epit.* 5. 3.

a new emperor a new age will begin. Corydon asks Meliboeus to let these lines get to the emperor's ears.

2: The gardener Astacus and the shepherd Idas, both hopelessly in love with Crocale, vie with each other in their songs. Alternately, each of them praises his profession and his love. At the end the umpire, Thyris, declares that both are equally good and urges them to behave peacefully.

3: Iollas, who is searching for a lost cow, meets Lycidas. The latter is distressed because his girl, in a fit of anger, has left him. Iollas advises him to take the first step towards reconciliation and engraves Iollas' song of apology upon a cherry-tree's bark. In the meantime Tityrus, who had been sent out, has found the cow: a good omen.

4: After an introductory dialogue with Meliboeus, there follows an amoebaean song: Corydon and his brother alternately praise the new Golden Age and its 'god'. Meliboeus, who has access to the palace, will recommend both the song and the poet to the emperor.

5: Old Micon teaches Canthus how to raise goats and sheep.

6: Astylus and Lycidas quarrel; Mnasyllus, as an umpire, vainly tries to soothe them.

7: Back from Rome, Corydon describes to Lycotas the games he has watched in the wooden amphitheater; unfortunately he saw the emperor only from afar.

Sources, Models, and Genres

In all probability the description of the wooden amphitheatre is based on personal experience.

As a pastoral poet Calpurnius follows Theocritus and, still more, Virgil, whom he declares to be a god (4. 70). The 1st poem, which contains a prophecy, is reminiscent of Virgil's 4th eclogue. Calpurnius' 4th idyll unites elements from Virgil's 1st, 4th and 5th eclogues: the poet's trial and rescue, an interpretation of the new Golden Age, amoebaean song, and apotheosis. Moreover, in a collection of seven poems, the fourth one forms the center. In the final piece (Calp. 7), the 'return from Rome' harks back to Virgil's 1st eclogue. In addition to such exchanges and overlappings of elements of Virgil's pastoral poetry, Calpurnius also develops features omitted in Virgil's *Eclogues*, such as the instructions how to raise goats and sheep (Calp. 5), a 'georgic' element (cf. Verg. *georg.* 3. 295–477), which however is linked to pastoral life. The sixth eclogue transposes the description of a deer from *Aeneid* 7 back into an idyllic context, where it is appropriate. In the 3rd idyll we find a love letter, again rooted in bucolic

song (cf. Theocr. 3; 11; 14; Verg. *ecl.* 2); finally in the last poem (Calp. 7) there is a description of the amphitheater and its games, seen, however, through a herdsman's eyes. Calpurnius, therefore, enlarges the bucolic genre, without, however, breaking up its limits. At every moment he is aware of the importance of *singing* herdsmen to the definition of his literary genre.

Literary technique

The book is a cycle of poems. Beginning, middle, and end of the collection are referred to the emperor (numbers 1; 4; and 7): The 2nd and penultimate poems have the character of an *agon* (2 and 6). The 3rd and 5th poems are didactic (love; cattle-raising). The longest poem occupies the center. The even numbers are dialogues throughout, the odd numbers contain longer monologues.

Calpurnius decorates the frame of each poem with special care. In a few strokes he is able to evoke a tangible situation. Eloquent details (e.g. writing on bark) enhance the credibility of the setting.

His character portrayal is rather subtle: the characters of the 2nd eclogue may be described in terms of *ethos*, those of the sixth in terms of *pathos*. The poet does not conceal that the gentle and noble emotions are more congenial to him. Corydon's relative simplicity is winning, if sometimes obscured by a client's calculating mind. We may believe him that he held Virgil in high veneration; his delicacy of feeling and his graceful style bear witness to this. The realism of the last two poems forms a lively contrast to the delicate pastel shades which dominate elsewhere.

Language and Style

Calpurnius' language is carefully chosen, but not excessively affected. Virgil as his model exerts a beneficial influence on him in matters of taste. His use of maxims is sparing (e.g. *mobilior ventis, o femina*, 'o woman, more inconstant than the wind' 3. 10). Rhetoric is not everywhere as pervasive as in the following hyperbole: *te sine . . . mihi lilia nigra videntur*, 'without you, lilies seem black to me' (3. 51). To the tradition of pastoral poetry Calpurnius contributed an element of gentleness and sweetness which influenced poetry far into the modern age.

Calpurnius' handling of meter[1] is careful: Calpurnius respects the long quantity of final *-o*; elision is limited to short vowels and (almost exclusively) to the first foot of the line (there is a total of no more than eleven elisions in 758 hexameters).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Our poet's self-portrayal is less unobtrusive than Virgil's and Horace's. The poor client Calpurnius, who is in need of protection, heralds the 'beggar poet', Martial.

In the 4th poem the apotheosis of Virgil (4. 70) precedes that of the emperor (84–146). Virgil appears as a new Orpheus (4. 64–69). Corydon's intention to play an instrument previously used by Tityrus (4. 58–63) implies high claims. Our poet self-critically remarks: *magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras*, 'you aim high, Corydon, if you strive to be Tityrus' (4. 64). Moreover, Calpurnius is aware of different stylistic levels within Virgil's eclogues: eclogues on emperors should not have so tender a sound as Virgil's poem to Alexis (*ecl.* 2); they should rather conform to Virgil's 4th eclogue. Undeniably, Calpurnius has a keen sense of style.

Ideas II

Typical of Calpurnius is a benevolent humanity reminiscent of Menander: in the 2nd eclogue the umpire advises the two singers to consider their competition a mere play and not to use valuable objects as stakes. He declares that both are equally good and urges them to behave peaceably. The 3rd poem recommends chivalrous conduct and Lycidas is ready to express his compunction as a first step towards reconciliation (3. 36–41). In the penultimate eclogue, however, there is no compromise possible and the honorable umpire resigns.

As for the portrayal of the emperor, the 1st eclogue emphasizes his love for peace and clemency (1. 54 and 59; cf. Seneca's *De clementia*). His play on the name of Augustus (1. 94) reflects the same idea. The central poem (Calp. 4) associates the emperor's name with those of

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[1] Cf. also J. M. Baños, La punctuación bucólica y el género literario: Calpurnio y las *Églogas* de Virgilio, Emerita 54, 1986, 338–344.

Apollo and Jupiter (7. 84), the last poem identifies Nero with Mars and Apollo (7. 84). The distance between himself and his 'god', which Corydon had hoped to bridge with the help of Meliboeus, remains unaltered at the end of the collection (7. 79–84). As Virgil had done in the 1st eclogue, Calpurnius intimates here that the new regime is far from having solved all problems. Corydon is as poor as he had been, and persons clothed cheaply have no access to the emperor.

Transmission

All our manuscripts have the same lacunae (after 4. 116 and 152); this means that they originate from a common archetype. The better tradition is found in the first class, represented by the Neapolitanus V A 8 (N; early 15th century) and the Gaddianus Laurentianus plut. 90. 12 inf. (g; early 15th century). The second class (V) consists of *deteriores*; for 1. 1–4. 12 the Parisinus 80. 49 is valuable (P; 11th or 12th century). It was left to M. HAUPT to separate Nemesianus' eclogues from those of Calpurnius.[1]

Influence

Calpurnius influenced many authors: Nemesianus (last quarter of the 3rd century), Modoinus, bishop of Autun (Carolingian epoch), Marcus Valerius (12th century), Petrarch (14th century), Ronsard (16th century). Calpurnius inspired Sanazaros' (d. 1530) *Arcadia* and Guarini's (d. 1612) *Pastor fido* as well as the works of neo-Latin poets.[2] Fontenelle (d. 1757) preferred Calpurnius' 1st eclogue to Virgil's 4th eclogue (*Discours sur la nature de l'églogue*). Gessner (d. 1788) imitated Calpurnius' 2nd and the 5th poem in his *Lycas und Milon* and his *Tityrus, Menalcas.*

Editions: ANDREAS, Bishop of ALERIA (together with Silius Italicus), Romae apud C. SWEYNHEIM et A. PANNARTZ 1471. * H. SCHENKL, Calpurnii et Nemesiani *Bucolica*, Leipzig 1885, new edition in: J. P. POSTGATE, Corpus Poetarum Latinorum, vol. 2, London 1905. * C. H. KEENE (TC, together with Nemesianus), London 1887, repr. 1969. * J. W. DUFF and A. M. DUFF, in: Minor Latin Poets, 2 vols., London 1934, rev. 1935, 209–285. * D. KORZENIEWSKI (TTrN, together with the *Carmina Einsidlensia*), Hirtenge-

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[1] M. HAUPT, De carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani, Berlin 1854 (= Opuscula 1, Leipzig 1875, 358–406).

[2] W. P. MUSTARD, Later Echoes of Calpurnius and Nemesianus, AJPh 37, 1916, 73–83.

dichte aus Neronischer Zeit, Darmstadt 1971. * J. AMAT (TTr), Paris 1991. * *ecl. 4*: B. SCHRÖDER (C), s. below. ** *Ind.*: Complete ind. in the edition by Schenkl. ** *Bibl.*: R. VERDIÈRE, Le genre bucolique à l'époque de Néron: Les *Bucolica* de T. CALPURNIUS Siculus et les *Carmina Einsidlensia*. Etat de la question et prospectives, ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1845–1924.

G. BINDER, in: B. EFFE, G. BINDER, Die antike Bukolik, München 1989, 112–130. * A. T. FEAR, *Laus Neronis*. The Seventh Eclogue of Calpurnius Siculus, Prometheus 20, 1994, 269–277. * W. FRIEDRICH, Nachahmung und eigene Gestaltung in der bukolischen Dichtung des T. Calpurnius Siculus, diss. Frankfurt 1976. * D. KORZENIEWSKI (s. editions; with further bibl.). * J. KÜPPERS, Die Faunus-Prophezeiung in der ersten Ekloge des Calpurnius Siculus, Hermes 113, 1985, 340–361. * C. MESSINA, T. Calpurnio Siculo, Padova 1975. * G. SCHEDA, Studien zur bukolischen Dichtung der neronischen Epoche, diss. Bonn 1969. * B. SCHRÖDER, *Carmina non quae nemorale resultent*. Ein Kommentar zur 4. Ekloge des Calpurnius, Frankfurt 1991 (bibl.). * G. SORACI, Echi virgiliani in Calpurnio Siculo, in: Atti del Convegno di Studi virgiliani, Pescara (1981) 1982, vol. 2, 114–118.

Appendix: The *Carmina Einsidlensia*

The two anonymous pastoral poems from codex 266 of the monastery of Einsiedeln (10th century) were in all probability written after the burning of Rome (A.D. 64), supposedly by two different authors. The praise of Nero is overdone. No wonder that some scholars thought of parody (wrongly but not unjustly).

Editions: H. HAGEN, Philologus 28, 1869, 338–341 (ed. princeps). * S. LÖSCH, Die *Einsiedler Gedichte*, diss. Tübingen 1909. * D. KORZENIEWSKI (TTr, bibl.), s. Calpurnius. ** *Bibl.*: s. Calpurnius.

G. BINDER (s. Calpurnius) 130–143. * W. SCHMID, Panegyrik und Bukolik in der neronischen Epoche. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der *Carmina Einsidlensia*, BJ 153, 1953, 63–96.

D. DRAMA

SENECA

S. chapter III C, pp. 1158–1204

E. FABLE

LATIN AESOPIC FABLES IN VERSE

Fable[1] is an old popular genre. Its vehicle is prose. Entire collections of fables in verse are not known before Phaedrus.[2]

Theon (*progymn.* 3) defines fable as λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν. In this broad sense (μῦθος, *fabula*) it becomes possible to speak even of the *fabula* of a tragedy.

In a narrower sense a fable is a short narrative of an action conveying some lesson in worldly wisdom. Lessing's definition runs as follows: 'If we reduce a general moral truth to a special case, and embody this case, as if it were real, in a story, in which a spectator may recognize that general truth, this sort of fiction is called a fable.'[3] This is a pertinent description; however, even in his own fables, Lessing runs the risk of overvaluing moral standards. The worldly wisdom of fables is mostly down-to-earth. In early times fables were invented in specific situations (Aristot. *rhet.* 20; 1393 a 22–1394 b 18; on this crucial passage s. Literary Technique).

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[1] *Fabula* means 'tale'. In Greek it is called αἶνος, μῦθος, λόγος; the term ἀπόλογος does not appear before Latin literature.

[2] The Greek poet Babrius wrote his fables after Phaedrus; but Babrius influenced Avianus, who lived in a later epoch.

[3] *Abhandlung über die Fabel* 1759, § 1, at the end. According to this moral perspective, in Lessing's fable, the fox, by flattering the raven, obtains a poisoned morsel and dies ('I wish you would always get only poison for your flatteries, damned wheedlers!'). Lessing underestimates the sober realism of fable.

Greek Background

Fables are attested in the Orient long before the Greek period; as a popular form they are liable to come up spontaneously again and again; Homer does not use them.

In the first phase of their development as a literary form fables occur sporadically in varying literary contexts. Beginning with Hesiod, who understands the peasant's mind, fables appear in poetry.[1] The legendary slave Aesopus is a figure embodying popular wisdom; the tradition of fable was attached to him. The increasing popularity of fables in Greek literature may be owing to the rising social importance of peasants and citizens in Greece; yet, fable is limited to certain types of text (the Attic orators, for instance, eschew it).

There is a special affinity of fables to genres adopting popular features, such as *iambus*, comedy, and diatribe, to which Rome added satire. The witty, jeering character of many fables is indicative of influences from Greek iambographers. Occasionally an impact of cynic philosophy is felt.[2] Their graphic vividness makes fables a fruitful means of teaching: The rhetorical *progymnasmata* (Theon, probably 1st–2nd century A.D.), included exercises such as enlarging a fable, condensing it or moulding it into a dialogue.

A second historical phase gave rise to collections of fables in prose, beginning with the Αἰσώπεια of Demetrius of Phaleron; his work went lost in the 10th century A.D. Supposedly there had been Latin prose adaptations of this collection. The papyrus Rylands 493 (around A.D. 100–150) contains fables, perhaps from Demetrius' collection; there, *promythia* define the cases to which the fable applies, while *epimythia* verbalize the resulting general truth.

The largest surviving collection of Egyptian fables in prose, the *Recensio Augustana*, might ultimately be traced to the early 2nd century A.D.[3] It contains over 230 fables (codex Monacensis 564).

The third stage of fable's history begins with Phaedrus. Now, for the first time, the book of fables gains the literary form of a *collection of poems*. At a proper distance there follow a Greek, Babrius, and a Latin versifier, Avian.

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[1] Fable in literature: Hes. *op.* 202–212; Archil. *frgg.* 48; 81–83; 89–96 Diehl; Semonides of Amorgos 8; 11; Aeschyl. *frg.* 231 Mette; *Ag.* 716; Aristoph. *av.* 474; *vesp.*, 566; 1401–1402; 1427–1428; 1435–1436; Herodot. 1. 141. 1; Plat. *Alc.* 1. 123 a; Xen. *mem.* 2. 7. 13; Callim. (polemic) *frgg.* 192; 194 Pfeiffer.

[2] Phaedr. 4. 21; 4. 12; perhaps also 3. 3; 4; 7; 15; 17.

[3] For a later date (4th century) s. the note after the next.

Roman Development

Ennius put into verse the fable of the crested lark (*sat.* 21, p. 207 V.), Lucilius that of the lion's den (980–989 M. = 1074–1083 Kr.), Horace that of the town mouse and the country mouse (*sat.* 2. 6. 79; cf. also *epist.* 1. 1. 73; 1. 3. 18); Livy has Menenius Agrippa tell the famous story of the limbs' riot against the stomach (2. 32. 9; cf. Aes. 130). All these are isolated fables, inserted into texts of other literary genres.

Phaedrus' independent collection of versified fables set a new trend.[1] The existence of lost prosaic rudiments (an *Aesopus Latinus*) is controversial. It may be taken for certain that Phaedrus and Babrius used older material. The fable collection called 'Augustana' dates from the 4th century at the latest;[2] it may, however, in some cases be a correct reproduction of the model also used by a versificator. It is open to question if Phaedrus and Babrius had the same source or different sources. Sometimes both unanimously differ from the vulgate known to us from elsewhere. This proves that there were more sources than those known to us.

Literary Technique

Fables, while talking of animals, mean men; hence, there are links between fable and allegory. The use of the term 'fox' for a shrewd man, for instance, may be understood as a 'metaphor, maintained throughout the text'—that is, according to classical theory, an allegory. By transposing the action into a foreign and lower milieu, the author renders his message acceptable to the reader and avoids offending him. A rhetorical analysis, as advanced by Aristotle, permits a more profound understanding of the texts:

According to Aristotle,[3] fables combine παράδειγμα and ἐνθύμημα: the narrative (which forms the body of the fable) serves as an 'example', whereas an 'enthymeme' is placed either at the beginning (as a promythion) or, better, at the end (as an epimythion) to unfold the 'lesson' (the *fabula docet*). In practice the poets show their mastery by relating and connecting these two different elements in various ways: the lesson need not always be verbalized expressly outside the

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[1] In his classes of rhetoric Quintilian had his students put versified fables into prose (*inst.* 1. 9. 2).

[2] F. R. Adrados, Gnomon 42, 1970, 46–47 with bibl.

[3] Aristot. *rhet.* 20; 1393 a 22–1394 a 18.

narrative; it may also be contained in a speech of one of the characters.[1] Sometimes the very choice of the protagonist suffices to evoke in the reader's mind remembrances allowing the author to dispense with an epimythion. In Phaedrus, promythia and epimythia are internally linked to the narrative: they offer reference points for the development of the action.

The composition of fables is too manifold to be reduced to mechanical formulas. *Brevitas* is an important principle, all the more so since, in rhetorical theory, it is a traditional constituent of *narratio*. Phaedrus, therefore, aims especially at unifying his action and avoiding unnecessary delay. He confines descriptive detail to what is absolutely necessary:[2] everything is subordinated to the exposition of a given moral conflict, thus immediately preparing the epimythion. The individual fables are not lacking in composition; each of them forms a composite unit. Complex form reflects a complex content.[3] Brevity is enhanced by the use of animal names: the very word 'fox' directs the reader's expectations concerning the role of the figure in question. What is more, in a given fable the specific assortment of animal names predetermines the plot and establishes the framework for its reception.

Consistency of characters is typical of classical fable; hence, its preference for animals with their fixed patterns of behavior. Along with animals, of course, there are other possible actors: well defined types of men, plants, or even lifeless objects.

Neighboring types of texts influencing fable are e.g. Aitia (Aristoph. *av.* 471; Platon *Phaed.* 60 b), short stories, farces, satires, anecdotes, parodies (cf. the *War of Frogs and Mice*), mythological tales on animals; typical literary sub-species are the 'flytings' of animals (Phaedr. 4. 24) or plants (Babr. 64).[4]

Language and Style

In fable language and style serve to elaborate moral conflicts (s. Phaedrus). Ellipsis and brevity help accelerate the speed of the narrative.

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[1] Phaedr. 1. 26; 4, 18; E. Perry 1940, 401.

[2] Lessing pilloried some of Phaedrus' blunders (in: *Abhandlungen über die Fabel. IV*), e.g. the grotesque idea of the 'swimming' dog whose image is reflected in the churned-up water, which is anything but mirror-like.

[3] F. R. Adrados, Gnomon 42, 1970, 45.

[4] E. Leibfried 1967, 27–33.

Animal names form a linguistic code, which is to be deciphered physiognomically. Phaedrus highlights the construct and privileges his point by evidencing his point by means of abstract nouns such as: *corvi deceptus stupor* (s. Phaedrus). His treatment of language reveals a tension between the surface structure of the narrative and the deep structure of the moral ideas. Hence the simultaneous presence of 'two tonalities' in Phaedrus' fables.

Another variety of brevity is aphorism. Fable shows a preference for play upon words and the use of proverbs.[1]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

According to Phaedrus (3 *prol.* 33–37) the genre of fable was invented because the *servitus obnoxia* dared not speak its mind.[2] In an epoch of general slavery such as the imperial period fable gained a new function. Social conditions had already contributed to the genesis of the early fable attested in Hesiod as well as to the invention of the figure of Aesopus who allegedly was a slave. Nevertheless, society does not explain everything. Phaedrus knows another aspect which does not contradict the above explanation but slightly qualifies it: fable is meant to procure both 'pleasure' and 'instruction'; it raises laughter (*risum movet*) and gives advice (*consilio monet*; Phaedr. 1, *prol.* 2–3).

Ideas II

As a deeply concerned observer of Roman life, Phaedrus put the stamp of his personality on the genre of fable. By transposing human relationships into the exotic realm of animals he defamiliarized our world and revealed its immorality. Phaedrus is a defender of morals; but he is also aware of man's powerlessness in face of the triumph of evil.

In Phaedrus two conflicts cross: one of them is between physical strength and weakness, the other between moral superiority and and inferiority. Often, though not always, physical strength is combined with moral failure. The individual fable can be centered on a figure

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[1] B. E. Perry 1959, 25.

[2] Cf. Phaedr. 4. 1; 1. 30. 1; 3 *epil.* 34; 2. 6. 1.

which is morally superior; the negative side can be represented even by two figures.

In accordance with the aim of fable, psychology remains rather abstract: the characters of animals do not show individual features but impersonate a determined force in a conflict; such a 'black-and-white' technique hardly admits subtler shades.

Several Roman features conspire in Latin verse fable: a keen eye for human relationships and social life, a sense of power, and a delight in embodying psychological insights both in brief maxims and graphical allegories.

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PHAEDRUS

Life and Dates

Phaedrus was born in Pieria, the country of the Muses—if 3 *prol.* 17 is to be taken literally; he enjoyed, however, a Latin education (cf. the quotation from Ennius, *epil.* 34). The heading of his collection of fables shows that he was one of Augustus' or Tiberius' freedmen. He was active as an author under Tiberius and his successors.

The first two books of fables were written under Tiberius; in the 3rd book our poet asks one Eutyches for help (*prol.* 2), perhaps indentical with the charioteer influential under Caligula (around 40). An aging Phaedrus added successively a 4th and a 5th book.

The considerable differences in size among the books suggests that what we read is only an extract. Therefore we can dispense here with a structural analysis of the work.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Aesopic fable[1] is a popular genre; traditionally it is written in prose. Before Phaedrus, individual fables in verse had been incorporated into texts of other genres. However, he was the first to publish an entire collection of versified fables.

His main source was probably a collection of fables written in Latin prose; in late antiquity, the editor of the 'Romulus' collection would use similar material and, in addition, a text of Phaedrus which was more complete than ours.

In his 1st book Phaedrus declares that he totally depends on Aesopus (1 *prol.* 1), later on he becomes more and more independent. The moral sermons of Cynic philosophers offered further material;[2] even personal observation (5. 7) and invention (4. 11) cannot be excluded. He perspicaciously predicted that readers would ascribe his successful poems to Aesopus and the less attractive ones to himself (4. 21. 3–5). He personally ascribed 'invention' (*invenire*) to his Greek source, 'perfection' (*perficere*) to himself (4. 21. 8). In the prologue to his last book he used Aesop's name only as a 'trade-mark' (3 *auctoritatis . . . gratia*): his new ware would sell better under a venerable name.

Literary Technique

Each book of fables has a personal prologue and an epilogue; and the poet does not hesitate to speak of himself even on other occasions (3. 10; 4. 2; 5. 21; 25).

Phaedrus clearly verbalizes the lesson of each fable at its end (in an epimythion) or at its beginning (in a promythion). These passages

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[1] S. the relevant chapter, above pp. 996–1002.

[2] 3. 15; 4. 12; 15–16; 20; 5. 8; *appendix* 2; 5.

were often deemed disturbing, inconvenient or self-contradictory. Yet these are questions of taste. If a fable (e.g. 4. 11) admits several—even contradictory—interpretations this is a feature it has in common with life. The authenticity of some of the explanatory passages has been doubted, justly, as far as the two last lines of 1. 13 are concerned.

In most of his fables Phaedrus adheres to the principle of brevity, which is a part of the genre's basics (cf. 1. 10. 3). However, he is perfectly able to construct longer narratives; the more ample texts usually show him stating his case.

Language and Style

Phaedrus' language shuns rhetoric; on the whole he conforms to the ideal of a simple and clear style which is appropriate to fables. One should neither deny nor overemphasize the presence of vulgar elements. A calculated *variatio* of synonyms makes his style both colorful and elegant.[1] Phaedrus' use of abstract nouns gives evidence of his mastery, an example is the key role of *stupor* in the following sentence: *tum demum ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor*, 'then finally the raven's beguiled stupidity groaned' (1. 13. 12). The same is true of personifications (e.g. *Religio* 4. 11. 4).

Phaedrus' senarii are reminiscent of old Latin drama, much unlike the trimeters of the Augustans or of Phaedrus' contemporaries. This lends to his fables a somewhat old-fashioned and slightly popular touch. However, he follows his own laws, once he established them, with rigor.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Phaedrus often mentions his own *brevitas* (2 *prol.* 12; 3 *epil.* 8; 4 *epil.* 7). In 3. 10. 59–60 he averts the reproach of exceeding succinctness. On the other hand, there is evidence for the relativity of *brevitas*: Phaedrus announces he will speak *breviter* and then goes on for 60 lines (3. 10. 2).

The public addressed by Phaedrus is educated and demanding in matters of literary taste (*illiteratum plausum nec desidero*, 'I do not long

[1] M. Massaro 1979.

for the applause of uneducated people' 4 *prol.* 20, cf. also *epil.* 12 *aures cultas*). This fact deserves to be mentioned, since scholars sometimes are inclined to underrate 'school authors' in this respect. Knowing that he enriched Roman literature with a new genre (cf. already 2 *epil.*; 4 *prol.*) he promises immortality to himself and to his patrons (4 *epil.*). He is justly proud of having given the genre of fable a Roman and modern content: *usus vetusto genere, sed rebus novis*, 'I used an old genre but new subject matter' (4 *prol.* 13). Parodying a line of Euripides he administers to a nagging critic a proper snub (4. 7). Phaedrus assigns to his book of fables the double function of drawing a laugh and teaching worldly wisdom (1 *prol.* 3–4).

Ideas II

In his preface our poet is compelled to ward off *calumniatores*. Hence he must insist on his stories being mere fiction. Actually, however, he does not confine himself to conveying to his readers practical wisdom of early Greek or Stoic and Cynic provenance. Rather, he is aware of the social background of fables: slaves who dared not speak their mind overtly did so indirectly by means of invented stories. Evidently Sejanus had taken personal offense at his remarks; so Phaedrus had to stress that he did not mean individual persons, but *vita* and *mores* in general (3 *prol.* 33–50). Be that as it may, it is significant enough that in an epoch of general servility Aesopic fable was raised to the rank of literature.

Tradition

The basis of our text is the Pithoeanus (P; 9th century), which was used by the first editor P. Pithou (today found in the Pierpont Morgan Library). A similar manuscript, the Remensis (R; 9th–10th century) was burnt in 1774. Fables 1. 11–13 and 17–21 are also contained in the scheda Danielis (Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 1616; D; 9th–10th century), which derives from another branch of tradition. The Latin of D is (suspiciously) correct, that of PR exhibits some vulgar features. From Perotti's epitome (cf. Influence), which was published in the early 19th century, 30 new fables of Phaedrus could be retrieved (the 'Appendix'). In addition, we have 30 fables in medieval prose paraphrases, the reliability of which is evinced from the fables already known to us.[1]

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[1] C. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus vel Phaedri fabulae novae XXX*, Lund 1921. On the

Influence

Seneca (*dial.* 11. 8. 3) and Quintilian (*inst.* 1. 9. 2) did not know Phaedrus or ignored him, perhaps for caste-feeling. Martial, however, mentioned *improbus Phaedrus* by name (3. 20. 5) and referred to his jokes. About 400, Avianus wrote fables in eligiac distichs and mentioned Phaedrus' five books in his dedication to Theodosius. In late antiquity, a corpus of fables in prose was composed from Phaedrus, a Latin Aesopus independent of him, and pieces from Pseudo-Dositheus. Since the text of Phaedrus used by the editor was more complete than ours, we can retrieve from this collection more than 20 additional fables of Phaedrus, unfortunately devoid of their metrical form. This so-called Romulus Corpus furnished the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and modern times with a rich supply of fables, though without Phaedrus' name. In the Middle Ages the Anonymus Neveleti (perhaps Walther, chaplain to King Henry II) translated 'Romulus' into English distichs. Niccolò Perotti (d. 1480) used the original text of Phaedrus; the 1st edition, however, had to wait until 1596 (P. Pithou). Luther wrote his fables in prose, and Lessing severely attacked Phaedrus' poetic fables. Yet, the great masters La Fontaine (d. 1695) and Krylov (d. 1844) brilliantly justified his principle of poetic development.

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F. SATURA

PERSIUS

Life and Dates

Aules Persius Flaccus (A.D. 34–62)[1] was born at Volaterrae in Etruria; at the age of six he lost his father, a Roman knight of noble Etruscan descent. His stepfather died prematurely, too, and Persius grew up with his mother, his aunt, and his sister, to all of whom he would hold a lifelong affection. When he was twelve years old, he came to Rome to study with the famous *grammaticus* Remmius Palaemon and the *rhetor* Verginius Flavus. At the age of sixteen he became a disciple of the Stoic philosopher Annaeus Cornutus, who deeply influenced his intellectual development. Paetus Thrasea was another friend, who took a fatherly interest in him. Other members of his illustrious circle of friends and readers were the poet Caesius Bassus, who was much older than he, Calpurnius Statura, the orator Servilius Nonianus, and the scholars Claudius Agathinus and Patronius Aristocrates. With Seneca, the courtier among philosophers, there was no deeper relationship. But Seneca's nephew, the young poet Lucan, sincerely admired Persius. Persius died of a gastric ailment at the early age of 28. Cornutus and Caesius Bassus took care of the publication of the unachieved satires. They suppressed the juvenilia, among which was a praetexta. In all probability the sequence of the satires in the book does not reflect the chronology of their genesis.[2] They are written in hexameters; a short choliambic poem was supposely intended to serve as an introduction.

Survey of Works

Proem: Persius is not an inspired poet coming from the Hippocrene, but a *semipaganus* ('half-poet' or 'half-peasant'). What he brings is his personal, 'home-

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[1] *Vita* from Valerius Probus' commentary; in the present chapter the author is greatly indebted to W. Kissel's competent advice.

[2] Misleading: F. Ballotto, Cronologia ed evoluzione spirituale nelle satire di Persio, Messina 1964.

made' production (*carmen* ... *nostrum*). He shuns both 'high' poetry alien to life and insincere clients' poetry.

1: Persius keeps his distance to effeminate fashionable poetry and declares himself a follower of the great Roman satirists and of Old Comedy.

2: The gods are not corruptible by gifts, they regard the worshiper's heart.

3: Overcome your inner inertia and devote yourself to philosophy! This is the true path to mental health.

4: Would-be politicians, unacquainted with politics and leading a dissolute life, should know themselves.

5: Persius gives thanks to Cornutus, his teacher. Only the sage is free.

6: Use your riches, instead of hoarding them up for your heirs.

Satires 5 and 1 are the longest. The 6th satire is unfinished. Cornutus suppressed some lines at the end for the sake of congruity.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Persius' direct philosophical source is his teacher Cornutus, who imparted to him the knowledge he needed, and, what is more, educated him by setting a good example himself. Rather than a mere preacher of Stoicism (5. 64), Cornutus was a witness to the Stoic doctrine saying that only the sage is free (*sat.* 5): behind this Socratic teacher (cf. 5. 37) there is the true sage, Socrates, who gave his life for truth's sake (*sat.* 4). The same Socrates is reflected in Platonic dialogue; in fact, Persius (*sat.* 4) refers to the Pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades I.*

This leads us from his sources to his models. There is a genuine Socratic touch to the principle of dialogue in the *Satires.* Persius' paradigms are Plato's dialogues and the diatribe in the Stoic and Cynic vein, the impact of which, both in form and content, is even more conspicuous in Persius than it was in Horace. Moreover, Persius was presumably influenced by the Mime. Persius himself refers to Old Athenian Comedy as an authority for his social criticism (1. 123–124), but instead of referring to contemporary politics he strives for statements that are universally valid.

Roman satire, of course, provided a significant literary background for his poetry with Lucilius (Pers. 1. 114–115; *vita Pers.* 10) as its founder, and Horace as our poet's classical predecessor. Though naming Lucilius as a source of inspiration, Persius does not imitate his attacks on living persons. As a master, Horace is more important for him. In theory Horace had not defined satire as poetry, while in practice he raised it to a special type of poetry, in which words had

to meet higher requirements of truthfulness. The same may be said of Persius, who painted his vivid pictures against the fashionable mythological poetry which lacked intrinsic truth. Instead of praising donors of money, our poet praised Cornutus, who gave him food for thought.

In detail there are numerous borrowings from Horace, some of them programmatic (5. 14; cf. Hor. *ars* 47–48), and most of them skilfully altered. In the 6th satire there is an especial abundance of Horatian reminiscences (Pers. 6. 65 *fuge quaerere*; cf. Hor. *carm.* 1. 9. 13; Pers. 6. 76 *ne sit praestantior alter*, cf. Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 40). Yet, Persius' laughter—if laughter there is—bears no resemblance to the relaxed smile of Horace.

Literary Technique

Persius conceives his satires as conversations—or as a 'collage' of bits and ends of a conversation ('condensed scenes'). However, the changes of speakers, for us, often remain open to discussion; moreover, the speakers do not assume the form of palpable characters. Dialogue often abruptly shifts to didactic discourse. Persius aims at producing the effect of casual everyday talk. The disposition of the whole is not supposed to become all too visible. Yet by returning at the end to his initial idea, Persius somehow gets full circle (*sat.* 1; 2; 3).

At first sight each satire falls into disparate parts; on closer inspection we realize, however, that the details are grouped around central themes (cf. above, Survey of the Work) and guiding metaphors.[1] Rarely does Persius expressly announce his central themes; he expects his readers to synthesize them from the accumulated details. Nor is there any systematic development of thought. Persius confirms his statements only by examples, without deducing them systematically.

Rhetorical devices—such as different types of repetition—help to bring home the lesson. Again and again Persius succeeds in immediately involving his reader: 'Time passes—even now, while I am talking' (5. 153; cf. Hor. *carm.* 1. 11. 7–8). Furthermore, frequent changes of speakers and scenes and an extremely picturesque style are meant to give an intellectual stimulus to the listener's mind. The same applies to our author's technique of quoting: Persius slightly changes his

[1] E.g. death (*sat.* 3), homosexuality (*sat.* 4), land and sea (*sat.* 6).

predecessor's wording, presupposing, however, that his reader remembers the original context (cf. 1. 116 with Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 69–70). All this proves that he is addressing an educated public with an alert mind. Persius' literary technique is based on interaction with his readers; however, by not conforming to their expectations, he spurs their intellectual activity to the utmost. It is up to the reader to 'realize' fully each satire as a unity and, if possible, to proceed from words to thought and action.

Language and Style

Persius cherishes the *genus tenue*: 'Let him, who wants to talk big, go and collect fog on Mount Helicon' (5. 7). Striving for absolute honesty, Persius tries to conform his words to his subject matter. In Lucan's[1] judgment, Persius' works have poetic quality. In this respect, poems can be tested like walls. Just knock at them and you will hear if they sound hollow (cf. *sat.* 5. 24–25). In Persius words keep their good and full meaning or they regain it. Words unfamiliar to us often come from everyday language (*verbae togae* 5. 14): our author's vocabulary is difficult only for modern readers, not for his contemporaries.[2] Yet his artificial composition had an unusual ring even to Roman ears. In fact, Persius yokes together his everyday words to form unexpected combinations: *verbae togae sequeris, iunctura callidus acri,/ ore teres modico*, 'you follow the language of common life, with dexterous nicety in your combinations and a moderate rounding of the cheek' (5. 14–15). Such 'stimulating unions' are meant to challenge the reader and make him think.

This is an example of both the vividness and the difficulty of Persius' style: *Disce, sed ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna,/dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello*, 'attend, then, but drop that angry wrinkled snare from your nostrils, while I pull your old grandmothers out of the lungs of you' (5. 91–92). Aiming to confer as much reality as possible on his ideas, Persius shares Horace's preference for bold metonymy. Moreover, being a true poet, he is able to take metaphors literally, thus instilling new life into the Latin language.[3] His 'collage' technique of overlapping images strains the reader's mental flexibility to the

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[1] *Vita Persii* 5.
[2] Cf. W. Kissel, Commentary 1990, introduction.
[3] W. Kugler 1940.

utmost. Hypallage and emphatic conciseness add to the power of his style. Persius coined aphorisms: *o curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane!*, 'O the vanity of human cares! O what a huge vaccum man's nature admits!' (1. 1); *o curvae in terris animae, o caelestium inanes!*, 'O ye souls that cleve to earth and have nothing heavenly in you!' (2. 61); *dicite, pontifices: in sancto quid facit aurum?*, 'Tell us, reverend pontiffs, what good gold can do in a holy place?' (2. 69). Persius touches indeed the Stoic ideal of brevity: *tecum habita*, 'live at home = stay with yourself' (4. 52); *quis leget haec?*, 'who will read this?' (1. 2); *vel duo vel nemo*, 'one or two, which is as good as none' (1. 3); *vive memor leti: fugit hora: hoc, quod loquor, inde est*, 'live with death in your mind; the hour is fleeting; this saying of mine is so much taken from it' (5. 153).

In conformity with the laws of the genre, Persius' treatment of meter follows the technique of Horace's *Satires*; as can be seen from the use of synaloephe (so-called 'elision') and the admission of monosyllables at the end of the hexameter. Persius' preference for the caesura penthemimeres is in harmony with a general tendency to 'normalization' in the post-Ovidian use of the hexameter.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The theory underlying Persius' choice of words has been discussed in the previous section. The prologue reveals his poetic theory: the 'truthfulness' of Persius' poetry has to lead a war on two fronts. Two contrary types of lies menace it: on the one hand, a totally unrealistic mythological poetry; on the other, a deeply insincere poetry of clients.

In the prologue the poet with ostentatious modesty rejects the traditional act of drinking at the poetic Hippocrene, the 'mare's source' as he contemptuously calls it. Nevertheless, in the 5th satire the Muse is present. She summons Persius to reveal his innermost thoughts to his teacher, who shall verify their sincerity (5. 25). Our poet demythifies Callimachus' dialogue with Apollo's warning voice (*hymn. Apoll.* 105–112) into an inner dialogue with his teacher. To express adequately his debt to Cornutus, Persius resorts to the same lofty style, which he scorned in theory. Hence, the guiding principle of his authorship is not theory of style but appropriateness to the argument.

In Persius' view the poet is a teacher of society. But how does this

go together with his giving up all claim to influence a large audience? His first concern is to find his own position. Personal honesty takes precedence over compliance with the public. His attitude to language and literature cannot be separated from his moral attitude.

Ideas II

Persius was a son of his age and did not live in an ivory tower but in a circle of educated men and, among them, oppositional senators. When alluding to Midas, whose barber buried the secret of his master's donkey's ears (1. 121), Persius might have had in mind Nero who was praised as a new Midas in the *carmina Einsidlensia.* Moreover, it is possible that Nero is the true addressee of the sermon directed to Alcibiades (*sat.* 4). Yet Persius is careful not to tie himself down, and his interpreters should respect this.

For our poet philosophy is almost religion. In this respect he reminds us of Marcus Aurelius or Epictetus. There is an entire satire (*sat.* 2) on misguided prayers as a consequence of moral decadence of man. The warmth of Persius' personal confessions sometimes seems to touch an Augustinian chord: *quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra*, 'the unspeakable feelings which lie deep down among my heart-strings' (5. 29). For his conversion to philosophy, Persius has to thank his teacher, Cornutus, whom he respects more deeply than Alicibiades respected his teacher, Socrates. Persius evokes the great Greek sage as if he were present: 'Believe that Socrates is saying this.'

Persius is a serious believer in and an apostle of Stoicism. Yet he is far from being a narrow-minded doctrinaire. The figure of Socrates conjures up the atmosphere of Plato's dialogues. Persius views his relationship to his teacher in terms of 'astral friendship'—a Stoic approach; moreover, he describes it from his own experience and, finally, as a parallel to Horace's thanks to his father for having personally educated him. Wisdom (*sat.* 5), self-knowledge (*sat.* 4), and liberty (*sat.* 5) are crucial themes. It is surprising to find so much of an old man's wisdom in so young an author, a wisdom sometimes reminiscent of Horace's *Epistles* rather than of his *Satires*, but lacking the Venusine's forgiving humor. Anyway, both old and young people need philosophy (5. 64; Hor. *epist.* 1. 1. 24–25), an idea ultimately traced to Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus.* In his unfinished sixth satire Persius discusses the right use of wealth; here, he is closer to Horace's

carpe diem and deviates from Stoicism. He is less dogmatic than some of us may have imagined.

Transmission

The tradition of Persius is both broad—there are many manuscripts—and very good; it was the difficulty of the text which protected it against intrusions. A fragment of a palimpsest (folia Bobiensia) deserves to be mentioned for its age: Vaticanus Latinus 5750 (7th century). Textual critics rely on three excellent manuscripts: Montepessulanus Pithoeanus, bibl. med. 125 (P; 9th century, a codex of Juvenal); Montepessulanus (A; bibl. med. 212, 10th century); Vaticanus tabularii basilicae H 36 (B; 10th century). The two latter are copies of one archetype and are traced back to the so-called recensio of Sabinus (of A.D. 402). The choliambs have been entered into P by a later hand; in A and B they are found at the end; their subscriptio, however, shows that this position within the manuscript is owed to mere chance. There is no reason, therefore, not to consider the choliambs a prologue.

Influence

The work of Persius immediately found much resonance. Authors like Lucan (s. above), Martial (4. 29. 7–8), Quintilian (10. 1. 94) appreciated him. Both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, teachers constantly exploited his pedagogical potential (cf. e.g. Jerome, *adv. Rufin.* 1. 16); in general, church fathers show a preference for Persius. He early attracted the attention of editors (Probus under the Flavians, and Sabinus in 402) and of commentators—his 'obscurity' (cf. Joh. Lydus, *de mag.* 1. 41) may have been an additional stimulus. The marginal and interlinear scholia of the older manuscripts, in their best part, originate from antiquity. Moreover, since the 9th century continuous commentaries were written, of which the *Commentum Leidense* deserves mention. Today the so-called *Commentum Cornuti* is ascribed to Heiric of Auxerre; in the 10th century Remigius wrote a commentary on Persius, as would do Paolo da Perugia in the 14th century. Dicta of Persius are found in Hrabanus Maurus, Rather of Verona, Genzo of Novara, and John of Salisbury. Individual aphorisms of our author were learnt by heart at school, and he was generally deemed an *aureus auctor.* Bernard of Clairvaux, trying to draw the attention of humanity on moral values, used Persius 2.69: *Dicite, pontifices: in sancto quid facit aurum?* (*de mor. et off.* 2. 7 = PL 182, col.

815 D). John of Auville (last quarter of the 12th century), however, in his *Architrenius*, depicted Persius—as an imitator of Horace—on the 'Hill of Presumption'.

Luther, who wanted to banish satirists from school, quoted nevertheless Persius' dictum on the souls, which are bent down to earth (2. 61).[1] Calvin would cite the lines (2. 69–70) once quoted by Bernard of Clairvaux:[2] another proof for the late medieval roots of Reformation.

Persius was known to Petrarch, Skelton, probably also to Spenser. Politian read him as a philosopher. Sir Thomas Wyat's (d. 1542) satires attest to his knowledge of Persius. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the words on Ophelia's death ('Lay her i' the earth,/And from her fair and unpolluted flesh/May violets spring') contain a reminiscence from Persius (1. 38–39), transmitted by the notes to Mantuanus' elegies. Michel de Montaigne quoted our poet no fewer than 23 times.

Given his difficulty, Persius found few translators in the early modern age: there were two French (Abel Foulon 1544 and Guillaume Durand 1575) and one Italian (Giovanni Antonio Vallone 1576). English (Barten Holyday 1616) and Germans followed much later. No lesser a figure than Martin Opitz, by translating Persius' Prologue into elegant Alexandrines (1639) opened a new page of this poem's influence. Johann Samuel Adami (1674) published the first complete translation of Persius into German, followed in 1738 by a mordant critic, Johann Daniel Heyde, a disciple of Gottsched.

J. C. Scaliger[3] warned would-be poets against imitating Persius' ostentation of abstruse erudition, instead of making themselves understood. He was contradicted by Isaac Casaubonus, who, in a dissertation attached to his epochal edition of Persius (1605), considerably furthered the interpretation of Persius and of satire in general. Persius experienced a real revival in a triad of young poets, John Donne (d. 1631), Joseph Hall (d. 1656), and John Marston (d. 1634). His colorful and vigorous language, however, remained alien to the 'classics' of Baroque satire (Boileau,[4] Pope), though they knew and even

[1] Luther, Op. ex. 17, 297; quoted in: O. G. Schmidt, Luthers Bekanntschaft mit den antiken Klassikern, Leipzig 1883, 36.

[2] G. F. Hering 1935, 29; 175.

[3] *Poetices libri VII*, sine loco (Lyon) 1561, repr. 1964, 149.

[4] *Perse en ses vers obscurs, mais serrés et pressans,/Affecta d'enfermer moins de mots que de sens* (*L'art poétique* 2. 155–156).

admired him. John Dryden translated and appreciated Persius (1693): according to him, preachers, instead of disputing about dogma, ought to take Persius as a model. Rachel (d. 1669) and Moscherosch (d. 1669) imitated the 2nd satire in German; the latter directed his version against hypocrites and pseudo-Christians. Persius' 3rd satire inspired Giuseppe Parini (d. 1799) to his masterpiece *Il giorno*. J. G. Herder (d. 1803) sensitively paraphrased the prologue and Satires 1, 3, and 5 in German verse. F. H. Bothe published a humorously *Modernized Persius* in his *Vermischte satirische Schriften* (Leipzig 1803). Persius was the favorite author of Immanuel Kant, and Goethe said that 'Persius hid bitterest indignation in sibylline utterances and expressed his despair in somber hexameters'.[1] The historian Friedrich Christoph Schlosser ranked Persius with Tacitus and took his message that the awareness of having led a righteous and faithful life is a greater bliss than all arts and luxuries (*Universalhistorische Übersicht der Geschichte der alten Welt*, 3, 1, Frankfurt/M. 1830, 419–421). Theodor Mommsen, however, in his *Römische Geschichte*, 4th ed. 1, 236, renewed the moralizing verdict of the medieval *Architrenius*, adding a salty dose of hostility to poetry: for him, Persius was 'the very ideal of an arrogant and anemic youth dedicated to poetry'. In his *A Rebours* (ch. 3) Joris-Karl Huysmans (d. 1907) noted the 'mysterious innuendos' of Persius, which, however, fail to move the reader. In the last years a debate was opened, as to whether Kafka is a modern Persius[2]—perhaps so, because both are equally uncompromising in matters of language and ethics?

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[1] W.A. 1, 41 1st ed., 361 (37, 216).
[2] O. SEEL, edition 119.

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Ramus 1, 1972, 48–62. * J. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, Die Choliamben des Persius, Philologus 111, 1967, 80–85. * F. Villeneuve, Essai sur Perse, Paris 1918. * J. H. Waszink, Das Einleitungsgedicht des Persius, WS 76, 1963, 79–91. * W. T. Wehrle, The Satiric Voice. Program, Form, and Meaning in Persius and Juvenal, Hildesheim 1992. * C. Witke, Persius and the Neronian Institution of Literature, Latomus 43, 1984, 802–812.

JUVENAL

Life and Dates

D. Iunius Iuvenalis (Juvenal) is mentioned as a *declamator* by Martial (Mart. 7. 24; 91). Initially, he led a client's life in Rome (Mart. 12. 18). The 1st satire is dated after 100,[1] the 6th after 115,[2] the 7th soon after Hadrian's accession to the throne, the last satires (cf. 13. 16–17; 15. 27) after 127. He did, after all, own an *ager Tiburtinus* (11. 65), *Lares paterni*, and slaves (12. 83–85). Aquinum to him was a town with personal attachments (3. 318–322).[3] He knew Egypt from personal experience (15. 45).

Survey of Works

1: (On Writing Satires): The harrowing recitations of pseudo-poets cry for revenge: Juvenal will write himself (1–21). The unnatural social conditions provoke satire (22–30), as does the decline of morals (30–62) and the shamelessness of its public display (63–80). The subject of satire is everything that people do; never had there been more material for satire than in Juvenal's time (81–146). Satiricists live a dangerous life; therefore only dead persons will be named (147–171).

2: (First Satire on Men): In a gradation Juvenal first pillories *cinaedi* disguised as preachers of morals (1–65), then he attacks Creticus, who wears

[1] The sentence against Marius Priscus (A.D. 99–100) is mentioned in 1. 49; of course, the satire need not have been written immediately after this date.

[2] In that year, a comet was observed in Rome, and there was an earthquake in Antioch (6. 407–408).

[3] There is an inscription of a Iuvenalis (CIL 5, 5382 = Dessau 2926), but it is doubtful if he is identical with the poet. Only one of the numerous *vitae* is based on material from antiquity; yet, even this information is suspicious, including Juvenal's alleged banishment to Egypt brought about by a *histrio*.

transparent clothes (65–83), after him, male worshippers of the goddess *Bona Dea* (83–116), finally Gracchus, a descendant of a venerable family, who solemnly was married to a man (117–148). What shall the glorious Roman ancestors, what shall the conquered barbarians think of such 'Roman virtues' (149–170)?

3: (Satire on Rome): Umbricius is right in leaving Rome. There, many Greek and oriental vices are found and there is no righteousness (1–189). Moreover, in the metropolis, the poor poet is threatened by fires, collapsing houses, pots emptied onto the road, nightly traffic noise (236–238) and even robbers (190–322).

4: (The Big Fish): First Juvenal mocks at the glutton Crispinus, a creature of Domitian (1–33), then at the emperor himself (34–154). According to degrees of criminality, this satire may be subdivided as follows: *scelera* (1–10); *leviora* (11–33); *nugae* (34–149); *scelera* (150–154).

5: (Sufferings of a Client at Table): The patron has worse food offered to his client, not out of avarice but in order to humiliate his guest.

6: (Satire on Women): Whoever obeys the *lex Iulia* and wants to marry, does not find a virtuous bride any more (1–59). Roman women love actors and gladiators (60–113); the empress competes with prostitutes (114–135). Whoever gives good testimony about his wife is bribed by wealth and beauty (1346–160). The few respectable women have other faults, such as arrogance or Graecomania (161–199). The good husband loses all freedom (200–230); his mother-in-law gives her daughter bad advice (231–241). Women act as advocates, even as gladiators (242–267); they dissimulate even proven infidelity by unabashed behavior (268–285). Prosperity is the root of moral decline (286–365). Women are in raptures about eunuchs or musicians, meddle with actual politics, vex their poor neighbors, or show off their erudition (366–456). A noble lady only respects her boy friend, not her husband; she pesters her maidservants. She sacrifices anything for priests and soothsayers, but murders children and husband. (457–661).

7: (Intellectuals in Rome): There is no future for poets (1–97), historians (98–104), advocates (105–149), teachers of rhetoric (150–214), or grammarians (215–243).

8: (Of True Nobility): It is absurd to boast of ancestral portraits while leading an immoral life, as does Robellius Blandus, for instance (1–70). Only personal merit does assure nobility: steadiness of character in private life, honesty and clemency in official life (71–145). There follow negative examples (146–268). It is better to be of modest descent but competent and efficient, as had been the fathers of Rome (269–275).

9: (Second Satire on Men): Against the unnatural inclination of men to men. Naevolus is made to condemn himself without noticing it.

10: (What Should We Ask of the Gods?): The wish for earthly goods entails only brings disaster (1–55). This is true of power (56–113), eloquence

(114–132), glory in war (133–187), long life (188–288), and beauty (289–345). The gods know best what is good for us; let us pray for sound reasoning and steadiness of character; if we are wise Fortune has no power over us (346–364).

11: (On the Happiness of Simple Life): Having drawn a portrait of a society of luxury, which lives beyond its means, the poet is looking forward to having a frugal meal with Persicus; this is how enjoyments may become precious anew (56–208).

12: (On Legacy Hunters): Juvenal's solemn celebration on the occasion of Catullus' rescue is above the suspicion of legacy hunting, since his friend has natural heirs.

13: (On Bad Conscience): Calvinus loaned 10.000 sesterces to a friend (71), who denies the existence of this debt. Juvenal tries to comfort Calvinus and to dissuade him from taking revenge. Pangs of conscience are the worst punishment.

14: (On Education): Bad behavior of parents encourages imitation by children (1–58). For their children's sake, parents ought to be as disciplined as they are in honor of a guest (59–69). A child will adopt our behavior; examples (70–106). We teach our children to become greedy (107–209). Easy circumstances have disastrous consequences (210–314). Self-control is necessary (315–331).

15: (Cannibalism in Egypt): This satire describes a religious war between two villages. Fanaticism deteriorates into cannibalism (A.D. 127).

16: (Military Satire): This incompletely preserved satire discusses the privileged position of soldiers and the civilians' lack of rights.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Juvenal is a part of the tradition of Roman satire. As is to be expected, he quotes the Old Comedy of the Greeks, Lucilius, and Horace as his authorities. He has knowledge of Persius and Martial, even if he does not mention their names; of the latter he sometimes uses entire groups of epigrams.[1] On the whole, the parallels to Martial are perhaps more important than those to Horace. As for literary subspecies, the 11th satire reflects 'poems of invitation', the 12th, 'poems of thanksgiving (*supplicatio*)'. Not much time before Juvenal, there had lived a satirist called Turnus, who perhaps was the inventor of 'declamatory' satire.[2]

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[1] J. Adamietz 1972.

[2] Cf. Joh. Lydus, *De magistratibus* 1. 41; M. Coffey 1979, against A. E. Housman, edition of Juvenal, 2nd ed. 1931, p. xxviii.

The nature of Juvenal's satires compels us to consider a wide range of sources and models. His *pathos* is reminiscent of sublime genres such as tragedy and epic (we will come back to this). The theme of love evokes elegy; to give an example, Juvenal's description (3. 100–108; Ov. *ars* 2. 199–214) of the lover's 'compliancy' (*obsequium*) in retrospect sheds some light on Ovid as a 'satirist'.

Above all, there are links to declamation, a type of exercise familiar to Juvenal from his youth. Moreover, he admired Cicero as an orator and as a statesman (e.g. 8. 244; 10. 114), and he respectfully mentioned Quintilian. Cicero's fate was a favorite topic of declamation; the same is true of the Tolstoy theme 'How much land does a man need?', which antiquity exemplified by Alexander the Great (cf. 14. 311); for him the world had been too small, and yet he had to be satisfied with a grave. One can view Juvenal's satires as 'declamatory invectives'.[1]

Being a 'preacher', Juvenal could not pass over Seneca, and even less Lucretius, whose *pathos* was congenial to him. The thirteenth satire exploits topics from consolatory literature. Juvenal's views sometimes are akin to those of Tacitus.[2]

Literary Technique

Juvenal's attitude as an author is determined by rhetoric. His satires assemble a wide range of striking facts from a more or less consistent point of view, and mostly aim at 'persuasion'.

The overall structure of each satire is a mixture of 'serial' and 'framing' techniques. The texts often exhibit a unity of theme, as had been the case in Persius. Towards the end of a satire, Juvenal may come back to his initial theme (10. 1–55; 346–366; 13. 1–6; 174–248). The speaker of the 3rd satire is Umbricius, who wants to leave Rome; this frame provides for a lively beginning and a convincing conclusion. The long satire on women (no. 6), however, is not sufficiently held together by the address to a friend, who shall be dissuaded from marrying: related subjects are sometimes separated on purpose; 'disorder' as a rhetorical device is meant to give an impression of inspired fullness. The framing of the 12th satire is a success: the offering ceremony on the occasion of a friend's rescue

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[1] Norden, LG 84.

[2] Juvenal refers to the *Historiae* in *sat.* 2. 102–103.

from distress at sea allows of a graceful treatment of legacy-hunting. The 8th satire starts and ends with the antithesis of noble birth and ignoble behavior. The 4th satire, at first glance, consists of two juxtaposed parts; at closer inspection it reveals a frame structure: grievous crimes are treated in the beginning and at the end, minor offenses are discussed in between. Dialogue lends attractivity to the framing of the 9th satire: while conversing with a friend, Naevolus, without being aware of the fact, is supposed to sit in judgment of himself.

On the other hand, themes may overlap and shift, as the reader may know from Horace (the 2nd satire, for example, unites moral decline, hypocrisy, and homosexuality). Juvenal's handling of form perplexes many readers. It is the crossing of a thematic overall plan on the one hand and, on the other, a striving for vivid antitheses in its detailed execution: actually, in satires 3, 5, and 11 polarities such as 'town and country', 'poor and rich', 'native and foreign' tend to reappear in varying contexts. Juvenal is fond of impressing his readers by powerful contrasts: in 8. 211–268 he juxtaposes Nero and Seneca, Cicero and Catiline, and the series of antitheses is continued. The first part of the same satire starts with the high moral duties of Roman youth; there follow immediately, however, contrary examples: aristocrats as charioteers, actors, and gladiators.

Turning to smaller units we find parts arranged according to the principle of gradation: While the first part of satire 3 discusses ingratitude, mockery and material distress, the second part turns to dangers to life and limb. Common motifs intimately link the so-called 'excursuses' to their context; the term 'excursus', therefore, is inaccurate.

Suggestive visualization serves the orator's aim to give the greatest possible effect to each argument. A big garden is a garden from which a hundred vegetarians could revel opulently (3. 229). Who entrusts his life to a ship is only four to seven inches far from death (12. 58–59).[1] Concrete images enliven, for instance, the original portrait of a learned woman (6. 434–456)—a passage proving, by the way, that at that time, education was no longer a privilege of men, and henpecked husbands were constrained to defend their human right of offending against the rules of grammar (6. 456). Vivid narrative sections break the monotony of satire, such as the story of the great fish (4. 37–154) or a report of distress at sea and final rescue. (12. 17–82).

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[1] Cf. Anacharsis *apud* Diog. Laert. 1. 8. 5.

Our author independently handles the technique and repertoire of satire. He replaces *ethos* by *pathos*: while Horace recommended moderation, Juvenal severely rebukes immoderation.[1] Traditional elements assume a new life: in Horace, the miser piously admires his chest full of gold (*sat.* 1. 1. 67), in Juvenal, the wife wastes the money, as if it grew anew in the chest (6. 363). This motif reminiscent of fairy-tales lends new dynamism to a familiar image. Another feature of Juvenal's technique of satire is the imaginary continuation of a common pattern of thought, for instance, the extension of the series of Ages: for his contemporary period, which is worse than the Iron Age, nature does not know any metal, after which it might be called (13. 28–30); thus he illustrates the 'nameless' wickedness of his own time.[2]

Certain devices, like apostrophes at the beginning of satires (Iuv. 14), unobtrusively hint at satire's closeness to epistle. Likewise, some of the above-mentioned elements from neighboring genres and subspecies are subordinated to the basic character of the satires in question and enrich the literary technique of the genre without exceeding its limits.

More conspicuous is the adaption of literary means from loftier genres. To describe appropriately a sea-storm menacing his friend (12. 23) Juvenal exhausts the poetic potential of 'epic tempest'—a significant change of stylistic level. A no less exquisite beaver-simile (12. 34–36; cf. Sil. 15. 485–487) illustrates voluntary abandonment of riches in order to save one's life. The very fact that he compares certain modern women to Medea (6. 634–661) is indicative of a change in poetic technique and literary genre: with Juvenal, satire has become solemn and full of *pathos*.

Language and Style

On the whole, Juvenal's style is not monotonous, although he is fond of quoting himself.[3] His vocabulary, in accordance with the exigencies of the genre, is not free of colloquialisms, but less course than that of Persius. Greek words are not very rare (for instance 9. 37).

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[1] Compare the use of similar motifs, such as the ant (Iuv. 6. 361; Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 31) or the 'big heap' (Iuv. ibid 364; Hor. ibid. 51).

[2] 5. 138–139; 3. 199; *Aen.* 4. 328–329; 2. 312.

[3] 10. 226 (= 1. 25); 14. 315–316 (= 10. 365–366); 16. 41 (= 13. 137); on his use of language s. now D. S. Wiesen, The Verbal Basis of Juvenal's Satiric Vision, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 708–733.

The absence of conspicuous archaisms perhaps impaired his popularity in the 2nd century.

The rich palette of vocabulary and the great variety of stylistic levels displayed by Juvenal arise from his effort to convey, instead of colorless generalities, the diversity of real life. Just read the list of professions mastered by a hungry Greek: *grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,/augur, schoenobate, medicus, magus, omnia novit/Graeculus esuriens: in caelum, iusseris, ibit*, 'grammarian, teacher of rhetoric, geometrician; painter, trainer, or rope-dancer; augur, doctor, or astrologer—a hungry Greek knows everything; bid him go to heaven and he will go' (3. 76–78).

Choice of concrete and individualized expressions may be wittily linked to a hint at a higher literary genre: a son is called *parvulus... Aeneas* (5. 138–139), a neighbor: *Ucalegon* (3. 199), at a simple meal, host and guest are named *Euander* and *Hercules* (1. 61). A blind man is a *Tiresias* (13. 249), a domestic tyrant turns into *Antiphates* and *Polyphemus* (14. 20). Thus, satire presents itself as the epopee of everyday life.[1] To mention a person's name instead of its typical quality is to add vigor to style and expression: *Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt*, 'who pretend to be like Curius, while their life is a Bacchanal' (2. 3).[2] Powerful metonymy turns the afflux of orientals to Rome into a merging of two rivers: *in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*, 'the Orontes has poured into the Tiber' (3. 62). Adjectives appropriate for living creatures are attributed to lifeless objects, thus creating a universe of magic life: suffice it to compare 'the loud applause of bribed clients' with *vocalis sportula* (13. 32–33).[3]

Even numbers lose their abstractness: In the sentence 'there are hardly seven good men', the number is expressed as follows: 'hardly as many as Thebe's town gates and the Nile's mouths (13. 27). A golden *bulla* worn as an amulet around the neck was the characteristic of young boys; hence, a childish old man is called *senior bulla dignissime*, 'old man most worthy of the *bulla*' (13. 33). A battery of adynata and *prodigia* hammers in the idea that it is impossible to find an honorable man (13. 64–70). A speaker grotesquely amplifies a

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[1] The name of Persicus (11. 57) seems to have been chosen ironically; since the satire in question could bear the Horatian title: *Persicos, odi, puer apparatus* (*carm.* 1. 38. 1).

[2] Cf. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes* (2. 24).

[3] Cf. *irato sistro* (13. 93); *locupletem podagram* (13. 96); *esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae* (13. 99); *garrula pericula nautae* (12. 82).

solemn oath by the head of his child by adorning it with culinary technical terms to the point of cannibalism: *comedam . . . nati/sinciput*, 'may I eat my son's boiled head' (13. 84–84). Fortune's favorites as well as unlucky persons, by means of metaphors, come to ornithological life: *tu gallinae filius albae/nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?*, 'you were born of a white hen, while we are common chicken, hatched out of unlucky eggs?' (13. 141–142).[1]

Again and again, sparkling and concise aphorisms turn up, rich in antitheses and word repetitions: *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,/si vis esse aliquid. probitas laudatur et alget*, 'if you want to *be* anybody nowadays, you must dare some crime that merits exile on narrow Gyara or a jail; honesty is praised and left to shiver' (1. 73–74). Word-play may add to the effect: *non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,/sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt*, 'some men are so blinded and depraved that instead of making money for living, they live for making money (12. 50–51). Sometimes expressive force exclusively rests in bold generalization: *nulla fere causa est, in qua non femina litem moverit* (6. 242–243). Elsewhere, our eloquent author surprises us by sudden conciseness: *omnia Romae/cum pretio*, 'in Rome, you can get everything for money' (3. 183–184).

Juvenal's treatment of meter[2] carries on the general tendencies of hexametric poetry of the imperial period.[3] We are not entitled to speak of metrical incorrectness in a case such as 14. 9, where in the word *ficedula* the long *e* is shortened.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Like Persius, Juvenal abhors fashionable mythological poetry for its inherent untruthfulness. With tongue in cheek, he defines his authorship as a revenge for the permanent torture of listening to other authors' recitations. But why is satire his choice? Circumstances are such as to provoke satire: *difficile est saturam non scribere*, 'it is difficult *not* to write satire' (1. 30). His source of inspiration is indignation: *facit indignatio versum*, 'indignation prompts my verse (1. 79). Rhetoric

[1] Black and white birds represent great and small sinners: *Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas* (2. 63).

[2] E. Courtney, Commentary 1980, 49–55.

[3] Final *-o* can be shortened (3. 232; 11. 11); initial *fr-* does not cause lengthening by position (14. 5).

has taught him that emotion generates eloquence. Emotion, therefore, has to replace poetic talent (something satirists traditionally pretend to do without). He is aware of his closeness to declamation and, when speechless with horror, he asks expressly for Quintilian's help: *da, Quinitliane, colorem* (6. 280).

Strong emotion as a driving force fills satire with *pathos* to the point of making it a counterpart to higher genres of literature. According to Juvenal's definition his subject matter is universal (1. 85–86)—in this respect his satire substitutes for the somewhat obsolete genre of epic. His reference to Sophoclean cothurnus (6. 634–636) implies competition with tragedy. Juvenal changed the genre of satire, although, before him, Persius, too, had sometimes struck more solemn notes (e.g. *sat.* 5). Our author never gave up 'indignation' in principle. The 'Democritean' laugh in his later satires is not an 'alternative program', and the 'wise' Juvenal of the later satires does not disclaim his previous attitudes.

Our satirist clear-sightedly discerned the dangers that would put an end to Roman literature: the decline of sponsorship and the advance of Greek as the more 'fashionable' of the two languages. Unlike the emperor Hadrian, who was the exponent of a philhellenic epoch, Juvenal was a partisan of Latin. It is true that even he intersperses his text with Greek—such as the divine call γνῶθι σεαυτόν, 'know thyself' (11. 27), but he detests ladies' pretentious preference for Greek phrases (6. 184–199). Fortunately, Homer figures among his dinner readings (11. 180), but having no expensive oriental slaves he advises his guests: 'order in Latin' (11. 148).

Juvenal pins his hopes for Latin literature on the emperor (7. 1). Despite the foundation of libraries under the 'good emperors' the warning of the last poet of the Silver Age passed unheeded. In the 'happiest century' of Rome living Latin authors mostly were neither happy nor in demand.

Ideas II

Attacks on contemporaries were less common than they had been in Greece. Lately, Domitian had prohibited pamphlets on living persons of rank (Suet. *Dom.* 8. 3). Juvenal therefore was compelled to choose his examples from the past. His readers nevertheless took the message. Given these social circumstances, we should not accuse Juvenal of being obsessed with the past.

Juvenal's moral categories are those of ancient Rome. He may even refer to a still earlier period: that of primitive man (6. 1–13). Since, with the increase of prosperity (6. 292–300), reality has developed far away from the beginnings, his statements bear the stamp of paradox. His intention is not to illustrate predetermined moral principles but to describe real social and moral facts.

The ethnic change in Rome's population affected religious convictions. Isis, which had not yet been tolerated under Augustus and Tiberius, in Juvenal's time received innumerable votive tablets from grateful believers (12. 28), thus feeding painters. Oaths were sworn by her, including perjury, of course (13. 93); near her temple, prostitution flourished (9. 22; 6. 489); nevertheless, this goddess deeply influenced the life of matrons (6. 522–541). It was the fashion to have a Jewish women predict the future or interpret dreams for a few coins (6. 542–547). People firmly believed in astrology (6. 533–556), as had been the case with Tiberius.

Orientals dominated in Rome, which had become a Greek city (3. 60–61). Nothing was holy to those chaps (3. 109–112) who were able to turn their hand to anything (*natio comoeda est*, 'it is a nation of comedians' 3. 100). There were repercussions upon the descendants of Romulus: they walked around in Greek dress and did things un-Roman like, for instance, wrestling. Many a Roman wore his toga for the first time on his own funeral (3. 172).

Juvenal criticizes Roman plutocracy: *quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,/ tantum et habet fidei*, 'a man's word is believed in exact proportion to the amount of cash which he keeps in his strong-box' (3. 143–144). Whoever has will be given credit. The patron, when inviting his client, is niggardly and keeps the best things for himself (*dives tibi, pauper amicis*, 'rich for yourself and poor to your friends' 5. 113), thus trying to show off his power and humiliate his 'friend'. Provided that he gets his truffles, a glutton does not care about the ruin of agriculture which vital for Rome (5. 116–119). Whoever is poor, will never be short of derision (3. 147–163). Unlike these critical texts, the 12th satire abandons the theme of *mercator avarus*, to concentrate on 'conversion' and readiness to acquire true life by giving up material goods.[1]

[1] Cf. Hor. *carm.* 3. 29 and reports on Crates and Aristippus (Gnom. Vat., ed. L. STERNBACH, Berlin 1963, nos. 39 and 387).

The emperor's court gives unnecessary attention to unimportant things—such as a big fish; the time was ripe for Domitian's fall, after he had destroyed his own popularity (Iuv. 4).

The satire on women reveals a typical aspect of Juvenal's character: he stigmatizes great sins and small, almost amiable weaknesses with the same relentlessness. In principle the solutions he proposes—except for the philosophical ones—all touch on absurdity: marriage is inadvisable for all Romans, because all women are bad (*sat.* 6); long since, all poor denizens of Rome ought to have moved to the countryside (3. 162–163); Trebius had rather sleep under the Tiber bridges than accept Virro's invitation (5. 8–9).

Since, on the whole, Juvenal's satire seems to become milder in the course of time, it has been surmised that only the earlier—more belligerant—satires were written by him, while the later ones were an imitator's work.[1] It is true that this is going too far, but the basic questions remain: Did our satirist become old and toothless? Did he choose for himself different *personae*? Did his approach to his subject actually change? No doubt, there is a clash between creative 'indignation' in the earlier (1. 79) and 'the spirit ignorant of anger' in the later satires (10. 359–360). Here, a difference has to be made between his philosophical ideal and his literary program: both statements refer to different levels. Granted: it would be misleading to label the early Juvenal as a social revolutionary (for he thunders down not only the rich, but also homosexuals, women, and pseudoprophets, and his moral standards are those of an arrant conservative). However, at the beginning of his career, his attitude concerning the wealthy is surprisingly accusatory. Likewise, in that epoch, he deemed material prosperity worth striving for. Later on, in the spirit of diatribe, he treated riches as an evil and poverty as a good.[2] Does, therefore, indignation (satires 1, 3, and 5) give way to Democritus' laughter? But in the 10th satire, Democritus does not have the programmatic function which is sometimes ascribed to him. Granted, Juvenal may have become more 'philosophical' (perhaps for having come to own a house himself 11. 65; 12. 83–92), and, in fact, in satires 10 and 13–15 he relies on quotations from philosophers to prop up his

[1] O. Ribbeck, Der echte und der unechte Juvenal, Berlin 1865.

[2] By night on the road, the rich man is safe in 3. 283–285, whereas in 10. 69 it is the poor man. In 3. 235 the rich man sleeps quietly, while in 10. 19–20 it is he who cannot sleep.

argument; moreover, his criticism changed direction: in the former satires, Juvenal had denounced individual social grievances (decay of patronage, *sat.* 5; misery of the men of letters, *sat.* 7; sexual corruption of the upper class, *sat.* 2); in his later satires, he aimed at certain *vitia* (wrong desires, *sat.* 10; gluttony, *sat.* 11; legacy hunting, *sat.* 12). Yet, this does not indicate a change of principle, and the fire of indignation is still alive, as is shown by satires 13–15. In fact, the 14th satire pillories an individual case, and the late military satire is no less critical of society than had been the relatively early satire on women. Even an aging Juvenal is still far away from Democritus' detached smile.

Juvenal's views only party agree with Stoic philosophy. Man is above Fortune, if the gods answer his prayers for *mens sana* (cf. Sen. *epist.* 10. 4) and *prudentia.* Hence, Fortune does not have divine power.[1] A certain distance with regard to philosophical schools—Cynics, Stoics, and Epicureans—is to be felt (13. 120–123). On the other hand, in a list of sages the Stoic Chrysippus figures before Thales and Socrates (13. 184–185).

Occasionally, Juvenal's words have almost a Christian ring, which helps us understand his popularity in the Middle Ages. His ideas on conscience are reminiscent of Seneca[2] and Epicurus: *se/iudice nemo nocens absolvitur,* 'no man is acquitted at the bar of his own conscience' (13. 2–3). He rejects revenge, since it is a pleasure for weak and small spirits: *minuti/semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas/ultio,* 'vengeance is always the delight of a little, weak and petty mind' (13. 189–191). A sin committed mentally is as grievous as one actually perpetrated: *nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum/facti crimen habet,* 'for he who secretly meditates a crime within his breast has all the guiltiness of the deed' (13. 209–210).

It is true that Juvenal is a moralizing satirist, but he is not an absolute enemy of *voluptas.* He is the author of the wise maxim *voluptates commendat rarior usus,* 'it is rarity that gives zest to pleasure' (11. 208). The 11th satire inviting a certain Persicus to a frugal meal shows

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[1] 10. 346–366; cf. 13. 20; 14. 315–316; Hor. *sat.* 2. 7. 83–88.

[2] The older Stoa considered pangs of conscience a weakness (cf. SVF 3. 548 von Arnim); Epicureans recognized the reality of qualms of conscience (*frg.* 532 Us.; *sent.* 34; 35; 37; Lucr. 5. 1151–1160; 3. 1014–1022); their down-to-earth derivation of remorse from fear of being discovered is rejected by Seneca (*epist.* 27. 2; cf. 87. 25; 97. 15; 105. 7–8); cf. also Cic. *fin.* 1. 50; Plut. *De sera numinis vindicta* 10–11; H. Chadwick, Gewissen, RLAC 10, 1978, 1025–1107.

Juvenal under a human aspect reminiscent of Horace and Epicurus.

The principle of appropriateness (*aptum*) plays an important role in Juvenal. What is important is to know oneself (11. 27) in order to see what is compatible with one's nature (*noscenda est mensura sui*, 'let a man take his own measure' 11. 35), an echo from Panaetius.

In his 8th satire,[1] Juvenal develops the following topic: 'it is the spirit which ennobles man'. It had been treated by the sophists, Euripides, Aristotle (*rhet.* 2. 15. 3), Menander (*frg.* 533 Kock), Cicero, Sallust, the rhetors, and Seneca (*epist.* 44. 5).

Compared with earlier authors, Juvenal struck a new note: Horace had been less concerned with material goods and social justice, and Martial had been less consistent in his criticism of society than was Juvenal, who depicted the distress of an entire social stratum. Our satirist tackled with burning problems of a period, often deemed the prelude to the happiest century of mankind. He was perspicacious enough to discern alarming signs of decline: the sinking prestige of literature and intellectuals, the downfall of education caused by a one-sided obsession of parents with prosperity, the rise of religious intolerance and fanaticism, the omnipotence of the military, who had become a new governing caste, and the impotence of the citizen. All this contributed to change Rome and the Romans. At the same time Juvenal drew his readers' attention to inner values, which pointed to the future. Later events, both good and evil, often proved that Juvenal had been a prophet.

Transmission

The manuscript tradition of Juvenal is unsatisfactory. Initially he was not read in classrooms; it was only towards the end of the 4th century that he began to attract a larger public. According to U. Knoche[2] the numerous manuscripts are traced back to an edition made in late antiquity under the influence of Servius. There are two classes: on the one hand there are the Π codices. The most important manuscript, the Pithoeanus (P; Montepessulanus, med. 125, end of 9th century, from Lorsch), is often difficult to decipher; slightly later corrections in P, called p, are to be used with mis-

[1] Curtius, Europäische Lit. 188.

[2] Edition, München 1950; recently scholars tried a taxonomic approach to the numerous manuscripts (s. the modern editions quoted below); E. Courtney, The Progress of Emendation in the Text of Juvenal since the Renaissance, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 824–847.

trust. The family of P comprises the Schidae Arovienses (10th or 11th century), the Florilegium Sangallense (in cod. Sangallensis 870, 9th century) and the significant lemmata (S) of the old scholia (preserved both in the Sangallensis and in P, published in O. JAHN's edition of 1851); these lemmata often diverge form the scholia, coincide with P or are even superior to P. The consensus of the lemmata of scholia, of the Sangallensis, or of the Aroviensis with P permits to retrieve readings of an older manuscript, an ancestor of P.

On the other hand, there is the—smoothened—vulgate Ω or Ψ, which was formed as early as around 400 (three fragments preserved from antiquity are related to this tradition). An example of the watered-down text of Ω is 7. 139, where Priscian's testimony confirms the correctness of P.

P is superior to the other manuscripts since it is free from interpolations. Yet, wherever P is corrupt, we have to rely on manuscripts of the other class. In many instances we must face the possibility of interpolation of lines; the theory of author's variants has been largely abandoned today.

In 1899 two new fragments of the sixth satire were discovered.[1] The scholia of P, to the group of which also belong the scholia of the codex Vallae are more substantial than those of Ω. Since Valla, the P scholia are ascribed to a Probus, whereas the Ω scholia in some manuscripts are called Cornutus scholia (the name probably came from the Persius vita). The numerous glosses were extracted from the scholia.

Influence

After Lactantius, Servius was the first to quote our author abundantly. Juvenal was much read in the 4th and 5th centuries, as can be seen from imitations, e.g. in Ausonius, Claudian, and mentions in Rutilius Namatianus (1. 603) and Sidonius Apollinaris (9. 269). Ammianus Marcellinus informs us that among Juvenal's admirers there were even uneducated people (28. 4. 14). In the Greek east this Latin author enjoyed especial popularity (Lydus, *de magistratibus* 1. 41), he even was used as a primer of Latin for beginners and appeared in bilingual glossaries. Traces of Juvenal are found in the Church Fathers, e.g. in Gregory the Great.[2]

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[1] Cf. now G. LAUDIZI (quoted among the editions) 1982; the so-called E. O. WINSTEDT fragment, rediscovered in 1899, fits into the sixth satire after line 365; lines 346–348 turn out to be an interpolation.

[2] *Simiam leonem vocas; . . . scabiosos saepe catulos pardos vel tigres vocamus: epist. ad Narsem* 1. 6; cf. *epist. ad Theoctistam* 1. 5; Iuv. 8. 30–37; P. COURCELLE, Grégoire le Grand à l'école de Juvénal, SMSR 38, 1967, 170–174.

In the Middle Ages Juvenal as a *poeta ethicus* is a popular school author; the grammarian Aimericus assigns to him the first rank in his canon of authors (1086). He served as a source to Geoffrey of Monmouth, John of Salisbury, and Vincent of Beauvais. Juvenal was used to learn the rules of prosody, and Gerbert (later: Pope Silvester II; d. 1003) referred to him in his classes of rhetoric. Excerpts from Juvenal considerably enriched moral florilegia.[1] About 1280 Jean de Meung borrowed some misogynous touches for his *Roman de la rose* from the 6th satire. Poor wretch Codrus from 3. 203–211 figured as the antipodes of Croesus in Bernardus Silvestris (mid-12th century). Dante (d. 1321) had little knowledge of Roman satire; anyhow, it is Juvenal who told Virgil in the *Purgatorio*, how much Statius admired the *Aeneid* (*Purg.* 22. 13–14; cf. Iuv. 7. 82–83).

Petrarch (d. 1374) was familiar with Juvenal. In Chaucer (d. about 1400) there are two second hand references to the 10th satire.[2] Luther[3] (d. 1546), among other quotations, preferably cited the following line which can be applied to the Pope: *hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*, 'this is my will and my command: let my will be the voucher for the deed' (6. 223). Montaigne (d. 1592) quoted our author 50 times. Shakespeare (d. 1616) alluded (*Hamlet* 2. 2. 200–201) to Juvenal's remarks on old age (10. 190–245).

It is true that Juvenal was read in the 16th century, but initially translations were rare: in 1519 Jerónimo de Villegas translated him into Spanish. C. Bruno published some parts of the 6th satire in German; the 10th satire was translated into English by 'W.B.' in 1617.

European verse satire began in Italy with Antonio Vinciguerra (d. 1502). Luigi Alamanni (d. 1556) wrote thirteen satires in the vein of Juvenal; there followed Ariosto (d. 1533) and Lodovico Paterno. In England Thomas Wyat (d. 1542) combined reminiscenses from Roman satirists—among them Juvenal—with elements from Alamanni; Joseph Hall (d. 1656), as a sequel to his 'toothless satires' (in the style of Horace and Persius), wrote 'biting satires' in the spirit of

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[1] A 13th century students' song says: *magis credunt Iuvenali, quam doctrinae prophetali* (Conte, LG 478).

[2] *Troilus and Criseide* 4. 197–201; Iuv. 10. 2–4; *The Tale of the Wife of Bath* 1192–1194; Iuv. 10. 22.

[3] E.g. Weimar Edition 30, 2, 483; further references in: Luther-Studienausgabe, ed. by H.-U. DELIUS (and others), vol. 3, Berlin 1983, 483, n. 51; 4, 1986, 417, n. 221 (pointed out to me by H. SCHEIBLE).

Juvenal; as a result, in 1599 the Archbishop of Canterbury prohibited the publication of satires and epigrams. Samuel Johnson (d. 1784) transposed the 3rd satire from Rome to London; his *Vanity of Human Affairs* is an adaptation of the 10th satire.

The first French author of verse satires, Mathurin Régnier (d. 1613) followed in the steps of Horace and Juvenal and combined—as Jean de Meung had done—satiric and erotic topics. He was succeeded by Furetière, Giles Boileau and, above all, the great Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (d. 1711), who payed homage to both Horace and Juvenal, to the latter especially in his description of Paris (Boileau 6, Iuv. 3) and the satire on women (Boileau 10, Iuv. 6); unlike his Roman predecessors, Boileau avoided vulgarisms. Dryden (d. 1700), who was a great satirist himself, gave his countrymen an English Juvenal (1693); Samuel Jonson (d. 1784) brilliantly competed with the 3rd and 10th satires (*London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*).

Joachim Rachel (d. 1669) made a German adaptation of the 14th satire (*Die dritte Satyra oder die Kinderzucht*). The unclassical preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara (d. 1709), in a way totally his own, was deeply rooted in Roman satire. In many European countries satires were written in Latin, a linguistic choice obviously less dangerous for the authors.[1]

Jonathan Swift (d. 1745) eternalized on his tombstone indignation as the worst of his tortures, thus even in death harking back to Juvenal's source of inspiration. Tobias Smollett (d. 1771), as a motto for *Count Fathom*, used Juvenal's passage on Democritus' laugh (Iuv. 10. 34; 47–48; 51–52) and ascribed to him tears, too (a feature not found in the original but typical of Smollett's ambivalent humor. Giuseppe Parini (d. 1799) was inspired by Juvenal and Persius for his brilliant *Il Giorno*. Henry Fielding (d. 1754) began his literary career with a translation from Juvenal's satire on women (*All the Revenge Taken by an Injured Lover*). Almost on the eve of the American Declaration of Independence Burke (d. 1797) warned his English countrymen against despotic behavior by quoting in a Parliament speech Juvenal (8. 124): 'Beggared, they still have weapons' (*On Conciliation with the Colonies*, 22th of march 1775). Wordsworth (d. 1850), who

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[1] Poland (Antonius Łoz Poninski, *Sarmatides seu Satirae equitis cuiusdam Poloni*, 1741); Switzerland (Petrus Esseiva, 19th century); Croatia (Junius Restius, 19th century); s. J. IJSEWIJN, Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam 1977, 164; 146; 80.

elsewhere is closer to Horace, planned to imitate Juvenal's 8th satire (on true and false nobility).[1]

Rousseau (d. 1778) and Schopenhauer (d. 1860) chose for their maxim *vitam impendere vero*, 'stake life upon the truth' (Iuv. 4. 91). Nietzsche (d. 1900)—a 'black swan' (6. 165) or a 'white raven' (7. 202) among Juvenal's readers—did not read our satirist from a moral but from an aesthetic standpoint and tried to trace 'the poetic element in satire, precisely on the basis of Persius and Juvenal'.[2] A genuine poetic echo of Juvenal (10. 157–158) is found in José-Maria de Heredia's (d. 1905) sonnet *Après Cannes*. In the 20th century H. C. Schnur wrote a Latin supplement to the 16th satire.[3]

Many familiar quotations originate from Juvenal, e.g. *panem et circenses*, 'bread and games' (10. 81) and *crambe repetita*, 'cabbage served up again' (7. 154). Juvenal has provided different groups of persons with maxims, sometimes with slight shifts of meaning: thus gymnastic clubs (*mens sana in corpore sano*, 'a sound mind in a sound body' 10. 356, although Juvenal emphasizes *mens*, not *corpus*), teachers (*maxima debetur puero reverentia*, 'the greatest reverence is owed to the young' 14. 47), secret service (*quis custodiet ipsos/custodes?*, 'who will ward the warders?' 6. 347–348) and managers (*propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, 'to lose, for the sake of living, all that makes life worth living' 8. 84).

Editions: D. Calderinus, Venetiis 1475. * G. A. Ruperti (TC), 2 vols., Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1819–1820. * C. F. Heinrich (TC, scholia), 2 vols., Bonnae 1839. * O. Jahn (T, scholia, ind. of words), Berolini 1851. * J. E. B. Mayor (TC, without *sat.* 2. 6 and 9), 2 vols., London I: 1872; II: 1878 (several repr.). * W. Hertzberg and W. S. Teuffel (Tr), Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1886. * A. Weidner (TC), Leipzig 2nd ed. 1889. * L. Friedländer (TC), Leipzig 1895, repr. 1967. * J. D. Duff (TTr), Cambridge 1898, repr. 1970 (with introd. by M. Coffey). * A. E. Housman (editorum in usum), Cambridge 1905, 2nd ed. 1931. * N. Vianello, Torino 1935. * U. Knoche, München 1950. * U. Knoche (Tr), München 1951. * W. V. Clausen, Oxford 1959. * J. Ferguson (TC), New York 1979. * E. Courtney (C), London 1980. * G. Laudizi, Il frammento Winstedt (TTrC), Lecce 1982. * E. Courtney (T), Roma 1984. * J. R. C. Martyn, Amsterdam 1987. * N. Rudd, W. Barr (TrN), Oxford 1992. * S. M. Braund (C), Cambridge 1996.

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[1] U. V. Tuckerman, Wordsworth's Plan for his Imitation of Juvenal, Modern Language Notes 45, 1930, 4, 209–215.

[2] *Autobiographisches: Für die Ferien*; Werke, ed. K. Schlechta, Darmstadt 1973, 3, 106.

[3] *Iuvenalis saturae XVI fragmentum nuperrime repertum* (!), in: Silvae, FS E. Zinn, Tübingen 1970, 211–215.

* *Scholia*: D. WESSNER, Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora, Leipzig 1931. ** *Ind.*: L. KELLING, A. SUSKIN, Chapel Hill 1951, repr. 1977. * M. DUBROCARD, New York 1976. * Cf. also: J. FERGUSON, A Prosopography to the Poems of Juvenal, Brussels 1987. ** *Bibl.*: M. COFFEY, Lustrum 8, 1963, 161–215. * W. S. ANDERSON, CW 50, 1956, 38–39; 57, 1964, 346–348; 63, 1970, 217–222; 75, 1981–1982, 290–297. * R. CUCCIOLI MELLONI, BStudLat 7, 1977, 61–87. * S. also the articles from ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989 (quoted below).

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G. EPIGRAM

MARTIAL

Life and Dates

In his 10th book (which contains poems from the years 95–98), M. Valerius Martialis mentions his 75th birthday which he celebrated on the first of March[1] (10. 24); he was born therefore around A.D. 40. His home was Bilbilis (today Bámbola) in Spain. Having finished his studies with the grammaticus and rhetor, he came to Rome in 64. An activity as a lawyer, to which he had perhaps been encouraged by Quintilian, did not satisfy him (2. 90). He frequented the houses of influential patrons interested in poetry; ultimately he led this tiresome client's life[2] perhaps in search for literary rather than financial support. Being a proud Spaniard he made the best of his role of client, depicting his situation in ironically exaggerated terms and thus creating the cliché of the 'beggar poet'. His 'poverty' should be taken no more seriously than that of his admired predecessor Catullus. Perhaps as early as 84 he owned an estate at Nomentum (8. 61; 9. 18), a few years later (86–87), he had a house in Rome.[3] Of course, he also possessed slaves of his own (1. 88) and secretaries (1. 101; 2. 8). It is doubtful, if we may deduce the existence of a family from the *ius trium liberorum*[4] conferred on him.[5] In any case, Martial was very proud of being an *eques* (5. 13); he had, therefore, the considerable fortune required for equestrian rank.[6]

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[1] We do not know for certain the names of his parents: J. Mantke, Do We Know Martial's Parents?, Eos 57, 1967–1968, 233–244; H. Szelest 1986, 2564 (on 5. 34).

[2] Cf. R. P. Saller, Martial on Patronage and Literature, CQ 33, 1983, 246–257; M. Garrido-Hory, Le statut de la clientèle chez Martial, DHA 11, 1985, 381–414.

[3] E. Lieben, Zur Biographie Martials, I, Prag 1911, 5.

[4] D. Daube, Martial, Father of Three, AJAH 1, 1976, 145–147.

[5] H. C. Schnur, Again: 'Was Martial Really Married?', CW 72, 1978, 98–99; J. P. Sullivan, Was Martial Really Married? A Reply, CW 72, 1978–1979, 238–239.

[6] On his titular tribunate, which ascertained his becoming a knight: E. Lieben,

Some of Martial's sponsors were authors themselves: the Senecas, Silius Italicus. Arruntius Stella, Stertinius Avitus. Among his sponsors, there was also Lucan's widow, Polla Argentaria. Like Statius, whose name he never mentions, he was one of Atedius' Melior's guests (8. 38; 6. 28–29). There were links to M. Antonius Primus, who had sided with Vespasian in the war against Vitellius.[1] Moreover, he paid homage to his Spanish countryman, L. Licinius Sura, a protégé of Trajan (7. 47). Martial's friendship with the notorious informer Aquilius Regulus[2] as well as the compliments he addressed to Domitian's creature Crispinus (cf. 7. 99; Iuv. 4. 1–33) witness to his opportunism. The addressee of books 4 to 8 was Appius Norbanus, a faithful adherent of Domitian (9. 84). We will come back to Martial's relationship to the emperor.

After Domitian's death, an aging Martial longed for returning to his homeland; the change of the political climate may have contributed to his desire for rest. Nerva and Trajan do not seem to have appreciated the compliments officiously poured out on them. In 98 Martial left the city where he had lived for 34 years. Pliny the Younger met his travel expenses (Plin. *epist.* 3. 1).[3] In Spain there was a county-seat in store for him, a gift from his protectress, Marcella. Nor did his maecenas, Terentius Priscus,[4] abandon him. Initially, his *otium* made him happy, but soon he began to yearn for the metropolis which had inspired him. Only after a delay of three to four years would the 12th book of epigrams appear. Martial died about A.D. 104.

Survey of Works[5]

We possess 12 books of epigrams and, in addition, the so-called *Liber spectaculorum* (*Epigrammaton liber*), the *Xenia* ('book 13' in the editions) and *Apophoreta* ('book 14'). His juvenilia are lost (1. 113).

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ibid. 17; O. Ribbeck, Geschichte der römischen Dichtung, vol. 3, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1919, 268.

[1] 9. 99; 10. 23; 32; 73.

[2] 1. 12; 82; 111; 2. 74; 93; 4. 16; 5. 28; 6. 38; 7. 16; 31.

[3] Martial mentions Pliny in 5. 80; 10. 19.

[4] 6. 18; 7. 46; 8. 12; 8. 45; 9. 77; 10. 3; 12 *praef.*; 12. 4; 12. 14; 12. 62.

[5] On the chronology of the epigrams: M. Citroni, edition of book 1, 1975, Introduzione, 'Problemi di cronologia'; id., Pubblicazione e dediche dei libri di Marziale, Maia 40, 1988, 3–39.

The *Liber spectaculorum* was dedicated to the emperor Titus on the occasion of the opening of the Flavian amphitheater in A.D. 80. Probably in December 84 or 85, Martial published *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, on which he might have worked for a longer period of time.[1]

The *Epigrammata* (books 1–12) were written between 85 and 102. According to his own testimony, he wrote more or less one book a year (9. 84. 9; 10. 70. 1). Books 1 and 2 date roughly from 85/86; book 3, from 87/88; book 4, from 88/89. The 5th book appeared while Domitian was absent from Rome (late in 89); book 6, in the second half of 90. Book 7 and 8 were published in 93; book 9, in 93/94; the 1st edition of book 10, in 94/95; book 11, in 97; the 2nd edition of book 10, in 98; and book 12, in 101 or early in 102.

Most of the poems date from Domitian's era. They reflect the development of his politics, laws, and edicts,[2] his architectural embellishment of Rome,[3] his victories over the Sarmatians,[4] his games[5] and banquets (8. 39; 50). Martial eulogizes the emperor[6] and his poems (5. 5; 8. 82. 3–4); he praises members of Domitian's entourage,[7] among them Rabirius, the architect of the emperor's magnificent palace (7. 56; 8. 36).

Under Nerva and Trajan Martial conformed to the new court etiquette:[8] there is nothing more flattering than the assertion that flattery is no longer in request (10. 72). In 98 he remodeled book 10, but not to the point of giving the dead lion the kick of an ass—at least not in the edition known to us. Another source, however, reports an epigram saying that the third Flavian impaired the positive balance of the other two (Schol. Iuv. 4. 38).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Even in subject matter Martial gives proof of originality.[9] His main source is contemporary Roman life. To give this material literary shape he uses all of the Greek[10] and Roman tradition, which serves him as a sort of language, as a code, as a means to his end.

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[1] A. Martin, Quand Martial publia-t-il ses *Apophoreta?*, ACD 16, 1980, 61–64 (December 85); R. A. Pitcher, The Dating of Martial, Books XIII and XIV, Hermes 113, 1985, 330–339 (books 13 and 14 not earlier than book 4).

[2] 5. 8; 41; 75; 6. 2; 4; 22; 45; 7. 61; 9. 6; 8.

[3] 8. 65; 9. 20; 64; 10. 28.

[4] 5. 3; 7. 5; 6; 8. 2; 4; 8; 11; 15; 21.

[5] 1. 6; 14; 48; 51; 5. 65; 8. 26; 80.

[6] W. Pötscher, *Numen* und *Numen Augusti*, ANRW 2, 16, 1, 1978, 355–392.

[7] 9. 11–13; 16–17; 36; 8. 68; 4. 8.

[8] 8. 70; 9. 26; 11. 4–5; 7; 10. 6; 7; 34; 72.

[9] K. Prinz, Martial und die griechischen Epigrammatiker, 1. Teil, Wien 1911, 78.

[10] H. Szelest 1986, 2591–2598.

Epigram as a literary form is partly rooted in oral and popular practice.[1] Initially epigrams were meant to be used as inscriptions or they were literary imitations of inscriptions; hence, the 'epigrammatic' element in the modern sense of the word was not an indispensable feature of them. If, for us, epigram is a 'rhymed point' (Boileau) or a 'condensed satire' (Opitz), this is owing to Martial, in whose œuvre satiric epigrams prevail (though not exclusively). Many Greek epigrams, therefore, are 'saltless' in our view; it must be remembered, however, that in book 11 alone of the *Anthologia Palatina* there are 442 mocking epigrams (closely linked to the *Sympotica*).

In Greek tradition Martial found many further varieties of forms: his epigrams on literary themes comprise polemics, dedications, and poems explaining the character and form of his epigrams or books. Their content is new throughout. Descriptions of works of art or persons equally adhere to traditional Greek forms, but their subject matter is Roman. In his funeral epigrams Greek influence is more conspicuous, although a personal touch is felt e.g. in 6. 18; 7. 96; 10. 61. In votive and dedicatory verse, imitations and sympotic epigrams, traditional forms get new vigor from personal and present-day themes. Martial's eulogies and reflective poems find no close parallels among Greek epigrams.[2]

His birthday poems (4. 1; 10. 24) are closer to the *genethliaca* of Roman elegy than to Greek epigram; his poems of farewell are part of the tradition of *hodoiporicon* or *propempticon*, which is not limited to epigrams. His love poems, of which we should not expect any romantic feelings, are spiced with allusions to Domitian's *lex de stupro*.[3] In a word: Martial adopts Greek forms to fill them with Roman content.

Generally speaking, texts bearing close resemblances to Greek models are not very numerous.[4] It is true that there exist Greek epigrams on circus games, but Martial's *liber spectaculorum* describes actual performances of A.D. 80; his poems are full of realism and immediate response. The *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* pretend to be inscriptions recalling the form of Greek votive epigrams. In their content, however, they are independent.

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[1] G. Pfohl, Bibliographie der griechischen Versinschriften, Hildesheim 1964.

[2] The eulogies are individual; the reflective epigrams contain e.g. considerations on the fickleness of wealth (5. 42; 8. 44) or the inevitability of death (4. 60). Philosophical themes of diatribe were treated e.g. by Leonidas of Tarentum.

[3] Inventive also 6. 71 or 12. 42.

[4] E.g. 2. 37; 3. 17; 23; 4. 4; 5. 32; 5. 53; 6. 12; 19; 39; 93; 7. 94; 11. 101; 12. 23.

In books 1–12, satirical epigrams play a significant role. Martial mentions Callimachus and a certain Bruttianus (unattested elsewhere) as his Greek models, while passing over in silence his real Greek predecessors in satirical epigram, Lucillius and Nicarchus. In Lucillius, who had lived under Nero, of 130 epigrams, only two had not been satirical. In this regard he paved the way for Martial, who often chose the same targets: hypocrites, rhetors and other fools, advocates and physicians, women and jealous men, gluttons and drunkards, niggards and spendthrifts, the fat and the lean, meager estates and cheap spirits. Everyday life is rich in new motives: for example (3. 60), cheap gifts to clients (in a typically Roman social framework), or the quickly expanding fashion of greeting kisses (11. 98). Aspects unknown to Greek epigram are obtained by inversion: Martial does not only mock gluttons, but also those who eat too poorly (3. 77; 5. 76), along with the evel-smelling the exceedingly perfumed (3. 55; 7. 41). Historical examples help to 'romanize' other well-known themes: in a trifle process an over-zealous advocate cites the battle of Thermopylae in Lucillius (AP 11. 141), while Martial has him quote the battle of Cannae (6. 19). Often, Martial's point is rather different from that of his model (an exception is 12. 23; AP 11. 310).

Lucillius loves what is fanciful and absurd,[1] Martial what is concrete and individual (3. 44; cf. Lucill. AP 11. 133); he strives for credibility and closeness to reality. One of them writes for authors, the other, for readers; Lucilius shows the world in a distorting mirror, Martial in a magnifying glass. His introduction of Roman material extends the size of his epigrams (e.g. 11. 18) Our poet often shows his heroes in a concrete situation; as a result, his epigrams are graphic and individual. More straightforwardly than Lucillius, Martial leads his readers towards the final point, which he throws into bold relief using all the resources of rhetoric.

The two parts of an epigram usually called 'expectation' and 'explication', resemble a report of an individual case and a subsequent comment on it, often involving a personal reaction.[2] Hence, Martial's

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[1] Lucill. AP 11. 205 (a banquet 'reversed', dominated by schematism and caricature), Mart. 2. 37 (concrete features, a list of individual elements, permanent motion, a miniature picture). The following sentence is typical of Lucillius (AP 11. 249): 'Had Epicurus seen this small property, he would have said that the world is not made of atoms, but of small properties.'

[2] AP 11. 310 (Mart. 12. 23); 11. 408 (3. 43); 11. 155 (9. 27); N. Holzberg 1986, 203; W. Burnikel 1980 passim; cf. also M. Lausberg 1984.

carefully chiseled epigrams (cf. 10. 2. 1–4) often are more complex and sophisticated and even wittier than those of Lucillius.

Of the Roman models named by Martial we know too little about Albinovanus Pedo, Marsus,[1] and Gaetulicus.[2] Martial himself transmits to us a rude epigram of Augustus, whose frankness he uses as *carte-blanche* for his own obscenities (11. 20). However, the master he adores is Catullus.[3] He wants to pay homage to him, but also to be the Catullus of his own age. There is, however, a fundamental difference: Martial does not attack particular persons but vices (*vitia* 10. 33. 10).

Parallels with Horace,[4] especially with his *Satires* and *Epodes*, mostly are based on similarity of character types (the niggard, the self-made man, the legacy hunter) and of general themes of popular philosophy (the brevity of life, the transitoriness of wealth, the golden mean). Differences in treatment are caused by differences of epoch and genre; nevertheless sometimes there is a blending of lyric atmosphere and realism reminiscent of Horace. The poems for Domitian, of course, occasionally recall Horace's odes to Augustus.

The praise of country life in some longer epigrams has a Tibullan ring. Martial's eulogy of the *univira* is akin to Propertius' final elegy (Prop. 4. 11; Mart. 10. 63. 7–8). The idea of *aurea Roma* reminds us of Ovid, although Martial's relationship to the emperor is less tense than is Ovid's. Both poets excel by humor and wit. There are almost no links to Phaedrus,[5] except for the fact that both authors are fond of conciseness and social criticism.[6] Martial quotes Quintilian and Frontinus; his relationship to Pliny is slightly more colorful, though not too close. Moreover, Martial takes issue with imitators and forgers; the latter are especially dangerous, since they could falsely attribute subversive poems to him. There are remarkable correspondences with the epigrams ascribed to Seneca.

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[1] Marsus e.g. 8. 55; 7. 99; Marsus' epigram on the death of Virgil and Tibullus conveys a very favorable impression of his art.

[2] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus (killed under Caligula).

[3] Cf. also H. Offermann, *Uno tibi sim minor Catullo*, QUCC 34, 1980, 107–139; Y. Nadeau, Catullus' Sparrow, Martial, Juvenal, and Ovid, Latomus 43, 1984, 861–868.

[4] H. Szelest, Altertum 1963.

[5] A. Guarino, La società col leone, Labeo 18, 1973, 72–77, compares Martial 3. 20 with Phaedrus 1. 5.

[6] Minor authors: L. Arruntius Stella (4. 6; 9. 69; 11. 15; 52); Martial praises his imitation of Catullus in his *Dove* (1.7). Martial also does homage to Sulpicia (10. 35; 38).

Given Martial's original genius, we are not surprised that he melts different genres or traditions: thus in 1. 49 he unites *propempticon* and the praise of country life (Hor. *epod.* 2). Martial's lyric vein is especially conspicuous in his longer epigrams, some of which exhibit a personal character (in the modern sense of the word). Martial interspersed his short epigrams with some more lengthy poems (of about 16–50 lines) which treat themes familiar to us from Horace and the elegists. Thus, they border on other genres: satire, elegy, eclogue, occasional poem (*silvae*). When treating subjects typical of epigram, amplification is achieved by descriptions, enumerations, similes, and series of examples. Long epigrams had been rare in the *Anthologia Palatina*; Catullus, however, had written some poems of 17–30 lines. The epigrams ascribed to Seneca in the *Anthologia Latina* are similar in length to Martial's poems (2–66 lines). Martial's independence shows from the sometimes considerable length of his poems as well as from his choice of meter for his longer epigrams; before him, such poems had usually been written in elegiac meter. On the other hand, he avoids rare meters (cf. 2. 86).

Epic and tragic poets—given the serious character of these literary genres—ran the risk of death penalty when uttering political criticism in their works.[1] A minor genre like epigram may have been considered a relatively safe vehicle for touching on topics of the day. Although this should not be generalized—actually, Martial was *born* to write epigrams—under the emperors, the time was ripe for an acme of epigram: once political life could no longer be discussed freely, private affairs were deemed worthy of poetic treatment. Under the Flavians and Trajan, along with epigram, some other genres had their prime or came to raise higher literary claims: letters (Pliny), occasional poems (Statius), declamatory satire (Juvenal), biography (Suetonius). What all these genres have in common is a close relationship to reality. In the period from Vespasian to Trajan we can trace an effort to represent real life and individuals in literature, a tendency which may be called typically Roman.

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[1] F. M. Fröhlke, Petron. Struktur und Wirklichkeit, Frankfurt 1977, 120–122.

Literary Technique

Martial structured each of his books with great care.[1] He was self-critical (cf. 1. 16) and knew that it makes a difference if a single epigram is successful or if a collection of epigrams is able to stand the test as a book.

Some books of the *Epigrammata* have a prose introduction. We find a similar practice in Statius—a new trend of the Flavian period. Beginnings and endings of books often exhibit correspondences. It is true that, in principle, each poem is independent, but in the course of each book there is an intriguing interaction of groups of poems. Cycles of epigrams can be pursued through entire books.[2] Book 11 is a book on Saturnalia; books 8 and 9 are centered on Domitian; in the last third of book 3 (announced in 3. 68) sexual themes prevail. Related epigrams may be placed together,[3] but they may also be separated by totally different poems.

The individual epigram often consists of two parts. The first part is objective, it may relate an event, state a fact or give a description. The second part is subjective: the poet gives his personal opinion and makes a concluding point. There are, however, good reasons against a schematic generalization: we should not expect to find this bipartite structure in all of Martial's epigrams.

Some essentials of epigram are: objectivity, a single theme, self-contained form, and brevity. The priniciple of *brevitas* was in harmony with 'modern style', the exponent of which was Seneca. In this regard, however, Martial was less severe than the Greeks: many of his epigrams have more than 2–4 lines; cf. 1. 77 on the length of epigrams. It is only with Martial that the 'pointed' conclusion, which originally had not been obligatory, became a typical feature of the genre. Even long texts have an 'epigrammatic' conclusion (e.g. 5. 78). Impressive contrasts are typical.

Many epigrams build up erroneous expectations, in order not to fulfill them: 'You were not as old as the Sibyl—she was three months older' (9. 29. 3–4).—'May the earth not be a burden to you—so that the dogs can dig out your bones.' (9. 29. 11–12). Martial's humor is

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[1] M. Citroni, edition of book 1, Introduzione, Ordinamento degli epigrammi, esp. p. xxxv on the position of no. 61.

[2] 1. 6; 14; 22; 48; 51; 60; 104 (on this, N. Holzberg 1986, 209–210); 2. 10; 12; 21; 22; 67; 72; 5. 8; 14; 23; 25; 27; 35; 38; 38 b.

[3] 3. 19 and 20; 1. 111 and 112.

that of an intellectual. Everything is streamlined to lead to the 'point'. The rational organisation of his poems is his special gift.[1]

We already mentioned the great number of genres and types of poems found in his work. In Martial's œuvre, parody and irony, wit and play on words triumph. There is a fruitful interaction between a mannered and a seemingly naive way of expression.[2]

Language and Style[3]

Martial is a convinced partisan of Latin; the Greek chatter of pretentious ladies does not suit him at all (10. 68; cf. also Iuv. 6. 185–199). *Latine* at times means something like 'in plain English': Martial speaks his mind and is not ashamed of using vulgar words. In his first *praefatio* he calls this attitude to language *lasciva verborum veritas*, 'the license of calling a spade a spade': he does not mince his words. *Lascivia* is part of the genre's tradition. Epigram is especially free in its choice of words. Obscenity is not only tolerated, it is obligatory. In fact, Martial adduces a pretty coarse epigram of Augustus to justify the liberties he allowed himself (11. 20).

Granted: play on language should not be underrated. Martial's 'points' are often based on ambiguity. The poet exploits the fact that some words have both a harmless and an obscene meaning: this is true of *Palinurus* (3. 78), *dare* (2. 56; 7. 70), *aquam sumere* (2. 50). With philological meticulousness he presents the difference of meaning between the two accusatives *ficus* and *ficos* (1. 65).

On the whole, however, Martial is closer to reality than Virgil and even Horace.[4] It is the facts and objects that count, and language is bound to illumine them. Thus, in 11. 18 the use of short words illustrates the theme 'smallness': when describing a miniature lot of land, Martial heaps short words and corresponding sounds: *rus, mus, sus, nux.* If 'mannerism' is defined as a preponderance of form over content, the term cannot be applied to Martial.

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[1] J. Kruuse 1941.

[2] W. Görler 1976, 12.

[3] On language and style: E. Stephani, De Martiale verborum novatore, Breslau 1889; L. Havet, La prose métrique de Martial, RPh 27, 1903, 123; O. Gerlach, De Martialis figurae ἀπροσδόκητον quae vocatur usu, diss. Jena 1911; J. Kruuse 1941; K. Barwick 1959; U. Jaepgen, Wortspiele bei Martial, diss. Bonn 1967.

[4] W. Görler 1976, 11.

Metaphor is relatively rarer than metonymy;[1] this is a feature uniting Martial and Horace who are both great realists. Comparisons often appear in guise of entire chains. In Martial's objective poetry myth[2] serves as a contrasting foil: Domitian is superior even to Jupiter and Hercules (4. 1; 9. 91; 101; 65), Nigrina is a better wife than Euadne and Alcestis (4. 75), and the country seat Marcella gave him is preferable to the gardens of Alcinous (12. 31). Reality puts myth into the shade. In satiric epigrams myth helps to enhance contrast: on that microscopic property a mouse turns into terrifying monster like the Calydonian boar (11. 18). As a rule, Martial is more sparing of comparisons than his Greek predecessors in epigram and uses them to describe reality.

Short poems become longer by rhetorical *amplificatio*, which entails an increase in concrete detail. Bombast, however, is stigmatized (*vesica* 4. 49. 7): rhetoric is not an end in itself. Martial's rhetorical and stylistic achievement is the orientation of the individual epigram towards its concluding point. He is a master of antithesis and maxim, but unlike Lucillius he wanted to conform to reality, especially in his use of language and style.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Martial often addresses his reader;[3] he craves his indulgence for book 10 and dedicates the 11th book to him; it is for his reader that he goes on publishing epigrams. For him, he writes *delectantia* (5. 16), not *seria*. He wants to be read,[4] not to sound forth great things (9 *praef.*). His public is eagerly waiting for the publication of new poems (4. 89; 11. 108); he takes care of the dissemination of his poems (5. 16). Famous poets and orators appreciate him and even the emperor reads him again and again (6. 64). His enthusiasts confer glory on him in his lifetime (1. 1) and immortality in days to come (8. 3).

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[1] H. Szelest 1980, 103.

[2] H. Szelest, Eos 1974.

[3] 1. 1; 113; 2. 8; 5. 16; 9 *praef. epigr.*; 9. 49; 10. 2; 11. 108; 11. 16; 12 *praef*; 12. 3; 1. 53; *lector studiosus* 1. 1; *lector amicus* 5. 16; cf. 10. 2; for his view of his identity as a poet N. Holzberg 1988, 85–93 (with bibl.); cf. also R. P. Saller 1983.

[4] 1 *praef.*; 1. 2; 6. 61; 9. 84; 11. 3; 7. 88.

Epigrams on his own authorship are especially numerous.[1] Competing with the Augustans' proud awareness of their poetic achievement, he raises unusually high literary claims for his poetic genre—and he gave it uncommon stature indeed. This can be seen in the introductory epigram which like a *sphragis* in the Ovidian vein (*trist.* 4. 10) thanks the reader for fame granted in the poet's lifetime. Like Horace, Martial is aware of the importance of 'filing' (10. 2. 1–4); above all, he recognizes the high requirements which an author of an entire book of epigrams has to meet (7. 85). As for satiric epigrams, collecting them into a well-structured book was an innovation.

In terms of the Callimachean *recusatio*, Martial freely acknowledges that he never will become a Virgil, but only a new Marsus (8. 56 [55]) or Catullus.[2] As the latter had done, he calls his poems 'trifles' (*nugae*), in the wake of Hellenism. To define oneself as a 'playful poet' is always a good weapon against all too demanding wishes of the powerful, witness the Augustans' use of *recusatio*. On the other hand, he is deeply convinced that his epigrams are more than mere play, which leads him to the point of dismissing mythical epic and tragedy as things of dalliance (4. 49). Yet he holds historical epic in high esteem. There is more to his admiration for Lucan and Silius than a client's assentation. Like Persius, he opposes Roman realism to Greek fancifulness.

In Martial's view, the worth of his epigrams consists in their close connection with life: *quod possit dicere vita, meum est*, 'of which life can say: 'It's mine'' (10. 4. 8) and *hominem pagina nostra sapit*, 'my page smacks of humanity' (10. 4. 10). It is in this framework that obscenity is justified by generic tradition.[3] Martial's work becomes a mirror of Roman life: *at tu Romano lepidos sale tinge libellos,/agnoscat mores vita legatque suos*, 'but do you dip your witty little books in Roman salt; let life recognize and read of her ways' (8. 3. 19–20). Tame epigrams are perhaps suitable for classrooms (3. 69), but Martial wants to shake up his readers: *ecce rubet quidam, pallet, stupet, oscitat, odit./Hoc volo: nunc nobis carmina nostra placent*, 'look, somebody turns red, turns pale, is dazed, yawns, is disgusted. This I want. Now my poems please me' (6. 60 [61] 3–4). The reader is stirred up because he feels involved.

[1] 1. 1; 61; 5. 13; 6. 61; 64; 82; 7. 84; 88; 99; 8. 3; 9 *epist.*; 84; 97; 10. 2; 9; 103 (Martial as *vates*); 11. 3.

[2] 4. 14. 13–14.

[3] *praef.*: *sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur*; cf. also 1. 35; 3. 68; 69; 86; 5. 2; 8. 1; 11. 15; 16; 20; 12. 43.

Martial seems to have managed to transpose poetry from the sphere of education into that of life.

Nevertheless, we have to qualify his closeness to life in two respects. First, our poet defends himself against the old Roman prejudice of *poeta grassator* (cf. Cato the Elder *apud* Gell. 11. 2. 5) and, like Catullus and Ovid, well-behavedly draws a borderline between his dissolute poetry and his respectable way of life (1. 4. 8). Second, Martial—in conformity with political and social life in his day—is free from *inhumana invidia* and does not want to offend anyone (10. 5; cf. 1 *praef.*). Hence he does not attack individuals, only typical vices (10. 33 *parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*, 'to spare persons, to speak of vices'); he is reticent about representatives of the upper classes and leaves his readers mostly with self-made men, clients, slaves and typical figures, well-known to us from epigram and satire: the intruder, the legacy-hunter, the niggard, the senile lover, etc. The fact that society compelled Martial to concentrate on humanity in general proved in the long run to be an advantage for future readers and, as a consequence, for the dissemination of his work.

Ideas II

We should neither deny that Martial pursued moral aims nor overemphasize this point. Martial was no hero of resistance. But is it correct to say that he observed Roman life 'with his eyes only'? Was his poetry really 'the aimless and disengaged play of an acute mind and a brilliant formal talent'? Was Martial that 'cynic beggar poet... full of limitless love for this undignified, miserable life, which is, after all, so sweet and enjoyable?'[1] The fact, that Martial draws a markedly favorable picture of the traditional Roman matron may be considered evidence for a certain moral commitment.[2] But is this more than a reflex of the expectations of Domitian the moral reformer and of Martial's rich protectresses? Whoever wished to be read by the Romans of that age had to take seriously the puritanism of the new senators who had come from small province towns. We should not even exclude that Martial's own moral views were not much more 'progressive'. Like many other critics of society he preferred to adopt a conservative standpoint.

[1] O. Seel 1961, 67; 57; 63.
[2] N. Holzberg 1986, 201.

It is true that some epigrams are indicative of an aversion to hypocrisy, especially those against sexually aggressive old women and effeminate men, whose behavior infringed the code of roles in Roman society. Yet, the first result of this undeniable contrast is *ridicule*. Moral criticism may be implied, but in the poems it is felt only indirectly. So it is difficult to distinguish from a mere conflict between the typical pattern of social behavior and the individual's deviation from it.

The poems on the life of clients amount to about 10% of Martial's œuvre. We may read them as a moral satire on a typical feature of Martial's age studied by him for decades. He gives first hand evidence of the life of clients and self-made men. Martial's *vive hodie* (1. 15) recalls Epicurus'[1] and Horace's *carpe diem*. Martial has a matter-of-fact view of man's chances to obtain happiness.

This is equally true of his relationship with the emperor. A poem directed against the third Flavian[2] was probably written *post festum* and is no less disgusting than Martial's eulogies of Domitian. It is anything but a proof of an intention to unmask the emperors' tyranny. In those days nobody seriously questioned the principate any more. In the first years of his literary activity Martial requested and received from Domitian the *ius trium liberorum* (2. 91 and 2. 92). His wishes for money (5. 19; 6. 10; 7. 60; 8. 24), however, probably went unheeded (although the absence of poetic 'acknowledgments of receipt' is not a proof but an *argumentum ex silentio*). Nor did he obtain direct water supply from the nearby aqueduct to his villa (9. 18); Statius was more successful (*silv.* 3. 1. 61–64). Unlike the latter, he was not invited to the emperor's court and did not participate in poetic contests. Scholars concluded that Domitian stood back from Martial more than he did from other poets, and they searched for compromising material with the Argus-eyes of public prosecutors. Here is the meager result: Martial praised certain republican heroes,[3] alluded to events under Claudius and Nero, ridiculed baldheads,[4] and mentioned Domitian's restoration of marriage law together with examples

[1] Epicurean elements in Martial: W. Heilmann 1984.

[2] Schol. Iuv. 4. 38 *Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres! Paene fuit tanti, non habuisse duos.*

[3] Cato the Younger (1. 8; 78), Paetus Thrasea (1. 8); Arulenus Rusticus, who had written a eulogy of Thrasea, was executed in 96.

[4] Mart. 5. 49; 6. 57; 10. 83; 12. 45; Suet. *Dom.* 18. 2; cf. Iuv. 4. 38; Auson. *de XII Caes.* 17; after the suppression of Saturninus' rebellion (89) Martial became even more cautious than he had been (H. Szelest 1974, 113).

proving their impracticability. Whoever is impressed by these peccadilloes may believe that Martial was obliged or at least felt obliged to make up for them by especially gross flattery. A more economic theory would be that he tried to season or make tolerable his evident opportunism by small republican or satiric gestures (if he was aware of them at all). Whether Martial was in favor with Domitian,[1] is another question. In accord with Seneca's *De clementia*, Martial especially praised the union of majesty and clemency (6. 38)[2] in Domitian's character. In the course of time the emperor's *numen* gains more and more importance.

Obscenity and servility are the two objections raised most frequently against Martial. The former[3] today has become pointless; the latter, however, must be maintained to a certain degree. Even if we close our eyes to the flatteries inevitably addressed to Domitian, Martial went to far by disparaging his former emperor in front of the new one; and his friendship with an opportunist and informer like Regulus was an act of free will.

Tradition[4]

The tradition of Martial consists of three recensions (A^a^, B^a^, C^a^); where they agree, the text is well ascertained. In the *Liber spectaculorum*, where B^a^ and C^a^ are lacking, there is more need of conjectural criticism.

A^a^: This archetype is only attested by florilegia. The *Liber spectaculorum* has been transmitted only in this family. In Lindsay's view (ed. praef.) the model of the florilegia had been a complete codex. The recension A^a^ often replaced obscene words with more decent ones (e.g. 1. 90. 6–7). This does not tell in favor of an early date of this recension.

B^a^: The archetype of this class represented the recension made by Torquatus Gennadius in A.D. 401. This manuscript had been written in Italy in Langobardic minuscule and contained books 1–4 with the following

[1] Negative: H. Szelest 1974, 114; W. Hofmann (Martial und Domitian, Philologus 127, 1983, 238–246) thinks of a permanent struggle for the emperor's grace.

[2] On the '*leo-lupus*-cycle' as an allusion to the emperor's attitude to Martial: N. Holzberg 1986, 209–212.

[3] The tradition of the genre justifies obscenity, s. above p. 1048, n. 3.

[4] W. M. Lindsay, The Ancient Editions of Martial, Oxford 1903; E. Lehmann, Antike Martialausgaben, diss. Jena 1931; W. Schmid, Spätantike Textdepravationen in den Epigrammen Martials, in: id., Ausgewählte philologische Schriften, Berlin 1984, 400–444; M. Reeve, Two Notes on the Medieval Tradition of Martial, Prometheus 6, 1980, 193–200; U. Carratello, Un nuovo codice di Valerio Marziale, GIF 33, 1981, 235–246.

transpositions: 1 *epist.* (1–2 are lacking) 3–14; 48–103. 2; 15–41. 3 (41, 4–47 were missing because a leaf had gone lost); 4. 24. 2–69. 1; 1. 103. 3–4. 24. 1; 4. 69. 2 and so on. The *Liber spectaculorum* is wanting.

C[a]: The archetype of this class was probably written in the 8th or 9th century in Gaul in Carolingian minuscule: the *Liber spectaculorum* is absent; the epigrams 10. 56. 7–72 and 87. 20–91. 2 dropped out.

The different wording (and compass) of the three families probably attests three different editions. Some variants might be traced to the author. For instance, the absence of 1. 1–2 in B[a] (despite the presence of the preceding epistle) is evidence of an older edition in which Martial could not yet claim universal fame (1. 1); moreover, at that moment, the pocket edition (1. 2) had not yet been published.

The headings of individual epigrams are genuine only in the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* (cf. 13. 3. 7; 14. 2).

Influence

Martial impressed his slightly younger contemporary, the satirist Juvenal, whose activity as rhetor[1] he mentioned; posterity often read both authors together. Hadrian's adoptive son Aelius Verus called Martial his 'Virgil'. His influence is felt in poets (like Ausonius), grammarians, and Church Fathers. In the Middle Ages[2] he was known, among others, to Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), Lupus of Ferrières (d. after 862), Heriger of Laubach (d. 1007), Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018), Odo of Meung (11th century), Papias (mid-11th century), Marbod of Rennes (d. 1123), Godefrid of Winchester (d. 1107), John of Salisbury (d. 1180), Walter Map (d. 1209), Petrus of Blois (d. about 1204), Herbert of Boseham (12th century), Radulf de Diceto (d. 1202).

The Renaissance heralded a new heyday: Nicolaus Perotti's (d. 1480)[3] *Cornucopiae* sprang from a commentary to Martial: Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592) quoted our poet 41 times. Of the numerous neo-Latin followers of Martial, a German, Eobanus Hessus (d. 1540; *Sylvae* 1535; enlarged edition 1539) and an Englishman, John Owen (d. 1622) may be mentioned. Martial inspired epigrammatists in all

[1] Bibl. in H. SZELEST 1986, 2579, n. 22.

[2] W. MAAZ, Lateinische Epigrammatik im hohen Mittelalter. Literarhistorische Untersuchungen zur Martial-Rezeption, Hildesheim 1992; on Martial's influence from antiquity to the end of the Renaissance cf. also P. LAURENS 1989.

[3] P. O. KRISTELLER, Niccolò Perotti ed i suoi contributi alla storia dell'umanesimo, RPL 4, 1981, 7–25; F. DELLA CORTE, Niccolò Perotti e gli epigrammi di Marziale, RPL 9, 1986, 97–107.

European countries and definitely called into being this literary genre in the modern languages;[1] in Germany, where epigrams more and more came to be written in the vernacular in the 17th century, Martial's poem listing things necessary for a blissful life (10. 47) was a favorite model.[2] In 1612 the Reverend Johannes Burmeister published a Christianized Martial[3] in Latin—in his edition, the pagan original and its Christian 'parody' coexist peacefully. The general increase of prudery during that century ended in a disparagement of Martial—and Catullus—as *esprits grossiers et rustiques* (Pierre Bayle, d. 1706).[4] Nevertheless, it was under the auspices of Martial that, in the 18th century, Lessing wrote his Latin and German epigrams[5] and developed his theory of epigram.[6] Schiller and Goethe used Martial's title for their epigrams (*Xenien*). Further evidence of Martial's influence in the 18th century is found in a bilingual anthology of Martial published by K. W. Ramler and containing translations by German poets.[7] Goethe's *Sprüche in Prosa* (third section) contain a maxim from Martial: *bonus vir semper tiro* (Mart. 12. 51. 2).

Martial's œuvre owes its survival and influence, above all, to its blending of Roman realism and of features typical of man at all times. In his poetry, human life 'comes to know itself' (10. 4). His achievement was the total fusion of the popular and the literary traditions of epigram and a new orientation of the readers' expectations

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[1] T. K. WHIPPLE, Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyat to Ben Jonson, University of California 1925; P. NIXON, Martial and the Modern Epigram, New York 1927; A. A. GIULIAN, Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Philadelphia 1930; K.-H. MEHNERT, Sal Romanus und Esprit français. Studien zur Martialrezeption im Frankreich des 16. und 17. Jh., diss. Bonn 1970; J. M. HUMEZ, The Manners of Epigram: A Study of the Epigram Volumes of Martial, Harington, and Jonson, diss. Yale 1971; F. RÖMER, Martial in drei Monodistichen des Giorgio Anselmi, WS 101, 1988, 339–350.

[2] R. LEVY, Martial und die deutschen Epigrammatiker des 17. Jh., Heidelberg 1903, 36.

[3] Johannes Burmeister, Martialis Renati Parodiarum Sacrarum pars prima (media, ultima). Quibus apposita Martialis Epigrammata, Goslar 1612.

[4] J. L. GERIG and G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK, Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle (Section 10), The Romanic Review 24, 1933, 211.

[5] P. ALBRECHT, Lessings Plagiate, Hamburg and Leipzig 1890.

[6] G. E. LESSING, *Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten*, in: SW (complete works), ed. K. LACHMANN, vol. 11, Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1895, 214–315.

[7] *Martial in einem Auszug, lat. und dt., aus den poetischen Übersetzungen verschiedener Verfasser gesammelt von* K. W. RAMLER, 5 vols., Leipzig 1787–1791; Supplement ibid. 1793; Appendix Berlin 1794.

concerning the characteristic marks of the genre. It is owing to Martial that, for us, 'epigram' means 'satiric epigram', not 'inscription' any more. He is the classic of epigram.

Editions: Ferrariae 1471. * I. Gruterus, Francoforti 1602. * L. Friedländer (TC), 2 vols., Leipzig 1886, repr. 1967. * W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1903 (2nd ed. 1929). * W. C. A. Ker (TTrN), London 1919. * R. Helm (TTrN), Zürich 1957. * W. Heraeus, I. Borovskij, Leipzig 1976 (= 3rd ed. 1982). * G. Norcio, Torino 1980. * P. Howell, London 1980. * D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Stutgardiae 1990. * Id. (TTrN), London 1993. * D. Estefanía (Tr), Madrid 1991. * *Book 1*: M. Citroni (TC), Firenze 1975. * *Book 11*: N. M. Kay (C), London 1985. ** *Concordances*: E. Siedschlag, Hildesheim 1979. * D. Estefanía, up to now 4 fascicles (A–F), Santiago de Compostela 1979–1985. ** *Bibl.*: J. W. M. Harrison, Martialis 1901–1970, Lustrum 18, 1975, 300–337. * Bibl. also in G. Norcio, quoted edition, 63–82, H. Szelest 1986 and N. Holzberg 1988.

O. Autore, Marziale e l'epigramma greco, Palermo 1937. * K. Barwick, Zur Kompositionstechnik und Erklärung Martials, Philologus 87, 1932, 63–79. * K. Barwick, Zyklen bei Martial und in den kleinen Gedichten des Catull, Philologus 102, 1958, 284–318. * K. Barwick, Martial und die zeitgenössische Rhetorik, Berlin 1959 (Abhandlungen Leipzig 104, 1). * H. Berends, Die Anordnung in Martials Gedichtbüchern I–XII, diss. Jena 1932. * V. Buchheit, Martials Beitrag zum Geburtstag Lucans als Zyklus, Philologus 105, 1961, 90–96. * W. Burnikel, Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzepigramms bei Lukillios und Martial, Wiesbaden 1980. * A. G. Carrington, Aspects of Martial's Epigrams, Eton 1960. * M. Citroni, La teoria lessinghiana dell'epigramma e le interpretazioni moderne di Marziale, Maia 21, 1969, 215–243. * C. J. Classen, Martial, Gymnasium 92, 1985, 329–349. * K. M. Coleman, The Emperor Domitian and Literature, ANRW 2, 32, 5, 1987, 3087–3115. * P. Dams, Dichtungskritik bei nachaugusteischen Dichtern, diss. Marburg 1970. * G. Erb, Zu Komposition und Aufbau im ersten Buch Martials, Frankfurt 1981. * J. Ferguson, Catullus and Martial, PACA 6, 1963, 3–15. * W. Görler, Martial über seine ländliche Heimat (*epigr.* 1. 49), Mitteilungen für Lehrer der Alten Sprachen 7, 1–2, 1976, 6–13. * J. P. Hallett, Martial's Sulpicia and Propertius' Cynthia, CW 86, 1992, 99–123. * W. Heilmann, 'Wenn ich frei sein könnte für ein wirkliches Leben . . .', Epikureisches bei Martial, A&A 30, 1984, 47–61. * R. Helm, Römisches Alltagsleben im 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr. nach Martial und Juvenal, Zürich 1963. * N. Holzberg, Neuansatz zu einer Martial-Interpretation, WJA 12, 1986, 197–215. * N. Holzberg, Martial, Heidelberg 1988. * J. Kruuse, L'originalité artistique de Martial. Son style, sa composition, sa technique, C&M 4, 1941, 248–300. * E. M. W. Kuppe, Sachwitz bei Martial, diss. Bonn 1972. * I. Lassa, Marziale poeta della

contraddizione, RFIC 83, 1955, 225–249. * P. LAURENS, Martial et l'épigramme grecque du 1er siècle après J.-C., REL 43, 1965, 315–341. * P. LAURENS, L'abeille dans l'ambre: Célébration de l'épigramme de l'époque alexandrine à la fin de la Renaissance, Paris 1989. * M. LAUSBERG, Das Einzeldistichon, München 1982. * M. LAUSBERG, Martials Spottepigramm auf den winzigen Bauern (11. 14), RhM 127, 1984, 159–165. * J. MANTKE, De Martiale lyrico, Wrocław 1966. * E. MARTINI, La Roma dei Flavii nei versi di Marziale, Atti dell'Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze 42, 1981, 56–94. * A. NORDH, Historical Exempla in Martial, Eranos 52, 1954, 224–228. * R. PAUKSTADT, De Martiale Catulli imitatore, diss. Halle 1876. * E. PERTSCH, De Martiale Graecorum poetarum imitatore, Berlin 1911. * K. PRESTON, Martial and Formal Literary Criticism, CPh 15, 1920, 340–352. * R. REITZENSTEIN, Epigramm und Skolion, Gießen 1893. * H. REMUND, Medizinisches aus Martial, mit Ergänzungen aus Juvenal, Zürich 1928. * C. SALEMME, Marziale e la poetica degli oggetti. Struttura dell'epigramma di Marziale, Napoli 1976. * C. SALEMME, Alle origini della poesia di Marziale, Orpheus n.s. 8, 1987, 14–49. * R. P. SALLER, Martial on Patronage and Literature, CQ 33, 1983, 246–257. * E. SCHÄFER, Martials machbares Lebensglück (5. 20 und 10. 47), AU 26, 1983, 74–95. * O. SEEL, Ansatz zu einer Martial-Interpretation, A&A 10, 1961, 53–76; repr. in: G. PFOHL, ed., Das Epigramm. Zur Geschichte einer inschriftlichen und literarischen Gattung, Darmstadt 1969, 153–186. * E. SIEDSCHLAG, Ovidisches bei Martial, RFIC 100, 1972, 156–161. * E. SIEDSCHLAG, Zur Form von Martials Epigrammen, Berlin 1977. * K. SIEMS, Aischrologia. Das Sexuell-Häßliche im antiken Epigramm, diss. Göttingen 1974. * F. SINATRA, Valerius Martialis, Catania 1981. * J. W. SPAETH, Martial and Virgil, TAPhA 61, 1930, 19–28. * A. L. SPISAK, Martial 6. 61. Callimachean Poetics Revalued, TAPhA 124, 1994, 291–308. * J. P. SULLIVAN, Martial: The Unexpected Classic, Cambridge 1991. * B. W. SWANN, Martial's Catullus. The Reception of an Epigrammatic Rival, Hildesheim 1994. * H. SZELEST, Martial und die römische Gesellschaft, Eos 53, 1963, 182–190. * H. SZELEST, Martials satirische Epigramme und Horaz, Altertum 9, 1963, 27–37. * H. SZELEST, Martial und Domitian, Eos 62, 1974, 105–114. * H. SZELEST, *Ut faciam breviora mones epigrammata, Corde*. Eine Martial-Studie, Philologus 124, 1980, 99–108. * H. SZELEST, Martial, eigentlicher Schöpfer und hervorragendster Vertreter des römischen Epigramms, ANRW 2, 32, 4, 1986, 2563–2623. * R. G. TANNER, Levels of Intent in Martial, ANRW 2, 32, 4, 1986, 2624–2677. * E. WAGNER, De Martiale poetarum Augusteae aetatis imitatore, diss. Königsberg 1880. * O. WEINREICH, Studien zu Martial, Stuttgart 1928. * P. WHITE, The Presentation and Dedication of the *Silvae* and Epigrams, JRS 64, 1974, 40–61. * Id., The Friends of Martial, Statius and Pliny, and the Dispersal of Patronage, HSPh 79, 1975, 265–300. * Id., *Amicitia* and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome, JRS 68, 1978, 74–92. * K. WILLENBERG, Die Priapeen Martials, Hermes 101, 1973, 320–351.

THE *PRIAPEA*

The collection of *Priapea* is dedicated to Priapus, a god protecting gardens against thieves. The hallmarks of his statues, carved roughly out of wood (10. 4), were a huge privy part painted in red (26. 9; 36. 10–11) and a sickle in the right hand (30. 1). 80 poems have come down to us (81 according to Bücheler who, following Scaliger, divided the last poem). 38 of them are written in hendecasyllables; 34, in distichs, and 8, in choliambs.[1]

Today, the collection is rather convincingly ascribed to a single author and dated after Martial. One difficulty remains: Seneca the Elder quotes a passage from Priap. 3 as Ovidian (*contr.* 1. 2. 22); we are compelled, therefore, to postulate the existence of a lost work of Ovid as a common source.[2]

Survey of the Work

There is deliberate alternation of meters and themes. As in Martial, there are no more than three meters. Mostly distichs and hendecasyllables take turns. At times, two[3] or three[4] poems in succession are written in the same meter. Neighboring epigrams related in theme can be written in different meter (24–25; 30–31; 51–52).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Priapeum is a sub-species of epigram. In Alexandria, the grammarian Euphronius (3rd century B.C.) wrote *Priapea* (Strab. 8. 382). Number 24 of our *Priapea* is an imitation of an epigram of the Greek Anthology. As a rule, however, Greek epigrammatists seriously invoke Pria-

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[1] Recent editors added five more poems from other sources: 2 in distichs, 2 in pure iambs, 1 in Priapeans (consisting of a Glyconic and a Pherecratean); the Priapean meter is attested elsewhere in Catullus 17 and in a fragment of Maecenas. Two of these poems (82–83) were ascribed to Tibullus, three (84–86) are found in the *Appendix Vergiliana.*

[2] Suggested dates: Augustan period (Schanz-Hosius, LG § 319); mid-1st century at the latest (Teuffel-Kroll, LG § 254. 5); after Martial (V. Buchheit 1962).

[3] Hendecasyllables: 25–26; 28–29; 34–35; 56–57; 69–70; distichs: 42–43; 67–68; 80–81 (if these two are not a single poem).

[4] Hendecasyllables: 44–46; 75–77; distichs: 20–22; 53–55; 4 poems: 71–74; it would be probably too schematic to subdivide the corpus in 9 × 9 poems; but, at least, the existence of a cycle like 1–9 cannot be mere coincidence.

pus as a tutelary god, especially of fishermen and sailors, whereas in Rome Priapus has lost this religious function. Instead, Latin *Priapea* are more varied in content and wittier in form. Poems 4 and 63. 17 allude to pornographic sources. Among the Romans, the genre initially had an epigraphical character:[1] the *Priapea* pretend to be mural graffiti in a small temple of Priapus (cf. 2. 9–10). However, this process may be occasionally reversed: poems from our book were transcribed on stone.[2] The collection considered here was a milestone since it raised the genre to the rank of literature. There are numerous parallels with Catullus, Ovid, and Martial. The author was qualified to compete with these ingenious predecessors.

Literary Technique

Artful *variatio* allows discovery of ever new facets of a limited subject. When comparing Priapus with other gods our poet now studies their favorite places (70), now their arms (20; cf. 9), now typical features of their bodies (36). Myth serves as a foil (16; 68) and the author takes a 'worm's eye view' of it. There is scabrous play on sounds and words (7; 54), there are charades[3] (67), and pseudo-naive interpretations of Greek words according to what they sound like to Roman ears (68).

Each epigram exhibits a calculated structure; the author brilliantly exploits the tension between 'expectation' and 'explanation'.[4] To give an example, he expressly applies the rhetorical category of 'obscurity' to the first part, which is intentionally mysterious (*obscure* 3. 1), while attributing to the second part, which is clear and concise the contrary principle of clarity (cf. *Latine* 3. 9) and simplicity (*simplicius multo est* ibid.). Such terminological precision adds to the intellectual appeal of the poems.

Language and Style

In accordance with their subject matter, the *Priapea* use vulgar vocabulary, but their style is sophisticated. This contrast is reminiscent of

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[1] CE 193; 862; 1504.

[2] Priap. 14; CE 861.

[3] On epigrams as enigmas V. Buchheit 1962, 82–87.

[4] G. E. Lessing, *Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm und einige der vornehmsten*

the art of Persius the satirist, although the author of the *Priapea* strives for smooth, not rough composition. Synonyms and paraphrases are numerous and attest to the writer's linguistic inventiveness.[1] Not unlike the best authors, our epigrammatist takes the sound of words seriously. There is brilliant play on homonyms.[2] Subtlest nuances of sound and rhythm[3] are meaningful; meter is handled with unusual care.[4]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The two initial poems introduce the reader to form and subject matter of the *Priapea*. Roman severity (*supercilium*) has to stay outside, and the reader will have to face the naked truth (1).[5] A later poem plays on the usual—and useless—warning addressed to chaste ladies (8). The *Priapea* have allegedly been written in a playful vein and without particular effort (2. 1–3); this assertion is typical of 'lower' genres and must not be taken literally.[6] To assume that the *Priapea* is a real collection of graffiti composed by different anonymi would amount to annulling the author's literary achievement. With a modesty fitting the genre, our poet keeps aloof from the Muses (2. 4–8), not unlike other authors of deliberately 'artless' poetry.

Epigrammatisten 1, 2 (s. above: *Roman Epigram*); even on single epigrams, Lessing (ibid. *IV. Priapeia*) is worth reading.

[1] Cf. metaphors such as *traicere* (11. 3), *laxare* (31. 3), *perforare* (76. 3); however, the poet does not avoid obscene vocabulary.

[2] E.g. *magnis testibus* (15. 7; cf. already Plaut. *Curc.* 32).

[3] In 11. 3 an accumulation of spondees illustrates size and tension.

[4] In the Phalaecean hendecasyllable a 'diaeretic' ending with two disyllables is generally unpopular; in this regard, the *Priapea* are especially severe (exceptions amount to no more than 1. 36 %: G. Bendz, Gnomon 44, 1972, 828). The ending of the pentameter almost always is disyllabic, never trisyllabic (here our author is more rigorous than even Martial). The five-syllable-word *supercilium* is emphatically placed to embody traditional literary polemics (1. 2; 49. 4). Four-syllable-words are used at the end of the pentameter only if they are proper names or if they form the 'point' of the epigram.

[5] Cf. Petron. 132 *extr.*

[6] The 'artlessness' of Priapus' statue (10. 2–4) is in harmony with this fiction, as is the god's lack of education: *libros non lego, poma lego* (68. 2).

Ideas II

The compass of themes is larger than it had been in Greek epigrams on Priapus. Still it is relatively limited: the unmistakable bodily attribute of Priapus, the chastisement of thieves, the gifts offered to the god. The play on serious Roman morality (which seems to be abrogated at the entrance of Priapus' temple), the relentless unmasking of hypocrisy, and the liberation from bourgeois constraints of Roman society are some aspects which make a reading of the collection rewarding for a public interested in cultural history and psychology. The rise of this sub-literary genre fits into the framework of the imperial period. The restrictions of liberty in political life and in 'high' literary genres indirectly conferred new dignity on genres like fable, epigram, occasional poetry, and novel.

Transmission

There are about 75 recent manuscripts. On the one hand (A) there is the Laurentianus 33, 31 (14th century), written by Boccaccio. On the other (B), there had been an independent copy (now lost), from which the following manuscripts derive: Guelferbytanus 373 (Helmst. 338), Laurentinaus 39, 34, Vossianus Latinus O. 81 (15th century).[1]

Influence

The *Priapea* were influential in the Middle Ages.[2] In the modern period they found enthusiastic readers, beginning with Boccaccio.[3] Lessing, himself an author of Latin and German epigrams, discussed textual problems in several *Priapea*.[4] The 3rd and 4th of Goethe's *Elegies* are Priapean.[5]

Editions: In the edition of Virgil by Io. Andreas De Bussi, Romae, printed by C. Sweynheim and A. Pannartz before 1469. * F. Bücheler, W. Heraeus in

[1] For a subtler view: V. Buchheit, Gnomon 33, 1963, 34–38 (4 groups: around A; around the Wratislaviensis Rehdigeranus 60, 15th century; the large group B; and a mixed class; cf. now W. H. Parker, edition, praef. 50–53 (based on R. E. Clairmont 1983).

[2] M. Coulon, La poésie priapique dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge, Paris 1932.

[3] Traces in France and Italy: Highet, Class. Trad. 651.

[4] ;S. p. 1053, n. 5; especially felicitous is Lessing's punctuation of no. 24.

[5] Highet, Class. Trad. 667 (bibl.).

the appendix to their edition of Petronius, Berlin 6th ed. 1922. * F. Vollmer, Poetae Latini Minores 2, 2, Lipsiae 1923. * A. Maggi (C), Napoli 1923. * C. Pascal, Carmina ludicra Romanorum, Torino 1931; new edition by I. Cazzaniga 1959. * C. Fischer, B. Kytzler (TTrN), Salzburg 1969; new edition (sel.) München 1978. * E. Montero-Cartelle (TrN; together with Pompeian inscriptions, the *Pervigilium Veneris* and other texts), Madrid 1981. * R. E. Clairmont, diss. Chicago 1983. * W. H. Parker (TTrC), London 1988. ** *Concordance*: H. Morgenroth, D. Najock, Hildesheim 1983. ** *Bibl.*: s. V. Buchheit.

J. N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary, London 1982. * J. N. Adams, A Type of Sexual Euphemism in Latin, Phoenix 35, 1981, 120–128. * V. Buchheit, Feigensymbolik im antiken Epigramm, RhM 103, 1969, 200–229. * V. Buchheit, Studien zum *Corpus Priapeorum*, München 1962. * V. Buchheit, Priapeum 3 und Ovid, RhM 131, 1988, 157–161. * F. Bücheler, Vindiciae libri *Priapeorum*, RhM 18, 1863, 381–415. * H. Dahlmann, *Priapeum* 82: Ein Gedicht Tibulls?, Hermes 116, 1988, 434–445. * V. Grassmann, Die erotischen Epoden des Horaz, München 1966. * H. Herter, De Priapo, Gießen 1932. * E. M. O'Connor, *Symbolum Salacitatis*. A Study of the God Priapus as a Literary Character, Frankfurt 1989. * A. Richlin, The Garden of Priapus. Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor, New Haven 1983. * J. K. Schönberger, Zur Sprache der *Priapeen*, Glotta 28, 1940, 88–99. * R. Verdière, Notes sur les *Priapea*, Latomus 41, 1982, 620–646.

III. PROSE

A. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RELATED GENRES

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

Life and Dates

Velleius Paterculus (his *praenomen* is controversial) originated from the municipal aristocracy, a social class which in those days was gaining in importance. From the mother's side, Decius Magius (Liv. 23. 7–10), a Capuan devoted to Rome, was among his ancestors (Vell. 2. 16. 2). His paternal grandfather, C. Velleius, had been *praefectus fabrum* under Pompey, his father was *praefectus equitum* under Augustus and a client of Ti. Claudius Nero, the father of Emperor Tiberius. Our author, who was a faithful vassal of Tiberius, also enjoyed the protection of M. Vinicius (consul A.D. 30), an influential personality, who later married a daughter of Germanicus.

Velleius was born in 20 or 19 B.C.; he served as a military tribune in Thrace and Macedonia (Vell. 2. 101. 3) under P. Silius and P. Vinicius, the father of his future protector. As an eye-witness he was present at the encounter of C. Caesar and King Phraataces of Parthia (2. 101. 2–3). In A.D. 4 Augustus adopted Tiberius (2. 103. 3); after this date Velleius as *praefectus equitum* (2. 104. 3) accompanied Tiberius to the Rhine. He became quaestor in A.D. 6, without being able to exercise this office, since he had to assist Tiberius during a riot in Pannonia (2. 111. 3). After his return to Rome, he at once had to return, as *legatus Augusti*, to his prince (2. 111. 4). He passed the winter (A.D. 7/8) in Siscia (2. 113. 3) and stayed in Pannonia until A.D. 9 (2. 114. 5–115. 1). Between 9 and 11 he accompanied Tiberius on his German campaigns and witnessed his triumph in Rome in 12 (2. 121. 3). In 15 he became praetor (2. 124. 4). It is uncertain if he is identical with the P. Vellaeus mentioned in Tacitus (*ann.* 3. 39. 1–2). We have no notice of him later than A.D. 30, the date of publication of his work. Did he fall a victim to the persecutions

after the downfall of Sejanus? The fact that his patron, M. Vinicius, survived the catastrophe is no proof to the contrary. In any case, we cannot conclude from the passage 2. 127. 3–4 that Velleius should have been an enemy[1] of Sejanus.

We do not know the exact title of Velleius' historical work. He dedicated it to M. Vinicius, the son[2] of his former commander, on the occasion of the consulate of the addressee (A.D. 30); the book was written therefore before January (less probably: July) 30.[3] Many apostrophes[4] and an original computation of years ('before the consulate of Vinicius')[5] establish a close relationship to the recipient. Velleius may have been preparing this work for a long time;[6] we need not suppose, then, that it was written down in haste. The relevant remarks show that Velleius complains of lack of space rather than of time.[7] In literary criticism, τάχος ('rapidity') is a synonym for συντομία ('brevity').[8] Consequently, his history should not be considered a parergon.[9]

Velleius toys with the idea of writing a larger work covering at least the period from the beginning of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey to the days of Velleius. However, Roman authors are not particularly sparing of promises to celebrate the exploits of living rulers.

Velleius' roots and biography left traces in his work: we recognize the theme of *homo novus*, a soldierly devotion to Tiberius, a closeness to the literary circle of the Vinicii, and also some deformations of character concomitant of an epoch and a government detrimental to free speech and historical writing. As a corollary, it might be worth inquiring if Velleius' striving for brevity reflects a general tendency of Tiberian literature.

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[1] For enmity: A. J. Woodman, CQ 1975, 302 with n. 5; the text is evidently panegyric: J. Hellegouarc'h, L'éloge de Séjan dans l'*Histoire Romaine* de Velleius Paterculus, Caesarodunum 15bis, 1980, 143–155.

[2] Incorrect A. Dihle, RE s.v. Velleius 640.

[3] In favor of the beginning of 30: A. J. Woodman, CQ 1975, 276; for the middle of the same year (or late summer): G. V. Sumner 1970, 284–288.

[4] 1. 13. 5; 2. 101. 3; 103. 1; 113. 1; 130. 4.

[5] 1. 8. 1 and 4; 2. 7. 5; 49. 1; 65. 2; 103. 3.

[6] A. J. Woodman, CQ 1975, 275–282.

[7] 1. 16. 1; 2. 41. 1; 108. 2; 124. 1; 2. 55. 1; 86. 1; 89. 1; 99. 3–4; 103. 4; 119. 1.

[8] A. J. Woodman, CQ 1975, 278–282; Lucian, *hist. conscr.* 56.

[9] Justly A. J. Woodman, CQ 1975, 303.

Survey of the Work

Velleius' history consists of two books. The first is mutilated at the beginning and exhibits a considerable lacuna in chapters 8/9. It treats the time from the end of the Trojan War up to 146 B.C. in 18 chapters. The 2nd book is clearly separated from the 1st by exursuses. It consists of 131 chapters and discusses at increasing length the period from 146 B.C. to Velleius' own time. It ends in a panegyric on Tiberius. The structure of the work has been compared very aptly to that of a pyramid.[1] We will come back to this unusual form which has been chosen on purpose (1. 14. 1 and 1. 16. 1).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Among the possible sources we have to consider in the first place the works of Cornelius Nepos;[2] this is true of both his world chronicle and his biographies. However, Velleius was susceptible to many influences, as shows from his chronology,[3] his selection of material, and his sympathies. To give an example, the date of the foundation of Rome in Velleius (1. 8. 4–6) is the same as in Atticus' *Annalis liber*, but Atticus—unlike Velleius and Nepos—does not mention Greek literature. Moreover, scholars have thought of Pompeius Trogus;[4] but the parallels are too trivial to be cogent. In the 2nd book, in particular, Velleius follows an author clearly prepossessed in favor of the *optimates* and Pompey. He probably consulted Augustus' *De vita sua* as well (Suet. *Aug.* 85. 1). His information on the battle of Varus possibly stems from Livy,[5] who also furnished significant *exempla*. Yet, there are divergences in details and differences of emphasis suggest that Velleius relied on biographies as well. This brings us back to Nepos, whose biographies were of easier access than *laudationes funebres* buried in family archives.

Velleius' opinions in matters of literature partly coincide with those expressed in Cicero's *Brutus* and Quintilian's *Institutio*; he must have used a source responsive to rhetorical traditions. If, on the other hand, Velleius is eloquently reticent about authors no lesser than

[1] J. Hellegouarc'h 1976, 240.

[2] There are parallels between Velleius and Apollodorus, the source of Nepos.

[3] A survey in: J. Hellegouarc'h 1984, 411–412; cf. J. De Wever 1969.

[4] In favor of his dependence on Trogus: R. Perna, Le fonti storice di Velleio Patercolo, Lucera 1925, 18; against: M. L. Paladini 1953, 457.

[5] Cf. Vell. 2. 117–119 together with Flor. 2. 30 = 4. 12.

Ennius and Plautus, this may be owing to a 'neoteric' bias of his source Nepos[1] (or even of the circle of Vinicius).

Furthermore, there are traces of Sallustian[2] and Ciceronian influence. Velleius frequently follows authors rooted like himself in a municipal ambience. In all probability this is not a deliberate choice but a consequence of the fact that this social class was strongly represented in literature.

His work is generally thought to be a *Roman History* (this is the title framed by Beatus Rhenanus); actually, it is a compendium of universal history,[3] the record of mankind in a nutshell,[4] at least as far as the 1st book is concerned. Given the novelty of his conception, Velleius is entitled to deem his opusculum something 'out of the ordinary'—quite unlike 'regular books' (*iustis voluminibus*).[5] In fact, it is easier to find models for details than for his overall design. The 'chronographies' of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (about 257–194 B.C.) had touched upon literary history as well; the latter's follower, Apollodorus of Athens (around 180 B.C.), included the development of many disciplines, even philosophy (for the benefit of pupils, he put his vade-mecum into comic trimeters). L. Scribonius Libo had compiled a (presumably rather jejune) list of magistrates. Varro's *De gente populi Romani* encompassed non-Roman material as well and was an attempt to reconcile Roman and foreign chronology. However, the same author's *Annales* were in all likelihood limited to Rome and not concerned with literary history. Finally, Sallust's adviser, Ateius philologus (Suet. *gramm.* 10) had drawn up a *Breviarium rerum omnium Romanarum.* We should be happy if we knew more about these works. As a universal historian concerned about brevity[6] and not free of a panegyric bent, Velleius, to our knowledge, is only comparable with later authors like Florus, Sulpicius Severus, Eutropius, and Orosius. For us, he inaugurates a 'new' genre.

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[1] L. Alfonsi, Sulla *Cronaca* di Cornelio Nepote, RIL 76, 2, 1942–1943, 331–340, esp. 337–339.

[2] J. Hellegouarc'h 1974, 81.

[3] Vell. 1. 16. 1; 2. 29. 2; 38. 1; 41. 1; 52. 3; 55. 1; 66. 3; 86. 1; 89. 1; 99. 3; 124. 1.

[4] G. V. Sumner 1970, 282.

[5] Vell. 2. 48. 5; 114. 4; 119. 1; R. J. Starr 1981, 166.

[6] E. S. Ramage 1982.

Literary Technique

The work probably started with a dedication to Vinicius; such dedications, unknown to the great historians, are found in Coelius, Lutatius Catulus, Cornelius Sulla, and Aulus Hirtius, who is a kindred spirit of our author.[1]

On a large scale, Velleius observes the chronological order of events. In a way reminiscent of Livy's annalistic method, he alternately discusses Italian and foreign affairs. Velleius shapes individual narrative units and arranges them in juxtaposition. Two diverging types of narrative[2] alternate: one, strictly organized and dramatic; the other, ornate and knit more loosely. Like Sallust, Velleius avoids lingering on tedious details. His narrative technique was schooled by the influence of biography and anecdote.

As Velleius groups events around individual characters, some features of his work are reminiscent of biography. His portraits of Tiberius (2. 94–99) and Sejanus (2. 127. 3–4), for all their laudatory bias, exhibit a refined technique (antithesis, variation, *syncrisis*) which assigns to Velleius a place between Sallust and Tacitus. Consummate miniatures portray minor characters such as Cato the Younger, Saturninus, L. Piso, and Curio (who recalls Sallust's Catiline). Female characters—from heroic to demoniac—complete the gallery: Calpurnia, Fulvia, Livia, Servilia, Julia.

The great number of *exempla* tells of the author's rhetorical training. Many of them are also found in Livy and Valerius Maximus. Moreover, a description of landscape like 1. 16. 2 is reminiscent of the school of rhetoric, the influence of which is not limited to panegyric passages. Generally speaking, Velleius' 'rhetorical' history cannot be reduced to a uniform pattern. (Nor is his account of the same quality throughout). According to Tiberius' teacher, Theodorus of Gadara, rhetoric does not follow mechanical rules: we should keep in mind this theory whenever approaching the multifaceted literature of the Tiberian epoch. Nevertheless, Velleius' history is more carefully wrought than some of us might have expected.

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[1] H. Peter, Der Brief in der römischen Literatur, Leipzig 1901, 243; 247–248.
[2] R. J. Starr 1978.

Language and Style[1]

The 'studied negligence' of Tiberian literature is also felt in Velleius' handling of language.

In some instances, he succeeds in creating a dignified historical style. To give an example, he shares Sallust's preference for raising abstract nouns to the rank of acting subjects: *D. Brutum Antonii interemit crudelitas*, 'the cruelty of Antony ended the life of D. Brutus' (2. 87. 2). In this way he achieves intensity and brevity. His concise verdict on the relations between Rome and Carthage is worthy of the pen of Sallust: *aut bellum ... aut belli praeparatio aut infida pax*, 'either war or preparations for war or a treacherous peace' (1. 12. 7).

Under the sway of rhetoric individual features gain prominence at the cost of the proportions of the whole.[2] The reader remembers the antithesis evoked on the occasion of Pompey's death: Does a man need much soil? *Ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam*, 'that he who but a short time before had found no more lands to conquer now found none for his burial' (2. 53. 3). Similarly, Velleius, owing to his training in declamation, shows a preference for alliteration, parallelism, metaphor and prose rhythm.[3]

Generally speaking, his language and style hold an intermediate position between the classical period of the 1st century B.C. and the Neronian epoch, with Seneca the Younger as its exponent. Hence, the style of Velleius oscillates between well-rounded periods and short-winded *commata*. Sophistication and negligence[4] coexist gracefully—in harmony with the fashion of the day and the teachings of contemporary rhetoric. In his most accomplished passages Velleius seems to speak directly to his addressee or to his reader. It is a shame indeed that, at the end, the author as a human being disappears behind the mask of a Byzantine panegyrist. But this very fact must be an integral part of any truthful portrait of the epoch and the author.

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[1] E. Bolaffi, De Velleiano sermone et quibusdam dicendi generis quaestionibus selectis, Pisauri 1925; F. Portalupi, Osservazioni sullo stile di Velleio Patercolo, CCC 8, 1987, 39–57.

[2] E. Bolaffi 1960.

[3] E. Bolaffi, De Velleiano sermone..., Pisauri 1925; for his style, cf. also: L. Castiglioni, Alcune osservazioni a Velleio Patercolo, RAL 6, 7, 5–10, 1931, 268–273.

[4] Similarly, Pliny describes the works of a certain C. Fannius as *inter sermonem historiamque medios* (Plin. *epist.* 5. 5. 3).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature[1]

Velleius is one of the few ancient historians who, within the framework of general history, take cognizance of the development of literature. In digressions devoted to this subject, he discusses Homer and Hesiod (1. 5 and 1. 7), engages in a comparative account of Greek and early Roman literature (1. 16–18), and surveys the history of Roman literature up to Sulla (2. 9), to dwell, finally, on the 'golden age' of Caesar and Augustus (2. 36). Since many of his verdicts on authors are akin to those of Cicero and Quintilian,[2] it might be tempting to consider him a 'moderate Atticist'.[3] As a member of the circle of the Vinicii, however, he is able to acquire a taste for more 'modern' tendencies as well, to the point of finding words of praise for Ovid and Rabirius (2. 36. 3). His silence on Ennius and Plautus may spring from the self-confidence of an age convinced to have outshone those luminaries of a remote past.

Though firmly rooted in the classical tradition of 'canonizing' certain authors,[4] Velleius is ready to accept innovation as a principle of historical development: in fact, his creed is a renewal of literature *per genera.* He starts from observing that each single artistic genre achieved perfection within a short period of time[5] (*eminentia cuiusque operis artissimis temporum claustris circumdata*, 'the pre-eminent works in each type of art are confined within the narrowest limits of time' 1. 17. 4). This phenomenon, according to Velleius, is caused by a psychological law:[6] emulation (*aemulatio*) soon leads to perfection, which is followed by decline.[7] Epigones who despair of equaling their predecessors, search

[1] E. Cizek 1972, 85–93.

[2] On Accius (1. 17. 1; 2. 9. 3; cf. Ov. *am.* 1. 15. 19; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 97); on Afranius (1. 17. 1; 2. 9. 3; Cic. *Brut.* 45. 167; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 100); on Sallust (2. 36. 2 and 3; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 101); on Cicero (1. 17. 3; 2. 36. 2; like Seneca the Elder, Tacitus in the *Dialogus*, and Quintilian, passim).

[3] As did F. Della Corte 1937; contradicted by E. Cizek 1972, 88.

[4] Cf. his excursuses on literature: 1. 5; 1. 7. 1; 1. 16–18; 2. 9; 2. 36.

[5] According toVelleius there were not only privileged periods, in which literature and art flourished, but also privileged places like Athens (1. 18).

[6] Velleius does know that he can only find 'probable', not 'true' causes (1. 17. 5).

[7] Vell. 1. 17. 6: *difficilisque in perfecto mora est*; Sen. *contr.* 1 *praef.* 6–7: *lex est ut ad summum perducta rursus ad infimum . . . relabantur*; on this: L. A. Sussman, The Elder Seneca's Discussion of the Decline of Roman Eloquence, CSCA 5, 1972, 195–210, esp. 206–209; Hippocrates, *Aphor.* 1. 3; Celsus *med.* 2. 2. 1; for *aemulatio* cf. *honos alit artes* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 2. 4); cf. also G. B. Vico's theory of *corsi e ricorsi*; L. Alfonsi, La dottrina dell'*aemulatio* in Velleio Patercolo, Aevum 40, 1966, 375–378.

for another field of action (1. 17. 6–7). By his implicit reserves against mere *imitatio* and his acceptance of modern literary developments Velleius made available some arguments which prepared the 'new style' of the 1st century A.D.

It is true that Velleius did not notice that great authors may be born independently of any particular epoch. This, however, is an aspect which ultimately defies historical research. On the other hand, he convincingly highlights certain conditions—like *aemulatio*—as factors shaping history.

Ideas II

The intellectual horizon of our author, if not particularly original, helps us to get a glimpse of the mentality of his class and of the situation of Roman historiography in his day. We must recognize, however, that he does not treat Roman history as an isolated subject but as part of universal history. His perspective includes Greece and Carthage, and he even is aware of the dangers imminent from the Parthians and Teutons. History falls into two parts. As in Sallust, the destruction of Carthage is the turning point (2. 1.). This borderline is defined in terms of ethics. The time after that moment comprises several epochs. The main breaks are the beginning of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, the restoration of the state by Octavian, and Tiberius' accession to the throne. This subdivision does not evince a particularly subtle sense of historically relevant caesuras.[1]

More intriguing is Velleius' above-mentioned approach to the history of literature and art. Scholars tried to apply its principles to general history as well. This would mean that in the imperial period a realization of Roman life in a new *genus* occurred, in which Roman *virtus* and Rome's *fortuna* would be re-established.[2] Yet, for Velleius, history is not divided into 'Republic' and 'Empire'[3] but the epochs before and after the destruction of Carthage. There is no mention of a possible downfall in the future (an assumption which would be inevitable in a 'biological' conception of history). Therefore we should abstain from searching for profound philosophical ideas in

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[1] R. J. STARR 1978.
[2] E. CIZEK 1972, 89–91.
[3] As E. CICEK 1972, 89 implies.

Velleius. His rhetorical historiography is imbued with the moralism inherent in the genre.

Velleius' view of *fortuna* enters into the same rhetorical and historical traditions.[1] Man struggles with her: *Rumpit, interdum moratur moratur proposita hominum fortuna*, 'Fortune sometimes breaks off completely, sometimes merely delays, the execution of men's plans' (2. 110. 1). The struggle of *virtus* and *fortuna* is a venerable theme.[2] As in Cicero (*Phil* 3. 16), Trogus, and others,[3] in Velleius *virtus* and *fortuna* must be united; the actions of certain heroes seem to be predestinated.[4] *Fortuna*, whose activity becomes prominent after the fall of Carthage, favors Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius.

Velleius has a Roman and an Italic identity (hence his solidarity with Italy's inhabitants and their struggle for the right of citizenship). He is a *homo novus* and is sympathetic with his equals (esp. 2. 128). He adds, however, some spice to the traditional moralism of Roman historiography by unflinchingly supporting the optimates, a bent rather surprising with a *homo novus* but perfectly in tune with the conservative mind of a *petit bourgeois* and with a military's devotion to authority. He rebukes the *populares* and condemns the policy of the Gracchi (2. 2–3; 6–7), of Cinna (2. 20; 24), of Marius (2. 212–23), and of the first triumvirate (2. 44). He praises Scipio Nasica (2. 3), Cato the Younger (2. 35) and, of course, Cicero (2. 34; 45; 66). His assessment of Pompey is ambivalent (2. 29–30; 33; 40; 48; 53), since in this case there is a conflict between the senator's romantic attachment to the *optimates* and the soldier's loyalty to Caesar.[5]

Velleius is part of the class of *homines novi* who gained political influence under Augustus and Tiberius.[6] It is true that it was not a principle of Tiberius to favor self-made men (although Sejanus should be mentioned), but Velleius, the proficient officer of municipal origin, was the typical 'up-and-coming man'. Another proof of his ambition are his efforts to immortalize himself and his family in his work.[7]

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[1] J. Hellegouarc'h 1964, 680–683; F. Cupaiuolo, Caso, fato e fortuna nel pensiero di alcuni storici Latini. Spunti e appunti, BStudLat 14, 1984, 3–38.

[2] For 2. 48. 2 *defuisset fortunae destruendi eius locus* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 35. 86; Sen. *cons. Marc.* 20. 4.

[3] J. Hellegouarc'h 1964, 681.

[4] J. Hellegouarc'h 1964, 676–677.

[5] He approves of Caesar in 2. 41–43; 47; 52; 56–57, but slightly blames him in 56; 49 is ambivalent.

[6] I. Lana 1952.

[7] 2. 16. 2–3; 69. 5; 76. 1; 101. 2–3; 104. 3; 111. 3–4; 113. 3; 114. 1–2; 115. 1; 121. 3; 124. 4.

Although Velleius promised to be honest (*iustus sine mendacio candor*, 'fair-minded candor without misrepresentation' 2. 116. 5) he neither kept nor could he have kept his promise. In his panorama of the Roman empire the cruel aspects are missing,[1] a vision prepared by Livy; but Velleius' account is biased to the point of distorting facts:[2] Antony and Lepidus, not Augustus were responsible for the proscriptions (2. 66). The raving soldiery, not Augustus, were guilty of the massacre of Perusia (2. 74). In the battle of Actium, Augustus fought to rescue the world, and this was the most merciful of all victories (2. 85–86). Even in Alexandria (2. 87. 2) and when Julia's lovers were punished (2. 100. 5) our scribbler dares talk of clemency. As early as in Augustus' lifetime Tiberius had been the only pillar of the empire (2. 103). He appears as the perfect monarch. Under his reign the new political system has attained its climax. The murder of Agrippa Postumus (2. 112) and the removal of Germanicus to the east (2. 129) are varnished over with mendacious phraseology. Horace is absent from the survey of literary history, perhaps for having acknowledged Drusus, the more talented brother of Tiberius.[3] It is true that even Tacitus acknowledged the positive achievements of Tiberius during the first years of his reign (Tac. *ann.* 4. 6) but when Velleius was writing, times had changed. Five years earlier the courageous historian Cremutius Cordus had died. Tiberius had already shown of what he was capable. Velleius, however, persistently maintained that everything was in perfect order. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that he dedicated his work to Vinicius, not to Sejanus.

In a period hardly allowing of free expression of opinion, Velleius was one of those self-made men who supported the new regime. Nobody had compelled him to choose this career. He became what he had wished to become: perhaps not a propagandist but certainly a historian close to the imperial court and prone to panegyric embellishments.

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[1] J. Hellegouarc'h 1974.

[2] R. Syme 1978.

[3] R. J. Goar, Horace, Velleius Paterculus, and Tiberius Caesar, Latomus 35, 1976, 43–54; esp. 53–54.

Tradition

The test is based on the lost Murbachensis (M; 8th century), which had been written in Carolingian minuscule.[1] In 1515 Beatus Rhenanus had discovered this manuscript in the Benedictine Abbey at Murbach, Alsatia. The humanist had a copy made, which turned out to be faulty (R); the editio princeps (P) was published under his direction with an appended list of readings of M based on a new collation by J. A. Burer. In addition, we have to take into account the quotations from Velleius in Beatus Rhenanus' edition of the *Germania*. Finally, there are his marginal notes in the Schlettstadt copy of his edition of Velleius.[2]

Athough the Murbachensis was lost, we have another copy (A), written by Bonifaz Amerbach (Univ. bibl. Basel AN II 8). It was on this manuscript that J. C. Orelli based his edition (Leipzig 1835). Whether Amerbach's source was M or R is still disputed. The first eight chapters are lacking in A; for them, the editio princeps is our sole witness.

Influence

Tacitus is reticent on Velleius, although there is evidence that he did use him.[3] In the 4th century, Sulpicius Severus depended on him.[4] As a rule, Velleius was rarely mentioned in classical antiquity and during the Middle Ages.

In his book *De argumentis scientiarum*, Roger Bacon (13th century) praised Velleius for including literary history into his survey of general history, and declared that a historical account disregarding literature was like a Polyphemus deprived of his eye.[5] The great number of printed editions[6] shows that Velleius' work was not considered an ordinary compendium and that he was taken seriously, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. For English readers, he was one of the authors who embodied the pure Latin style, and students were compelled to read him.[7] Like many compendia of its kind, Velleius' work

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[1] J. C. M. Laurent, Über die Murbacher Handschrift des Velleius, Serapeum 8, 1847, 188–192.

[2] G. von der Gönna, Beatus Rhenanus und die Editio princeps des Velleius Paterculus, WJA n.s. 3, 1977, 231–242, esp. 231–238.

[3] For a possible influence in the 1st century: A. J. Woodman 1975 with bibl. (in: Dorey), 24, n. 69.

[4] E. Klebs, Entlehnungen aus Velleius, Philologus 49, 1890, 285–311.

[5] Quoted by E. Bolaffi 1960, 337.

[6] Between 1520 and 1933 there were 47 editions (according to A. Dihle 1955, 654).

[7] A. J. Woodman (in: Dorey) 1975, 18.

was more read than quoted. It did not fail to inspire historiography of modern times: Hénault, a politician and writer (d. 1770) expressed his love for this *modèle inimitable des abrégés.* These are his memorable words: *Je ne me lasse point de le lire, je l'ai admiré toute ma vie; il réunit tous les genres; il est historien quoique abréviateur. Il en dit assez pour instruire; sa précision ne vient pas d'impuissance. L'ouvrage de Velleius Paterculus suffit à l'apologie des abrégés chronologiques.*[1] It is true that Hénault was not entirely unprejudiced, since he was himself the author of an ingenious and popular *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de France* (1744). Some modern scholars went even further: they approved his portrayal of Tiberius to the point of preferring Velleius to Tacitus.

Both for its form and content, his work is typical of its epoch: as Velleius was an eyewitness of the time of Tiberius, his work is valuable historical evidence. While Tacitus reflects the attitude of the senators in the ruler's last years, Velleius is not to be neglected as a witness for his early years. His perspective is that of an officer; in this regard he resembles Hirtius. His unconditioned dedication to his commander and his more or less dexterous efforts at whitewashing him are reminiscent of the same author.

Generally speaking the decline of both historiography and oratory are symptoms of the political change which took place in the early empire. Although we should expect of Velleius neither the expression of an independent opinion nor a political analysis of history, he may interest us as a typical representative of his class, the educated municipal aristocracy, which increasingly became a pillar of the historical process.

The brevity of the work—in contrast to Livy—is part of the style of the Tiberian epoch (cf. Phaedrus); the same is true of the author's propensity to rhetoric. Typical of the time is a style both loose and affected: it is fashionable to display a disdain for strict rules and a calculated spontaneity. Velleius is neither a philosopher nor an artist, but a leading prose writer of the Tiberian epoch, a transitory phase between Augustan classicism and Neronian baroque.

It is one of his special merits to have incorporated literary history into general history. He combined universal, literary and contemporary history into a unique opusculum, difficult to fit into current patterns.

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[1] In: P. Hainsselin, H. Watelet, eds., Velleius Paterculus et Florus (TTrN), Paris 1932, 10.

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E. BOLAFFI, Tre storiografi latini del I secolo d. C.: Velleio Patercolo, Valerio Massimo, Curzio Rufo, GIF 13, 1960, 336–345, esp. 336–340. * E. CIZEK, L'image du renouvellement historique chez Velleius Paterculus, StudClas 14, 1972, 85–93. * F. DELLA CORTE, I giudizi letterari di Velleio Patercolo, RFIC n.s. 15, 1937, 154–159. * J. DELZ, Marginalia critica ad Tiberianam Vellei Paterculi narrationem, in: C. SCHAEUBLIN, ed., FS B. WYSS, Basel 1985, 132–137. * A. DE VIVO, *Luxuria* e *mos maiorum*. Indirizzi programmatici della storiografia velleiana, Vichiana 13, 1984, 249–264. * J. DE WEVER, Recherches sur la chronologie de Velleius Paterculus pour la fin du IVe siècle avant notre ère (334–302), Latomus 28, 1969, 378–390. * A. DIHLE, Velleius Paterculus, RE 8 A 1, 1955, 637–659. * J. HELLEGOUARC'H, Les buts de l'œuvre historique de Velleius Paterculus, Latomus 23, 1964, 669–684. * J. HELLEGOUARC'H, L'impérialisme romain d'après l'œuvre de Velleius Paterculus, in: L'idéologie de l'impérialisme romain, Colloque de Dijon (1972), Paris 1974, 69–90. * J. HELLEGOUARC'H, Lire et comprendre. Quelques remarques sur le texte de l'*Histoire romaine* de Velleius Paterculus, REL 54, 1976, 239–256. * J. HELLEGOUARC'H, La figure de Tibère chez Tacite et Velleius Paterculus, in: Mélange de littérature et d'épigraphie latines, d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie. Hommage à la mémoire de P. WUILLEUMIER, Paris 1980, 167–183. * J. HELLEGOUARC'H, C. JODRY, Les *Res gestae* d'Auguste et l'*Historia Romana* de Velleius Paterculus, Latomus 39, 1980, 803–816. * C. KUNTZE, Zur Darstellung des Kaisers Tiberius und seiner Zeit bei Velleius Paterculus, Frankfurt 1985. * I. LANA, Velleio Patercolo o della propaganda, Torino 1952. * D. J. MCGONAGLE, Rhetoric and Biography in Velleius Paterculus, diss. Ohio State Univ. 1970, abstract in: DA 31, 1971, 3528 A. * F. MÜNZER, Zur Komposition des Velleius, in: FS zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner, Basel 1907, 247–278. * M. L. PALADINI, Studi su Velleio Patercolo, Acme 6, 1953, 447–478. * E. S. RAMAGE, Velleius Paterculus 2. 126. 2–3 and the Panegyric Tradition, Classical Antiquity (University of California) 1, 1982, 266–271. * E. ROSSI, La tecnica ritrattistica in Velleio Patercolo, AFLC n.s. 1, 1976–1977, 97–116. * P. SANTINI, Caratteri del linguaggio critico-letterario di Velleio Patercolo, in: Studia Florentina A. RONCONI oblata, Roma 1970, 383–391.

* F. A. Schöb, Velleius Paterculus und seine literar-historischen Abschnitte, diss. Tübingen 1908. * R. J. Starr, A Literary Introduction to Velleius Paterculus, diss. Princeton 1978, abstract in: DA 39, 1979, 5491 A. * R. J. Starr, Velleius' Literary Techniques in the Organization of his History, TAPhA 110, 1980, 287–301. * R. J. Starr, The Scope and Genre of Velleius' History, CQ n.s. 31, 1981, 162–174. * G. V. Sumner, The Truth about Velleius Paterculus: Prolegomena, HSPh 74, 1970, 257–297. * R. Syme, Mendacity in Velleius, AJPh 99, 1978, 45–63. * H. J. W. Verhaak, Velleius Paterculus en de rhetoriek van zijn tijd, diss. Nijmegen 1954. * A. J. Woodman, Questions of Date, Genre, and Style in Velleius: Some Literary Answers, CQ n.s. 25, 1975, 272–305. * A. J. Woodman, Velleius Paterculus, in: Empire and Aftermath, Silver Latin II, ed. by T. A. Dorey, London and Boston 1975, 1–25. * A. J. Woodman, Sallustian Influence on Velleius Paterculus, in: J. Bibauw, ed.,

Hommages à M. Renard, vol. 1, Bruxelles 1969, 785–799.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

Life and Dates

Valerius Maximus[1] lived under Tiberius, who was the dedicatee of his work. The author was not wealthy (if we may believe him). He went to Asia together with his protector S. Pompeius (2. 6. 8; 4. 7 *ext.* 2) who perhaps was identical with the consul of 14 (Ov. *Pont.* 4. 1; 4; 5; 15);[2] he visited Ceos and, possibly, Athens (8. 1 *ext.* 3; 12 *ext.* 2).

His work, a collection of *exempla*, was written between 28 and 32: book 2, after 27 (because of 2. 6. 8); book 4, before 29, because Julia (i.e. Livia) is still alive (6. 1 *praef.*); the harsh attack on Sejanus (9. 11 *ext.* 4), reveals that book 9 was written shortly after October 31, 31.

Survey of the Work

The titles of the chapters and the table of contents at the head of the work are not authentic;[3] but Valerius in fact arranged his subject matter accord-

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[1] The *vita* in the editio Veneta 1494 is of late origin and has no historical value.

[2] Against this identification: C. J. Carter 1975, 31; in favor of it: G. Maslakov 1984, 456–457. The passage of Seneca (*dial.* 9 = *tranq.* 11. 10) should not be referred to this S. Pompeius but to his son (R. Syme, History in Ovid, Oxford 1978, 162).

[3] W. Thormeyer, De Valerio Maximo et Cicerone quaestiones criticae, diss. Göttingen 1902, 33–35.

ing to themes. Within each section Roman and foreign examples are treated separately.

The 1st book discusses our duties towards the gods; the 2nd, those towards men in both private and public life; the 3rd, the *virtutes* helping us to stand our ground; the 4th and 5th, those teaching us to know our place.—From book 6 onward it becomes difficult to give a brief account of the content: 6. 1–8 diverse virtues;[1] 6. 9–7. 6 vicissitudes of life; 7. 7–8. 6 imponderables in law-suits; 8. 7–15 new *virtus*, education; 9 *vitia* and curiosities.

This subdivision into ten main sections seems to be in harmony with the 'ten books' stated by Paris. 6. 9 would be the turning-point between two types of *virtus*: one, conveying patterns of behavior (*virtus* in the narrower sense of the word), and another, comprising practical wisdom (*virtus* in the larger sense of the word).

The text *De praenominibus* found in our manuscripts as 'book 10' is not related to Valerius Maximus.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Valerius studied Cicero thoroughly (esp. the *De divinatione* and the *Tusculanae disputationes*). Sallust, Pompeius Trogus, Varro, and, perhaps, Livy are likely to have been among his original sources.[2] In fact, his practice of treating both Roman and foreign *exempla* is reminiscent of Varro's *Imagines* and Nepos' biographies. Today, some scholars are ready to admit that he made direct use of Varro and even of Valerius Antias; however, much information, though naming exquisite sources, is second-hand. To give an example, his knowledge of Coelius Antipater (1. 7. 6) is derived from Cicero (*div.* 1. 26; 56). This method of working did not fail to produce frequent errors.

Authors like Verrius Flaccus and Hyginus may have acted as intermediaries. It is impossible to reconstruct an older collection of *exempla*, the like of the *Imagines* of the forum of Augustus or perhaps Nepos' *Exempla*, Atticus' *Imagines* or Hyginus' *Exempla*[3] and *Biographies of Illustrious Men*.[4]

Valerius does not presume to be an historian. A detailed comparison with Livy[5] shows that Valerius pursues different aims. In a later

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[1] R. Honstetter 1977, 49.

[2] He did not use Velleius Paterculus: R. Helm 1955, 92–93.

[3] A. Klotz 1942.

[4] M. Fleck 1974.

[5] G. Maslakov 1984, esp. 461–478.

context we will come back to possible philosophical influences including those of the diatribe. Valerius' work is a product of the school of rhetoric, without being intended for orators exclusively. The writings of Seneca the Elder are a parallel case.

Literary Technique

Valerius Maximus is not satisfied to furnish useful material for orators; he transforms the *exemplum* into a type of literature,[1] throwing into relief his literary skills and the moral lesson.

Each *exemplum* consists of an *exordium* ('introductory'), the narrative proper, and a subsequent reflection. This is how a *res gesta* is turned into an *exemplum.*[2]

The *exemplum,* far from aspiring to historical accuracy,[3] invites the reader to identify himself with a great character by way of admiration or sympathy. An emotional presentation adds to the dramatic effect. Possible alternatives or expectations of onlookers may be used as a contrasting foil, bringing into prominence a surprising event (e.g. 4. 1. 8).[4]

Before Valerius, forensic rhetoric had applied *exempla,* giving each of them an individual interpretation, appropriate to the given case. After him, under the empire, the use of *exempla* would become more stereotyped.[5]

Unlike earlier rhetorical *repertoria,* Valerius' collection was the first destined to be enjoyed, not merely consulted by a fastidious public. Each chapter is meant to be read continuously: the author is concerned with variation (*varietas*); he arranges his examples to form a climax or an anticlimax (according to degrees of *admiratio*).[6] His use of Sallustian elements is indicative of his literary claims: witness his prefaces (*praef.* 1. 2. 8. 7), other personal comments, and even the structure of entire chapters (9. 1).[7] When passing from one story to

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[1] R. Honstetter 1977; for the rhetorical definition of *exemplum*: Rhet. Her. 4. 44. 62; Cic. *inv.* 1. 49; bibl. in Maslakov 1984, 439, n. 5.

[2] R. Guerrini 1981, 11–28.

[3] Cic. *Brut.* 42: *concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius; de orat.* 2. 241: *sive habeas vere, quod narrare possis, quod tamen est mendaciunculis aspergendum, sive fingas.*

[4] R. Honstetter 1977, 72–73.

[5] R. Honstetter 1977, 200.

[6] R. Honstetter 1977, 66.

[7] R. Guerrini 1981, 29–60.

the next, he compares them. His transitional techniques are partly reminiscent of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[1] All these are symptoms of a transformation of manuals into works of literature; in fact, such features do anything but facilitate fast consultation.

Valerius' literary ambitions are not limited to mere *delectatio* or *voluptas*; he wants to excite his readers' *admiratio*. Valerius Maximus is a harbinger of the second sophistic movement.

To be brief, there is a marked contrast between professed modesty ('presenting a collection of material') and literary execution.

Language and Style[2]

Nepotianus[3] objects to our author's prolixity, his indulging in witticisms, and his torrent of words (therefore, he gives an abridged version). For Eduard Norden, Valerius belongs to 'the series of unbearable Latin writers who drive us to despair by their unnatural style'.[4] What Seneca the Elder (*contr.* 9, *praef.* 1) said about the 'modern' orator, applies to Valerius: *cupit enim se approbare, non causam*, 'his aim is to win approval for himself rather than for his cause'; *similarly*, Nepotianus, *praef.: se ostentat sententiis, locis iactat, fundit excessibus*, 'he makes a show of aphorisms, he boasts of 'common places', he abounds in digressions'. Part of this tendency are: antitheses, *sententiae*, personifications, apostrophes, rhetorical questions, exclamations, use of abstract nouns, sometimes far-fetched puns (6. 3. 1a; 8. 7 *ext.* 11).

In the interpretative passages the vocabulary of Valerius Maximus is more select than in the narrative proper.[5] Valerius, therefore, clearly respects the rhetorical rule saying that a *narratio* should be simple. Catchwords like *Africitas* or 'unnaturalness' give no satisfactory explanation of his style, which—in terms of classical theory—is in harmony with the 'epideictic' character of the work.

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[1] R. Helm 1955, 95–97.

[2] R. Helm 1955, 98–100 with bibl.

[3] Nepot. 1 *praef.* (p. 592 Kempf): *igitur de Valerio Maximo mecum sentis opera eius utilia esse, si sint brevia: digna enim cognitione componit, sed colligenda producit, dum se ostentat sententiis, locis iactat, fundit excessibus, et eo fortasse sit paucioribus notus, quod legentium aviditati mora ipsa fastidio est. Recidam itaque*...

[4] Kunstprosa 1, 303; cf. Erasmus apud Norden ibid. 2, 596–597, n. 3: *Valerius Afro potius quam Italo similis.*

[5] R. Combès, Gnomon 55, 1983, 317–318.

Valerius had a considerable impact on the development of declamatory style, positively comparable to that of Seneca the Elder.[1]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

For Valerius, the Emperor replaces the Muse of ancient poetry; this recalls an old tradition, attested for us e.g. at the beginning of Virgil's *Georgics* and, later, in Manilius (1. 7–10), Germanicus (1–16), Lucan (1. 45–66), and Statius (*Theb.* 1. 22–31). In the case of Valerius Maximus, the topos of 'inspiration' may even be rooted in reality, given his possible sympathies for Tiberius' projected reforms (s. below, Ideas II).

The purpose of his authorship was not only, as generally assumed today, to provide an aid for teachers of oratory but, as he himself said in his *praefatio: ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit*, 'to spare those who look for historical examples the fatigue of a long research'. In fact, the broad acceptance of his work speaks in favor of this comprehensive intention.

Ideas II

As an historian, Valerius is unreliable, though, in some cases more reliable than one would expect. For instance, the account he gives of Marius is impartial (partly in accordance with Cicero).[2]

It is true that his work serves rhetorical and patriotic aims, but, above all, he is a moralist.[3] When declaring in his introduction that he will collect *facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna* ('memorable deeds and sayings') he avoids the worn-out term *exemplum*, but he does use it later on (e.g. 7. 1). In the first place, Valerius wants to *describe* and interpret the virtues and vices of people. As a 'moralist' (in the French sense of the word) he displays, by means of *exempla*, a panorama of the world. The duties[4] are arranged according to a traditional scheme (duties towards gods appear before those towards men), a scheme

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[1] B. W. Sinclair 1980.

[2] T. F. Carney, The Picture of Marius in Valerius Maximus, RhM 105, 1962, 289–337.

[3] M. L. Paladini 1957.

[4] R. Honstetter 1977, 50.

attested, for instance, in Hierocles of Alexandria. The separation of the doctrine of the duties (books 1–2) from the doctrine of virtues (books 3 and the following) is rooted in late Stoicism.[1] The diatribe, likewise, deserves mention, for it teaches through examples.

In the *praefatio* Valerius is inspired by Emperor Tiberius, since the latter promotes the virtues to be discussed in the present work. In fact, there are points of contact between the *exempla* and Tiberius' program of reform. Valerius selects his material with a view to the exigencies of his age.[2] His criticism of luxury (2. 9. 4; 4. 3. 7; 4. 3. 11; laws of Tiberius against luxury A.D. 16),[3] and of usury (4. 8. 3); equally, chapter 6. 1 has contemporary importance (laws on morals).[4] In 4. 1. 10 Valerius reflects the fact that Tiberius renounced expansionism. There is no doubt that he wanted fulfill his didactic purpose by being both 'useful' and 'entertaining' (combining *prodesse* and *delectare*).

Under Tiberius, who stuck to traditions, Roman values underwent a phase of rigid formalization. Valerius, for instance, praises the *rusticus rigor* of Marius (2. 2. 3) that in the house of thrifty Curio and his extravagant son two epochs coexist: *eodem tempore et in isdem penatibus duo saecula habitaverunt, frugalissimum alterum, alterum nequissimum*, 'at the same time, in the same house two centuries were living, one most modest, one good for nothing' (9. 1. 6).

All the more significant are his attempts at a positive assessment of his own age, which for him is not a period of mere decadence. He certainly appreciates the tranquillity granted to him by his epoch.[5] On the one hand he is convinced of the moral superiority of his nation,[6] on the other, not unlike Cornelius Nepos, he has a high opinion of Greek culture and humanity. He gives pride of place to education. In one instance, in his *sapienter dicta aut facta* there are even more Greek than Roman examples. Of all Romans, the actor Roscius is chosen as a model of *industria* (8. 7). Altogether, Valerius stands for values which were modern in his day like *humanitas* (5. 1) and *clementia*. He seems to take into account indirectly a change of standards when maintaining that, even with the matrons of early

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[1] Ibid. 49.
[2] Ibid. 200.
[3] Ibid. 78–79.
[4] Ibid. 80.
[5] 8. 13 *praef.*: *tranquillitatemque saeculi nostri, qua nulla umquam beatior fuit.*
[6] 6. 3 *ext.* 4; 8. 15 *ext.* 1; 9. 6 *ext.* 1.

Rome, *pudicitia* had not been *tristis et horrida*, 'sullen and rough', but *honesto comitatis genere temperata*, 'tempered by an honest kind of gentleness' (2. 1. 5). Another proof of a change of moral ideas is the fact that Valerius deems it necessary to justify early Roman *severitas* (6. 3).

But there is more: He discovers contradictions even within individual characters (*duos in uno homine Sullas fuisse*, 'two Sullas were existing in one man' 6. 9. 6). In such cases the rhetorical garb of the thought even helps to illuminate the facts.

Our author does not standardize his examples but subjects them to an individual and detailed moral examination.[1] Thus, he draws borderlines between the spheres of different norms: self-confidence versus impertinence (3. 7. 11), greatness and limits of *libertas* (6. 2), cunning words and deeds between virtue and vice. In chapters 5. 7–5. 9 there may be the idea of *moderatio* behind the polarity of *indulgentia* and *severitas*.[2]

Yet we should not overrate the inner consistency of his work. In some cases, Valerius narrows down the scope of possible interpretations and leaves us with a one-sided verdict.[3] Without limiting himself to moral examples he also describes things he observed in human life, such as similarity of persons (9. 14). He is a moralist in the broad sense of the word, skilled in diagnosis of human affairs.

Under the auspices of *varietas* Valerius breaks the monotony of Roman examples by foreign ones (1. 6 *ext.* 1; 2. 10 *ext.* 1). Narrated in a relaxed mood as they are, the foreign examples allow the reader to take a break (6. 9 *ext.* 1; 3. 8. *ext.* 1 *sed satietas modo vitanda est*, 'best satiety is to be avoided'). The arrangement of the material according to psychological principles shows that Valerius has absorbed the teachings of rhetoric and knows how to conform to his reader's needs. His *psychagogia* is, as it were, a continuation of poetry in a different medium. As Ovid had created a caleidoscopic array of myths, Valerius displayed multifaceted refractions of human life in history.[4]

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[1] R. Honstetter 1977, 84.

[2] Ibid. 98.

[3] G. Maslakov 1984, 482.

[4] It is an exorbitant exaggeration to call Valerius' collection of examples the 'most adequate expression of the Roman attitude to history' (H. Drexler, Die moralische Geschichtsauffassung der Römer, Gymnasium 61, 1954, 168–190, esp. 173).

Transmission

The most important of the numerous manuscripts[1] are the Codex Bernensis 366 (corrected by Lupus of Ferrières) and the Laurentianus Ashburnhamensis 1899. Both manuscripts were written in the 9th century and are derived from the same source. As for indirect transmission, the epitomators help establish the text as well; above all, they fill up the lacuna which disfigures all manuscripts (1. 1 *ext.* 5–1. 4 *ext.* 1).

Influence

In antiquity, Valerius was more exploited than quoted. Pliny the Elder named him as a source for books 7 and 33. Moreover, Gellius (12. 7), the author of the spurious '4th book of Fronto', and Lactantius (about 33) were familiar with him. In late antiquity, Julius Paris and Nepotianus produced abridged versions.

In the Middle Ages, the work of Valerius Maximus was extremely wide spread. We have a manuscript personally corrected by Lupus of Ferrières (d. after 862), the Carolingian humanist. His student, Heiric of Auxerre (d. about 876) made excerpts. His pupil Remigius (d. about 908) compiled an index to Valerius. William of Malmesbury (d. about 1142) mentioned him in the preface to his *Polyhistor*; John of Salisbury (d. 1180), who often quotes Valerius in his *Policraticus*, a textbook of politics, was in all probability responsible for the redaction of the text current in northern Europe since the late 12th century. William's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* recall both Suetonius and Valerius. The latter is a principal source for Vincent of Beauvais (d. about 1264; *Speculum Maius*). The earliest commentary on Valerius Maximus was written by Petrarch's friend and adviser, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro,[2] an influential precursor of the Renaissance.

In the Renaissance, manuscripts, commentaries, and extracts spring up even more abundantly. Petrarch (d. 1374) assigned to him the first place among his favorite historians and used him in his *De viris illustribus*. As early as in the 14th century Valerius was translated into German, French, and Catalan.

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[1] A list of manuscripts by D. M. Schullian 1960. Unfortunately C. J. Carter's Cambridge dissertation on the manuscript tradition of Valerius Maximus has not been published.

[2] J. W. Larkin 1967.

There are early and numerous incunabula; the first were published by Mentelin (Argentorati 1470) and Peter Schoyffer (Moguntiaci 1471). In the 16th century, Valerius was still part of the daily bread for freshmen in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Among the editors of Valerius Maximus there are names no lesser than Aldus Manutius (Venetiis 1534), Pighius (Antverpiae 1567) and (in a later Pighius-edition) Justus Lipsius (1585 etc.).

Throughout the Renaissance Valerius Maximus is one of the most important sources for the general public's view of antiquity. In the Collegio del Cambio at Perugia, Perugino's (d. 1523) famous frescos were inspired by our author; there we find the same alternation of Roman and foreign persons as in Valerius, and the proportion is the same (2: 1). This masterpiece is not an isolated case.[1]

His popularity lasted until the middle of the 17th century; Montaigne (d. 1592) eagerly read him. Soon, however, he was dethroned by the rediscovered classics: Cicero, Livy, and, especially, the Greeks.

Valerius presents modern historians—uncritically, of course—with an abundance of information otherwise unknown. Therefore we cannot entirely neglect him, for all his well-known shortcomings, as an historical source.

Valerius is neither a man of letters nor a critical historian nor a philosopher. Although being a teacher of rhetoric, he does not want to produce a mere collection of material for orators, but he tries to split up history into momentary visions, which allow to study human nature in all its merits and defects. As a 'moralist' he unfolds a huge panorama of mankind. Along with Romans, he pays heed to foreigners, and even takes note of the virtues of slaves (6. 8), women (6. 7. 3; 6. 1 *ext.* 1; 5. 1 *ext.* 2), and children (3. 1. 2; 3. 1 *ext.* 1). Thus he raised the *exemplum* to the rank of an independent literary form. His collection, in its treacherous consistency, is reminiscent of Ovid's technique in the *Metamorphoses*. The 'epidictic' style of Valerius, unclassical and abundant as it is, announces the 2nd century. Modern commentaries and translations are *desiderata*. Valerius Maximus remains to be discovered.

Editions: Mentelin, Argentorati 1470. * C. Kempf (with the epitomae of Paris and of Januarius Nepotianus), Lipsiae 1854, 2nd ed. 1888, repr. 1982. * C. Halm (together with Paris and Nepotianus), Lipsiae 1865. * R. Faranda

[1] R. Guerrini 1981, 61–136 (with 30 illustrations).

(TTrN, together with Paris and Nepotianus), Torino 1971; repr. 1976. ** *Lexicon*: E. Otón Sobrino, Léxicon de Valerio Máximo, 4 vols., Madrid 1977–1991. ** *Bibl.*: cf. the monographs by R. Honstetter 1977 and G. Maslakov 1984.

W. M. Bloomer, Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility, London 1992. * E. Bolaffi, Tre storiografi latini del I secolo d. C. (Velleio Patercolo, Valerio Massimo, Curzio Rufo), GIF 13, 1960, 336–345, esp. 341–344. * C. Bosch, Zwei Hauptquellen des Valerius Maximus. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Literatur der historischen Exempla, diss. Heidelberg 1925; Stuttgart 1929. * C. J. Carter, Valerius Maximus, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Empire and Aftermath, Silver Latin II, London and Boston 1975, 26–56. * G. Comes, Valerio Massimo, Roma 1950. * M. Fleck, Untersuchungen zu den Exempla des Valerius Maximus, diss. Marburg 1974. * M. Galdi, L'epitome nella letteratura latina, Napoli 1922. * K. Gries, Valerius—Maximus an Minimus, CJ 52, 1956, 335–340. * R. Guerrini, Studi su Valerio Massimo (con un capitolo sulla fortuna nell'iconografia umanistica), Pisa 1981. * R. Helm, Valerius Maximus, RE 8 A 1, 1955, 90–116. * R. Honstetter, Exemplum zwischen Rhetorik und Literatur. Zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Sonderstellung von Valerius Maximus und Augustinus, diss. Konstanz 1977. * A. Klotz, Studien zu Valerius Maximus und den Exempla, SBAW 1942, 5. * A. La Penna, Mobilità dei modelli etici e relativismo dei valori: Da Cornelio Nepote a Valerio Massimo e alla *Laus Pisonis*, in: A. Giardina, A. Schiavone, eds., Società romana e produzione schiavistica: modelli etici, diritto e trasformazioni sociali, Roma 1981, 183–206, esp. 193–198. * J. W. Larkin, A Critical Edition of the First Book of the Commentary of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro on the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia Urbis Romae* of Valerius Maximus, diss. Fordham Univ. 1967, DA 28, 1968, 4151 A. * G. Maslakov, Valerius Maximus and Roman Historiography. A Study of the *Exempla* Tradition, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 437–496. * M. L. Paladini, Rapporti tra Velleio Patercolo e Valerio Massimo, Latomus 16, 1957, 232–251. * Rhétorique et histoire. L'exemplum et le modèle de comportement dans le discours antique et médiéval. Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole française de Rome (1979), Paris 1980. * F. Römer, Ein Glanzstück römischer Memorabilienliteratur (Val. Max. 2. 6. 8), WHB 31, 1989, 52–65. * D. M. Schullian, A Preliminary List of Manuscripts of Valerius Maximus, in: Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman, Saint Louis 1960, 81–95. * B. W. Sinclair, Valerius Maximus and the Evolution of Silver Latin, diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1980, DA 41, 1981, 3096 A. * B. W. Sinclair, Declamatory *Sententiae* in Valerius Maximus, Prometheus 10, 1984, 141–146.

CURTIUS RUFUS

Life and Dates

The dates suggested for Q. Curtius Rufus range from Augustus to Theodosius; the date under Claudius enjoys large acceptance, whereas a date under Vespasian[1] seems to be most probable. The impressive simile likening the emperor to the sun breaking forth from night and fog (10. 9. 1–6) is a rhetorical topos (Menander, *rhet. Gr.* 3. 378 Sp.), hence not particularly suitable for chronological purposes,[2] but Vespasian's coming from the Orient to Rome strongly suggested the idea of 'sunrise' (Plin. *nat.* 33. 41; cf. also Suet. *Vesp.* 5. 7). More specific evidence is the reference to the civil wars in the same passage of Curtius which only applies to the 'year of four emperors'. The same allusion to the struggles of the diadochi is found in a similar context at the beginning of Plutarch's vita of Galba. The image of a body deprived of its head used by Curtius (10. 9) is attested in Tacitus' speech of Galba (*hist.* 1. 16. 1); the same historian calls the 'year of four emperors' *rei publicae prope supremum*, 'for our country almost the last one' (*hist.* 1. 11. 3; cf. Curt. ibid.). Another hint at Vespasian is the mention of a new dynasty (*domus*). Peace (cf. also 4. 4. 21) was thought to be his special gift to the Romans; legends of Vespasian's coins evoking *securitas* and *felicitas* have an affinity to Curtius 10. 9. The wording of Curtius is closely echoed by Orosius (7. 9. 1) in his appraisal of Vespasian's accession to the throne: *turbida tyrannorum tempestate discussa tranquilla sub Vespasiano duce serenitas rediit*, 'once that furious storm of tyrants had been dissipated, a calm serenity returned under the reign of Vespasian'. This would imply a par-

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[1] For a date under Augustus: D. Korzeniewski 1959; under Claudius: J. Mützell, edition 1841, introduction pp. xlvii–lxxxvii and many followers, especially among authors of literary histories; most recently H. Bödefeld 1982; under Nero: R. Verdière 1966; under Galba: R. D. Milns 1966; under Vespasian: J. Stroux 1929; Leeman, Orationis Ratio 468, n. 77; H. U. Instinsky 1962; G. Scheda 1969; U. Vogel-Weidemann 1970 and 1974; H. Grassl 1974; A. Grilli 1976; I. Borzsák 1978; under Trajan: A. Rüegg 1906; under Septimius Severus: F. Altheim 1948; under Alexander Severus: E. Griset 1964; further suggestions are found in: D. Korzeniewski 1959; H. Bödefeld 1982.

[2] Therefore, the passage Sen. *cons. Polyb.* (= dial. 12) 13 is no evidence for a dating under Claudius. The word *caliganti* (Curt. 10. 9. 4) should not be interpreted as an allusion to Caligula, for the vowel *a* has a different quantity; moreover, this emperor was usually called Gaius.

allel between Nero's and Alexander's deaths.[1] Possibly, Curtius began his work under Nero and finished it under Vespasian. His classicizing style fits especially well into the Flavian era. The closeness of his language to Pliny and Tacitus points to the same period. On the other hand, there is no certainty concerning his identity with Curtius Rufus, proconsul in Africa (Tac. *ann.* 11. 20–21; Plin. *epist.* 7. 27) or with the rhetor Q. Curtius Rufus (Suet. *rhet.* 33). After all, both the sonority of his diction and his lack of competence in matters of warfare would be perfectly suitable for a rhetor.

Owing to his Roman perspective he adopts a critical attitude towards his hero. In his readers' minds there are still some traces left of ancient Roman prejudice against Greeks and kings. In the 2nd century this would change: suffice it to mention Plutarch and Arrian.

Survey of the Work

Of the ten books of Curtius' *Historiae Alexandri Magni regis Macedonum* large sections are missing: books 1 and 2, the opening of book 3, the end of book 5, the beginning of book 6, and parts of book 10. Let us now survey books 3 to 10.

3: Alexander cuts the Gordian knot, falls ill after a bath in the Ilissus, is healed, and defeats Darius in the battle of Issus (333 B.C.).

4: Alexander destroys Tyrus and conquers Gaza (332). He founds Alexandria and beats Darius in the battle of Arbela (331).

5: Alexander takes Babylon (331) and Persepolis. Darius is betrayed by his own people (330).

6: Antipater the Macedonian vanquishes King Agis of Sparta near Megalopolis (331). In Parthiene, Alexander indulges in luxury. He friendly receives Artabazus. By means of military expeditions he makes his soldiers forget their dissatisfaction. Parmenius' son Philotas is stoned as a conspirator (330).

7: Having punished or pardoned further conspirators, Alexander traverses the Caucasus and reaches Bactra (330). He crosses the Oxus and the Tanais, defeats the Scythes, and finally punishes Bessus (329) and Arimazes (328).

8: After further victories Alexander marries Roxane; he has the upright philosopher Callisthenes and the conspirator Hermolaus killed (327). He enters India (327) and conquered Porus (326).

9: Exhaustion of the soldiers, an injury of the king, hunger, and pestilence (326–325) cast a shadow over Alexander's victorious advance in India.

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[1] Cf. also Curt. 5. 7. 4 (Alexander sets fire to Persepolis) and Tac. *ann.* 15. 38–39 (burning of Rome).

10: Nearchus and Onesicritus explore the shore of the Ocean (325). Alexander executes guiltless Orsines, suppresses a mutiny of his Macedonians and seeks shelter with Persian bodyguards (324). There follow the king's illness and death and the ensuing quarrels about his succession (323).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Arrian, who lived under the Antonines, cannot be Curtius' source (if we have dated him correctly). The numerous points of contact are owing to sources they had in common, among them Aristobulus, a personal friend of Alexander's, and Ptolemy (367/6–283 B.C.) who is mentioned by Curtius (9. 5. 21). This tradition is favorable to Alexander, it is liable to embellish or to suppress compromising material. Curtius, however, is no less concerned with the negative aspects of his character and is disposed to criticize Alexander from a moral point of view, in the vein of Roman historiography and of the schools of rhetoric.

Another group of sources is represented by Diodorus and Justin (who copies Pompeius Trogus). Curtius and Justin show close resemblances. Within this group, correspondences between Curtius and Diodorus are traced to Clitarchus (Curtius mentions him in 9. 8. 15). If Trogus and Curtius happen to be opposed to Diodorus, they follow Timagenes (1st century B.C.). In his last six books Curtius could not rely on Alexander's court historian, Callisthenes (who had been executed as early as 327); therefore, for the last years, Clitarchus is an influential source; generally, the latter was the main authority for the vulgate of the history of Alexander. Yet, Justin's criticism of his hero is moderate; there is no trace of the theme of 'successful foolhardiness'. Compared to these authors, Curtius seems to have cast even more gloom over his portrait of Alexander. It is tempting to reconstruct an anonymous writer inimical to Alexander, who used mere facts to depict a king gradually degenerating into a tyrant; such a reconstruction would enhance the value of Curtius as a historical source. In fact, parallels between Curtius and Plutarch, who did not use Clitarchus but older evidence, show that Curtius, too, possibly drew on earlier material.

The *Historiae Alexandri Magni* may be labeled as 'tragic historiorography' or as an 'historical novel'. To criticize one's predecessors is part of an historian's business: *tanta componentium vetusta rerum monimenta vel securitas vel... credulitas fuit*, 'such was the negligence of those who

composed the old records, or their credulity' (9. 5. 1; cf. Thuc. 1. 20). Yet there is also the antipodes of criticism: *ego quidem plura transcribo quam credo*, 'as for myself, I report more things than I believe' (9. 1. 34; cf. also 10. 10. 12). The latter quotation reveals that Herodotus and Livy are among his models. Curtius agrees with Livy in many other details of fact or judgment as well. His 'Roman interpretation' of Alexander is a match to Valerius Flaccus' 'Roman interpretation' of Jason.

Homer and Herodotus are present, although it is often difficult to decide if Curtius used them directly or through an intermediary like Clitarchus. There are some traces of Virgil in Curtius' vocabulary (s. Language and Style). A study of literary influences, however, has to face the difficulty that elements redolent of Virgil may in fact originate from oriental life or from the literary tradition on Alexander or from the schools of rhetoric.

Seneca (*nat.* 3 *praef.* 5) and Lucan (10. 21) consider Alexander a robber in the grand manner (cf. Cic. *rep.* 3. 24; Curt. 8. 7. 19). Here, the objections raised against Alexander by Hellenistic philosophers merge with the Roman hatred for tyrants. The popularity of the theme of Alexander in the schools of rhetoric is sufficiently documented in the works of Seneca the Elder (*contr.* 7. 7. 19; *suas.* 1 and 4). Curtius is part of the tradition of Latin rhetoric. Livy, whom he admired, had couched his criticism of Alexander in a long and highly rhetorical tirade (Liv. 9. 17–19). Cicero had already pointed out the corrupting effect of Fortuna on Alexander's character (*Att.* 13. 28. 3; *Tusc.* 3. 21); it is debated whether he was influenced by a Peripatetetic interpretation of Alexander. Of course, Cicero the orator is also present, cf. the stress laid on *quo usque* in 10. 4. 1.[1]

Literary Technique

Curtius Rufus gives his narrative an impressive structure. In each book, at the costs of other events, he throws into relief important episodes, sometimes culminating in highly dramatic scenes. In the arrangement of his material, an artistic order often takes precedence over chronology. A comparative study of Curtius and Diodorus proves

[1] For the parallels with Horace cf. S. Alessandrini, L'*imitatio Alexandri* Augustea e i rapporti fra Orazio e Curzio Rufo, SCO 18, 1969, 194–210; parallels with Tacitus: s. Influence.

that behind his deviations from tradition there were literary considerations. Psychological facts are revealed by means of telling gestures. Above all, Curtius shapes his scenes to produce a pictorial and emotional effect. Landscape becomes involved in the action as an idyllic or heroic setting. He even pays due attention to the exotic element (disregarded by many Romans), for instance, the mystery of huge forests (6. 5. 13–14; 9. 1. 9–10). Episodes like the trial of Philotas or the murder of Clitus hold the reader breathless. Each battle scene is different from all others.[1]

In the manner of tragic historians and Roman epic poets Curtius strongly emphasizes the finales of his books; in terms of action, the events reported there form a climax, whereas, in terms of morals, they form an anticlimax. Book 5 terminates in the death of Darius, book 10 in that of Alexander. At the beginning of book 6, the author characterizes the two halves of his work: *quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt*, 'one whom the arms of the Persians had not overcome fell victim to their vices' (6. 2. 1).

An omnipresent element of his Hellenistic heritage is Curtius' delight in violent emotions. The same is true of formal devices: in accordance with the technique of Hellenistic historians, Curtius, after Alexander's death and before his funeral, inserts some paragraphs on dirge and an 'obituary' (10. 5. 26–37).[2] Above all, he ventures a prophetic glance at the quarrels about the succession and the imminent division of the empire.

Such techniques partly derive from epic. The reader should keep in mind his Virgil. Many a sequence of scenes may be divided into acts like a drama. Tragedy and tragic history have left their mark upon the *Historiae Alexandri*.

At the culminating point Curtius inserts a reference to his own time (10. 9), a personal statement exceptionally rare with our classicizing author.

He independently composes speeches according to the laws of rhetoric; in this respect, too, there is considerable variety. Curtius develops

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[1] Issus 3. 9; Gaugamela 4. 12.

[2] The list of Alexander's qualities recalls in part Sallust's portrayal of Catiline which, however, is placed at the beginning, not at the end of his work. Other 'obituaries' in Curtius: Parmenio 7. 2. 33–34; Callisthenes 8. 8. 21–22; Persepolis 5. 7. 8; Tyrus 4. 4. 19–21. On such passages in Thucydides, Sallust, Livy s. Sen. *suas.* 6. 21; A. J. POMEROY, The Appropriate Comment. Death Notices in the Ancient Historians, Frankfurt 1991.

his literary technique under the auspices of Herodotus, Sallust, Livy, and Virgil. In 'twin speeches' (e.g. 5. 5. 10–16; 8. 5. 14–20) there are differences of style, which reflect the characters of the speakers.

Language and Style

Curtius' language and style[1] are of an almost classical purity and elegance. Curtius has been trained on Livy, with whom he shares three quarters of his vocabulary. He follows Virgil in his use of words like *arietare, debellare, dedignari, interritus, protendere, canities* ('grey hair'), *carbasus* ('linen garment'). In this way, Curtius, quite unobtrusively, bestows some epic dignity on his narrative. Moreover, he is fond of personifying abstract notions and concrete objects. The words *bacchabundus, equitabilis, perarmatus, resudare, subdeficiens* are found exclusively in authors later than Claudius and Nero. The expression *insociabile regnum* (10. 9. 1) appears in Curtius and Tacitus only (*ann.* 13. 17. 1); both authors use *regnum* for *principatus*, and there is a general affinity to Tacitus, Pliny, and Florus. This is one more reason in favor of assigning Curtius to the age of Vespasian rather than of Claudius. On the other hand, the absence of archaisms suggests a date prior to the 2nd century.

Curtius, of course, Latinizes Greek names of gods and Greek political terms. Contrary to Greek usage, he combines *imperium* and *auspicium* (6. 3. 2), and uses typically Roman terms like *in fidem accipere* (3. 10. 7 etc.), *opimum belli decus* (3. 11. 7 etc.), *penates* (3. 6. 9), and *vota pro salute* (3. 7. 3). We already mentioned that entire sequences of events are seen through the eyes of a Roman.

The author's friendly communication with his reader is indicative of his rhetorical education; typical are remarks concluding a digression, like the parenthesis *inde enim devertit oratio*, 'for it was from there that I made a digression' (10. 6. 1). In the manner of rhetoricians, Curtius likes to insert general statements (maxims): *adeo humanis ingeniis parata simulatio est*, 'so ready is deceit in the human heart' (5. 10. 13); *adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat*, 'so completely does

[1] I. Oblinger, Curtiana. Textkritische und grammatikalische Untersuchungen, diss. Würzburg 1910; M. González-Haba, Zur Syntax der Unterordung bei Curtius, diss. München 1959; H. Koskenniemi, Der nominale Numerus in der Sprache und im Stil des Curtius Rufus, Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, ser. B 114, Turku 1969; T. Viljamaa, Nouns Meaning 'River' in Curtius Rufus. A Semantic Study in Silver Latin, Turku 1969; cf. also W. Rutz 1965 and 1986.

war invert even the laws of nature' (9. 4. 7); *reccidisse iram in irae ministros nec ullam potentiam scelere quaesitam cuiquam esse diuturnam*, 'that his anger had recoiled upon the tools of his anger and that no power gained through crime was lasting' (10. 1. 6); *scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est*, 'so true is it that success is able to change one's nature, and that rarely is anyone cautious enough towards his own good fortune' (10. 1. 40); *militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu*, 'that a throng of soldiers without a leader is a body without a soul' (10. 6. 8). Rarely does Curtius indulge so much in pointed expressions as in the following examples: *vitae quoque finem eundem illi quem gloriae statuit*, 'she likewise fixed the same end for his life and for his glory' (10. 5. 36); *paenitebatque modo consilii modo paenitentiae ipsius*, 'they repented now for their resolution, and now of the very fact of having repented' (10. 7. 12).

His prose rhythm is neither reminiscent of Livy nor of any other historian; it is typically rhetorical and akin to Seneca.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Curtius' literary verdict on Choerilus is influenced by Horace (Curt. 8. 5. 7–8; Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 232–234; *ars* 357–358), who had already mixed up Alexander's epic poet Choerilus of Iasus with Choerilus of Samos (5th century). As for his criticism of historians, s. above Sources, Models, and Genres.

Ideas II

Curtius is unreliable as a geographer and a historian; especially his rhetorical descriptions of battles are misleading. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that he sometimes reflects an older tradition than the vulgate.

Curtius discusses the problem of Alexander's apotheosis (e.g. 8. 5. 8 and 8. 5. 11). His expressions recall Horace (*epist.* 2. 1. 5–12). Unlike the flatterer Cleo (and unlike Horace) Curtius shares the view of Callisthenes, who denied apotheosis to Alexander during his lifetime. In Curtius, Callisthenes appears as *vindex publicae libertatis*, 'defender of the public liberty' (8. 5. 20). Curtius here acts as a mouthpiece of the senators' opposition in Rome. However, he does not call in question monarchy. His picture of Alexander is rich in shades and

free from either flattery or rancor. He often acknowledges Alexander and rather reproaches his entourage for lack of character. Yet he does not suppress evidence of Alexander's *superbia*; his anger (*ira*) has Achillean greatness and may grow into *rabies* (e.g. 10. 4. 2). Curtius demonstrates how an individual permanently favored by Fortuna is corrupted gradually, without concealing, however, that his early years, too, had their dark sides, and that even later there were rays of hope. Fortuna is not a philosophical idea, in this role she is reminiscent of the Roman tutelar deity of Sulla or Caesar.

Darius is another—and a different—example of Fortuna's impact. In Curtius, his character is consistent. He was precipitated from luck into bad luck, learnt to endure it and preserved his dignity. Curtius dwells on the moving and tragic features of this great opponent of his hero. He exalts Parmenio and Philotas to angelic perfection.

Analysis of underlying motives takes precedence over facts. Curtius is sympathetic even with the rank and file and is intrigued by the psychology of the masses (e.g. 10. 7. 11). There is a moralizing tendency behind Curtius' insisting on the moral superiority of the Persians over the Greeks (e.g. 10. 3. 9).

As for oracles, Curtius is a sceptic. If, nevertheless, just before the king's death, Chaldean superstition and prodigies are right in the end (10. 4) against Anaxarchus the sober philosopher, this is simply part of a dramatic staging technique. The same is true of his saying that *fatum* carried off first the friend and then the king himself (10. 4). Great scope given to *fatum* may be considered an element of vulgar Stoicism, but actually all this rather belongs to the domain of literary technique.

Curtius lends Roman features to his heroes, often referring to Livy. His deviations from the usual tradition of Alexander are often caused by his intention to bring home his subject to his readers by evoking Livian reminiscences. Even in his general judgments he often agrees with Livy. Like the latter, he advocates the idea of *ius gentium* (4. 2. 15; 6. 11. 15).

It is impossible to interpret the figure of Alexander as an allegory of an individual emperor. Yet Curtius sometimes seems to represent Alexander as a prefiguration of Caesar. This retrospective projection of a Roman experience helps to make a Greek tradition comprehensible. Valerius Flaccus adopts a roughly comparable procedure when assimilating Greek myth.

Transmission[1]

A seriously damaged manuscript, which today can be reconstructed only by conjecture, had been written in *capitalis rustica* roughly in the 5th century. It had been the only one to survive into the Middle Ages. Towards the end of the 8th century it must have been copied in Carolingian minuscule. All our manuscripts ultimately derive from a lost copy of this copy; the intermediate links have disappeared.

There are two classes, slightly differing from each other: on the one hand, there is the especially reliable Parisinus 5716 (P; 9th century), on the other, the following group: Bernensis 451 (B; 9th century), Florentinus Laurentianus 64, 35 (F; 9th century), Leidensis 137 (L; 9th century), Vossianus Q 20 (V; 9th century).[2] Related to the Parisinus are the old fragments (9th/10th century) in Würzburg, Darmstadt, Einsiedeln, and Wien. The Rheinau fragments (9th/10th century) now preserved in Zürich attest that the speeches were studied; they are ultimately traced to the model of P; however, their immediate source was subject to an additional influence of the faulty ancestor of BFLV.

The numerous younger manuscripts (12th–15th centuries) have not yet been investigated thoroughly.

Influence

As an author, Curtius is doubtless superior to other surviving historians of Alexander (like Arrian or Diodorus). Often he is our most detailed source. In Latin literature, he is the first to amalgamate completely biography and history. So he is a predecessor of Tacitus' *Agricola*. We cannot entirely exclude[3] that he directly influenced Rome's greatest historian. Along with general echos of the vulgate of Alexander there are verbal correspondences. The speech for the defence of M. Terentius after Sejanus' downfall (Tac. *ann.* 6. 8) is the very image of the speech of Amyntas after the execution of Philotas (Curt. 7. 1. 26–31). Moreover Tacitus' Germanicus follows in the footsteps of Alexander. Calgacus' critical remarks on Rome (Tac. *Agr.* 30. 4) are suggestive of the words of the Scythian messenger (Curt. 7. 8. 12);

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[1] Konrad Müller, preface to his edition; K. Müller, Der codex Paris. Lat. 5717 des Curtius Rufus, in: Studi in onore di L. Castiglioni, Firenze 1960, 629–637; A. De Lorenzi, Curzio Rufo. Contributo allo studio del testo e della tradizione manoscritta, Napoli 1965.

[2] The ancestor of this group contained more errors than that of P. The immediate model of BFLV had been corrected and interpolated by a Carolingian scholar.

[3] I. Borzsák 1978.

the Tacitean expression *solitudinem facere* (applied to conquests) puts in mind of similar utterances of Alexander (Curt. 8. 8. 10 and 9. 2. 24). Curtius furnished a linguistic model even for the famous *sine ira et studio*, though in a different context (6. 9. 6); striking parallels are found in 10. 9. Apart from these, there seem to be no convincing traces of an influence of Curtius in antiquity.

Before the 9th century there is an echo of our author in the *Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus*. In the Carolingian epoch, Einhart (d. 840) uses expressions identical with those of Curtius. Important manuscripts date from the 9th and 10th centuries. Excerpts testify that Curtius was read in classrooms. At the end of the 10th century Egbert of Liège used Curtius for his versified *Fecunda ratis*. Denmark's historian, Saxo Grammaticus (11th century), was influenced by Curtius' style. Generally, however, medieval readers preferred Julius Valerius' Latin version of Pseudo-Callisthenes and an apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle describing the miracles of Asia.

In the first half of the 12th century Albéric of Besançon or Briançon wrote a *Roman d'Alexandre*, of which 150 verses survived in a Curtius manuscript in the Laurentiana; they show no trace of a knowledge of Curtius. Later French *Romans d'Alexandre*, however, depended on Curtius; this is true even more for the Latin *Alexandreis* of Walther of Châtillon (d. about 1200).[1] In the Codex Oxoniensis 382 (12th century) the mutilated text of our author was completed in good Latin. John of Salisbury recommended Curtius for reading, along with Suetonius, Tacitus, or Livy (*Policr.* 8. 18).

Soon, however, the successful *Alexandreis* outshone Curtius, who in the 13th century was named more frequently than read. At the same time the *Historia de proeliis* (which dated from the 10th century) gained in authority. On the other hand, Curtius was read by Jacques Vitry, and his name appeared in catalogues of libraries of that time. In the 14th century Charles V and the Duc de Berry seem to have possessed French translations. Petrarch had Curtius copied (Parisinus 5720, 14th century), added marginal notes and used the text in his own Latin writings.

In the 15th century numerous manuscripts of Curtius were disseminated all over Europe. Lorenzo Valla liked to quote him as a model of good Latin. Students and scholars imitated him. In 1438

[1] S. now G. Meter, Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* Book 10—A Commentary, Frankfurt 1991, passim, esp. 46–65.

Pier Candido Decembrio translated him into Italian; twenty years later the Portuguese Vasquez de Lucènes wrote a French version, which would find a large readership. Spain followed in 1481 (Luis de Fenollet).

Beginning with the editio princeps by Wendelinus of Speyer (1470), many printed editions witnessed to Curtius' great popularity. The number of editions increased from the 15th to the 17th century, to drop slightly in the 18th and reach its zenith in the 19th century. Politicians, officers, scholars, and poets were educated by Curtius. Suffice it to mention Richelieu, Turenne, Ménage, and Jean de la Taille. The *Peroniana et Thuana* (Cologne 1694, 359) call Curtius *le premier de la Latinité*. And they add: *il est facile, clair et intelligible.*

With the rise of historical criticism the glory of Curtius began to wane; recently, however, scholars concede some value to him, even as a historical source. As a writer, he had a hard lot: at first he was despised because he was a school author. Then he ceased to be a school author because he was despised. It is time to break up the *circulus vitiosus.*

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TACITUS

Life and Dates

Cornelius Tacitus[1] was slightly older than his friend and admirer Pliny the Younger (*epist.* 7. 20. 4); it is a reasonable guess, therefore, that he was born soon after A.D. 55. He had friends from Italia Transpadana, which some scholars consider his homeland (Patavium?); yet he shows a preference for the regions of the Rhine and the Mosel, and there is more evidence linking him to Gaul. In the generation before him, there had been a Roman knight and governor of Belgica called Cornelius Tacitus (Plin. *nat.* 7. 76); since this is not a current name, he is likely to have been the historian's father or uncle. Tacitus' father-in-law, the brilliant Julius Agricola, originated from Gaul as well. Tacitus was married, probably, in 77, and pursued his own political career with determination. It began under Vespasian and continued unbroken under Titus and Domitian (*hist.* 1. 1);[2] the latter's

[1] In the codex Mediceus I his *praenomen* is Publius, wheras Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 4. 14. 1 and 4. 22. 2) and some more recent manuscripts (less convincingly) call him Gaius.

[2] A monumental funeral inscription from Rome shows that *(Ta)citus* began his career as a *(decem)vir stlitib(us iudicandis)* and that he later became *(quaesto)r Aug(usti)*,

favor did not prevent Tacitus from posthumously expressing his hate. In 88 he became praetor. At the same time, he was *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* and helped establish the date for the *ludi saeculares*. Later he would confess to have become guilty—together with his peers—of silently accepting the death of many a senator who, unlike him had been courageous enough to protest against tyranny. After his praetorship Tacitus was absent from Rome for four years—supposedly as a *legatus pro praetore* in some province; for this reason he could not be present when his father in law died in 93 (*Agr.* 45. 4–5). Actually, Tacitus—wrongly deemed 'the least military of all authors'[1]—did have in all probability some military experience from his early years. He became *consul suffectus* under Nerva (in 97)—obviously on the recommendation of Domitian. Tacitus was a famous orator (Plin. *epist.* 4. 13. 10; 2. 11. 17). In the same year he held the funeral speech for his predecessor in consulship, Verginius Rufus (Plin. *epist.* 2. 1. 6), who had conquered Vindex and thrice refused to become emperor. In this speech Tacitus paid homage to Nerva, the 'senator as emperor', as well as to the senate, whose dignity seemed to have been restored, and he immortalized a republican hero. Some years later, in his *Histories* (1. 8; 2. 51; cf. 2. 49), however, he would destroy the favorable portrait he had drawn.

Further biographical evidence proves his closeness to the group of senators around Trajan: in 100 the emperor personally presided at a trial in which Tacitus, along with his friend, Pliny, as advocates for the prosecution, successfully sustained the case of the province of Africa against the rapacious proconsul Marius Priscus (Plin. *epist.* 2. 11). Both authors were generally known as inseparable friends.[2] They were among the heirs of wealthy L. Dasumius of Corduba,[3] whose testament included only followers of Trajan and Hadrian. Finally

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the emperor's (probably Titus' and Domitian's) 'right hand', a position granting the future historian first hand insight into imperial politics (G. Alföldy, Bricht der Schweigsame sein Schweigen? Eine Grabinschrift aus Rom, MDAI(R) 102, 1995, 251–268); according to Alföldy, Tacitus' career might have looked as follows: born about 57; *latus clavus* about 74/75; immediately after this, *decemvir*; military tribune in 76 or 77; Titus recommended him as *quaestor Augusti*, an office he held only in 81 (under Titus and Domitian) or 82 (under Domitian, who fostered his career later as well); furthermore, the inscription attests that he was *tribun(us plebis)*.

[1] Thus, Mommsen, RG 5, 165, n. 1.

[2] Typical is the question of an unknown: 'Are you Pliny or Tacitus?' (Plin. *epist.* 9. 23. 2).

[3] CIL 6. 10 229 = Dessau 8379 a.

Tacitus obtained the high dignity of proconsul in Asia[1] (around 112–113), which the emperor had reserved to deserving vassals.

On the other hand, there is no evidence for an estrangement between Tacitus and the Spanish emperors, although this theory finds many supporters. If the historian did not keep his promise to describe the 'happy present' under Nerva and Trajan (*Agr.* 3; *hist.* 1. 1), this does not necessarily prove that Tacitus became increasingly hostile to Trajan and Hadrian. Even if the 'promise' itself should have been more than mere flowery language, it is sufficient to suppose that the historian realized more and more how difficult and unrewarding such a task would have been. For, on the one hand, there is no duller subject matter for an author than happy times and good rulers. On the other hand, a subtle analysis, which could be expected from a keen observer such as Tacitus, would have been problematic: there were some rather obscure circumstances accompanying the succession of Trajan to Nerva and of Hadrian to Trajan; there was, furthermore, the murder of distinguished senators after Hadrian's accession to the throne; there was, finally, the irrevocable downfall of the authority of the senate, which even gave carte blanche to Trajan[2] to celebrate as many triumphs as he would like; faced with all this, even a benevolent Tacitus could not have resisted the temptation to relapse into his usual bitter tone. The real obstacle, however, according to Tacitus, was to be sought elsewhere: with his noble peers. Once his account of a remote past (*ann.* 4. 32–33) had met with animosities among senators hurt in their feelings in one way or other, this was to be expected all the more for an account of contemporary events (cf. Plin. *epist.* 5. 8. 12).

Like his father-in-law, Agricola, and many senators close to Trajan, Tacitus had avoided clamorous manifestations of opposition under Domitian. Should he not do so all the more under more humane rulers? Thus he moved on a narrow isthmus between the silent protestation of *virtus* and an opportunism in republican disguise. Under the given circumstances, for a born politician and, perhaps, a *pater familias* caring for his family there might have been no other reasonable choice. No doubt the age of Trajan brought some relief (*hist.* 1. 1. 4). Tacitus probably lived to see the reign of Hadrian.

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[1] Inscription from Mylasa, in: Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones selectae, ed. W. DITTENBERGER, vol. 2, Leipzig 1905, no. 487; R. SYME 1958, 664–665.

[2] Cass. Dio 68. 29. 2; cf. the parallel passage *ann.* 13. 41. 4.

During his lifetime Tacitus could observe how the idea and the function of the Roman emperor changed: there was a radical difference indeed between Nero the almighty artist and Hadrian the restless manager. The role of Italy changed as well. What had been the center of the civilized world, a symbol of the universe (cf. Nero's Golden House and Domitian's Palace), gradually became a province among others. Ever more rarely did the emperor come to Rome, not as landlord by now but as a visitor. Even in terms of economy Italy was in need of support. In Tacitus' time Rome was still the center of Latin intellectual culture; there could be a lively exchange of ideas with men like Pliny, and Domitian encouraged literature. Yet, despite Trajan's foundation of the Bibliotheca Ulpia, the days of great Roman literature were numbered, and the Silver Age faded away with the death of Tacitus and with Juvenal's unheeded call for help addressed to an emperor less interested in living Latin authors than in those of a distant past and in Greek culture.

Tacitus' historical œuvre reflects the change of times: first of all, he is a Roman senator (this explains his republican mentality, his insistence on the antagonism between *virtus* and principate, and his reluctance to acquiesce in a non-expansive policy); second, he represents the type of 'new' senator from the entourage of the Flavians and Trajan (hence, his partial recognition of the superiority of the present age, his practical acceptance of monarchy, and his efforts to develop a new political ethics of conformity). Finally, two profound historical experiences shaped his views: one of them was the Domitian trauma, combined with a sense of collective guilt and the awakening of conscience. The other experience, less known but perhaps even more determining his stature as a historian, was the ordeal of the civil war of 69. The initial pages of his *Histories* reveal magnificent and radical insights, rather unexpected in a conservative Roman senator. It would not be an exaggerated statement to call his analysis of the year of four emperors a prophecy of late antiquity. It goes without saying that in a Roman author who made so many new discoveries, the contradictions between a 'conventional' and a realistic, innovative approach[1] are not always reconciled. Consequently, in the portrait of Tacitus as sketched by scholars,[2] disharmonies prevail,

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[1] V. Pöschl 1962, 5 = WdF 97, 2nd ed. 1986, 115.

[2] S. esp. J. Lucas 1974; more cautiously, R. Syme, Tacitus (with prosopographic material).

partly caused by the political and social situation. Both the career and the style of Tacitus bespeak his severe self-discipline and great ambition. The death-dates of his friends are perhaps indicative of a certain isolation in his old age. The theory of a progressive darkening of his views, however, cannot be proved: if in the later portions of the *Annals* many 'positive' terms disappear, this may be owing to the subject matter (Nero). Moralism and realism (up to verism) are not mutually exclusive: crimes have to be named and stigmatized. The internal conflict between a trenchant condemnation of evil and the incapacity of subtracting oneself from its fascination is not based on 'obsessions' but reveals features Tacitus shared with many Romans—suffice it to mention Persius, Lucan, and Juvenal. His personal discovery of conscience is a precious upshot of the tensions we observed, which were deeply rooted in Roman civilization.[1]

Dates of Works: the *Dialogus de oratoribus* can hardly be considered an early work; according to modern scholars, it was written in 102, when the addressee, Fabius Justus, was consul, or still later.[2] Hence, the *Agricola* has strong claims to be our author's first work; it was published in 98, after Trajan's accession to the throne (*Agr.* 3; 44). The same year is the *terminus post quem* for the *Germania* (*Germ.* 37). Before the *Annals* (*Ab excessu divi Augusti*) Tacitus wrote the *Histories*[3] (*ann.* 11. 11). He worked on the latter up to around 108 or 109.[4]

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[1] As a rule, rash conclusions on the author should not be drawn from his work. The orator of sublimity (σεμνόν), the pessimist portrayed in our manuals, defies our expectations by appearing (in a letter of Pliny) in the circus, talking to a neighbor and ironically dropping his incognito (Plin. *epist.* 9. 23. 2). Pliny is convinced that his friend is able to laugh at a harmless hunting story (*epist.* 1. 6). A rewarding aspect of this friendship must have been the very difference of characters; Pliny represented the type of a relaxed, open-minded and tolerant Roman, a type which might have been more frequent than we would expect. But let us not exaggerate: the 'obsessed' Tacitus had enough will to live, not to utter his darkest thoughts too loudly.

[2] In principle there are four criteria for dating the *Dialogus*: the person of the addressee, the relationship of the work to Quintilian's *Institutio* and to Pliny's *Panegyricus* as well as to other contemporaries. For A.D. 102: A. Kappelmacher, Zur Abfassungszeit von Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus*, WS 50, 1932, 121–129, esp. 127. After A.D. 105: K. Barwick, Der *Dialogus de oratoribus* des Tacitus. Motive und Zeit seiner Entstehung, SSAL 1954, 31–32; similarly (A.D. 105/6) R. Syme, The Senator as Historian, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 4, 1956, 185–212, esp. 203.

[3] There is no cogent proof that Tacitus used precisely these titles for his works; however, the title *Historiae* is supported by Tert. *apol.* 16. 1 together with Pliny *epist.* 7. 33. 1.

[4] Cf. Plin. *epist.* 6. 16; 20; 7. 20; 7. 33; 8. 7; 9. 14.

The 1st and 2nd books of the *Annales*[1] were probably published together: on the one hand (*ann.* 2. 56), Armenia had not yet been incorporated into the empire (A.D. 115/6); on the other hand (*ann.* 2. 61: *Rubrum mare*), the Persian Gulf had already been reached (A.D. 116). Allusions to the epoch of Hadrian—if admitted—would allow an even later date. Besides we have to reckon with revisions. The second part of the *Annales* differs from the first one and was probably written under Hadrian.

On the whole, in his choice of historical subjects, Tacitus continuously moved from contemporary history back to the past: he made his dêbut with a biography of his father-in-law (*Agricola*) and planned to describe Domitian's reign and his own happy epoch (*Agr.* 3). Soon, however, he realized that Domitian's time could only be understood in the framework of the Flavian dynasty. Thus he came to write the *Historiae*, beginning with A.D. 69. At the start of this work he claimed to have postponed his account of contemporary history to his old age (*hist.* 1. 1). Having finished the *Historiae*, however, he went further back into the past in search for the roots of his own time in the period of the early principate; in fact, he expected his readers to draw such parallels. Later, he even declared his intention to study the Augustan era (*ann.* 3. 24). It may be observed that, in the course of his work, more and more 'precedents' from the early empire and the late republic intruded into his mind. Thus it happened that his contemporary history in its 'happier' part remained unwritten.

Survey of Works[2]

Agricola[3] *(De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae)*

Agricola's exploits in Britain form the central part of the work (18–38) with the crowning battle-scene (29–37). This panel is framed by the accounts of Agricola's youth (4–9) and his last years (39–46). An excursus on the nature

[1] On the date of the *Annales*: SYME, Tacitus 473: between 115 (117) and 120 (123); R. HÄUSSLER 1965, 277 with n. 79: between 109 and 120; in this case *ann.* 2. 61. 2 is referring to A.D. 106; HÄUSSLER does not believe in allusions to Hadrian's era.

[2] F. GIANCOTTI, Strutture delle monografie di Sallustio e di Tacito, Messina-Firenze 1971; G. WILLE 1983.

[3] On the *Agricola*: A. G. WOODHEAD, Tacitus and Agricola, Phoenix 2, 1947–1948, 45–55; W. LIEBESCHUETZ, The Theme of Liberty in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, CQ 60, 1966, 126–139; G. M. STRENG, *Agricola*—Das Vorbild römischer Statthalterschaft nach dem Urteil des Tacitus, diss. Bonn 1970; H. STORCH, Tacitus' *Agricola* als Maßstab für Geltung und Zerfall des römischen Tugendkanons, AU 29, 4, 1986, 36–49.

and history of Britain (10–17) is inserted between Agrippa's early years and the main section. The work is opened by a preface and ends in an obituary of Agricola. The *opusculum*, therefore, exhibits a symmetrical structure.

Germania (De origine et situ Germanorum)
On Tacitus' own showing (*Germ.* 27), the *Germania* falls into a general and a special (ethnographical) part. This type of structure is wide-spread in geographical and ethnographical texts.[1] The first part explains the position of the country, the provenance of its inhabitants, their religion as well as the customs common among all Germanic tribes. When describing individual tribes in the second part, Tacitus pays special heed to the differences. The general structure and the individual transitions from one theme to another are handled with great care.[2]

Dialogus de oratoribus[3]
After the dedication, the author announces his theme (the reasons for the decline of oratory: 1) and introduces the participants of his dialogue, among

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[1] K. Trüdinger, Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie, Basel 1918; E. Norden, Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' *Germania*, Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1923, repr. 1971.

[2] G. Bielefeld, Der kompositorische Aufbau der *Germania* des Tacitus, FS M. Wegner, Münster 1962, 44–54. Further important publications on the *Germania*: E. Wolff, Das geschichtliche Verstehen in Tacitus' *Germania*, Hermes 69, 1934, 121–166, also in: H. Oppermann, ed., Römertum (WdF 18), Darmstadt 1970, 299–358 and in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 252–308; H. Jahnkuhn, Die Glaubwürdigkeit des Tacitus in seiner *Germania* im Spiegel archäologischer Beobachtungen, in: G. Radke, ed., 1971, 142–151; G. Perl, Die *Germania* des Tacitus. Historisch-politische Aktualität und ethnographische Tradition, ACD 19, 1983, 79–89; A. A. Lund, Zum Germanenbegriff bei Tacitus, in: H. Beck, ed., Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht, Berlin 1986, 53–87; D. Flach, Tacitus über Herkunft und Verbreitung des Namens Germanen, in: P. Kneissl and V. Losemann, eds., FS K. Christ, Darmstadt 1988, 167–185; H. Jankuhn, D. Timpe, eds., Beiträge zum Verständnis der *Germania* des Tacitus, part 1, Göttingen 1989; part 2 (ed. bei G. Neumann, H. Seemann), Göttingen 1992; D. Timpe, Gesammelte Studien zur *Germania* des Tacitus, Stuttgart 1994.

[3] K. von Fritz, Aufbau und Absicht des *Dialogus de oratoribus*, RhM 81, 1932, 275–300, repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 311–337; K. Keyssner, Betrachtungen zum *Dialogus* als Kunstwerk und Bekenntnis, Würzburger Studien 9, 1936, 94–116, repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 338–361; R. Güngerich, Der *Dialogus de oratoribus* des Tacitus und Quintilians *Institutio oratoria*, CPh 46, 1951, 159–164, repr. in: V. Pöschl, 2nd ed. 1986, 362–373; R. Häussler, Zum Umfang und Aufbau des *Dialogus de oratoribus*, Philologus 113, 1969, 24–67; F. R. D. Goodyear 1970, 15–16; P. Desideri, Lettura storica del *Dialogus de oratoribus*, in: Xenia, Scritti in onore di P. Treves, Roma 1985, 83–94; P. Grimal, Le *Dialogue des orateurs* témoin de son temps, Arctos suppl. 2, 1985, 33–40; J. Devreker, Curiatius Maternus, in: F. Decreus, C. Deroux, eds., Hommages à J. Veremans, Bruxelles 1986, 101–108; T. D. Barnes, The Signification of Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus*, HSPh 90, 1986, 225–244; R. Häussler 1986.

them Julius Secundus (2) who later will play the role of umpire. Then the dialogue begins (3–4). In the first place, there are two antithetic speeches: M. Aper, a fervent orator, defends his profession (5–10), whereas the pensive poet, Curiatius Maternus, defends his contemplative lifestyle (11–13). Here, the serious Vipstanus Messalla interferes to turn the conversation round to the contrast between 'old' and 'new' oratory (14–15). Having listened to Aper's defence of the 'moderns' (16–23), Maternus asks Messalla not to defend the 'ancients' (since they are not in need of defence) but to elucidate the causes of the downfall of oratory (24). After a brief retort against Aper (25–26), Messalla is urged anew to come to the point (27). He starts with a criticism of modern education and with a praise of the ('Ciceronian') ideal of an all-round education (28–32). Having been asked by Maternus to complete this sketch, he then contrasts the traditional practical training of the orator in the forum with the unrealistic school exercises promoted by modern teachers of rhetoric (33–35). There is a lacuna after chapter 35.[1] In conclusion, Maternus, who is the host, expounds the importance of republican institutions to the development of political and forensic speech. Oratory is the daughter of *licentia, quam stulti libertatem vocant*; it appears that 'ideal' political conditions can dispense with oratory (36–41). The dialogue dies away in a resigned tone (42).

The structure of the *Dialogus* is rich in surprises; there are gradual shifts of theme like in a real conversation. This tripartite form with its changing perspectives is comparable to the stage-effects of illusionary architecture.[2] It finds its match in the first three books of the *Historiae*, in which a limited perspective is gradually enlarged. The masterly exposition is clearly superior to the disenchanting finale (even if interpreted ironically). The very structure of the *Dialogus* shows that, 'for all its purported Ciceronian gracefulness it is very far away from Cicero's straightforwardness'.[3]

Historiae and *Annales*

If Jerome is to be believed, *Annales* and *Historiae* amounted to 30 books altogether (*in Zach.* 3. 14 = PL 25, 1522). In the codex Mediceus II the *Historiae* follow the *Annales* and book 1 of the *Historiae* is counted as 'book 17' and so on. If this numbering is original and the total of 30 is correct, the *Annales* would comprise 16, the *Historiae* 14 books. In this case, the two last years of Nero must have been dealt with very briefly (if the *Annales* had not been left unfinished). For this reason, scholars assigned 18 books to the *Annales*, 12 to the *Historiae*. We will come back to the problem of an 'hexadic' overall structure.

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[1] *Sex folia* according to Decembrius; *sex pagellae* according to B = Vaticanus 1862.
[2] G. Wille 1983, 191; 223.
[3] Klingner, Geisteswelt, 5th ed., 506.

Historiae

The preserved parts—from book 1 to the middle of book 5—include the years 69–70.

The 1st book deals with the reign of Galba, Otho's victory, the insurrection of Vitellius, and Otho's campaign against him.

The 2nd book draws the reader's attention to the orient, to begin with: Vespasian and Titus make an appearance full of promise. After Vitellius' victory of Bedriacum Otho commits suicide; in the east, Vespasian is proclaimed emperor.

Book 3 contains the struggle between the followers of Vitellius and Vespasian up to the burning of the Capitol and the murder of Vitellius.

In the 4th book there follow the events in Rome and the Batavians' struggle for independence under Civilis; book 5 contains the expedition of Titus against Jerusalem, and Civilis' submission to the Romans.

The theme of books 1–3 is the civil war, whereas books 4–6 describe the return to normal life in Rome as well as the revolutions in the north and the east. The structure of the lost books is a matter of conjecture.

Annales[1]

We have less than two thirds of the *Annales*: books 1–4, the first pages of book 5, book 6 without its opening, and books 11–16 with lacunas at the beginning and at the end. Tacitus is partly or totally lacking, therefore, as a source for the years 29–31; 37–47; 66–68.

The first six books extend from the death of Augustus to that of Tiberius (the last chapter of book 6 gives some structural hints concerning the first hexad). Book 12 ends with the death of Claudius: this strongly suggests a 'second hexad'.[2] The 'third hexad' would comprise the Nero books (books 13–18?), if Tacitus did treat at such great length the last two years of this emperor (after Thrasea's death in 66, the end of the preserved text). Yet, there is no reason whatever to consider the hexadic pattern a general rule: actually, the best manuscript (s. above) tells in favor of 16 + 14 books. One may always, of course, resort to supposing that Tacitus had not finished his 'third hexad'.

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[1] We use this title for the sake of conveniency. C. W. MENDELL, Dramatic Construction of Tacitus' *Annals*, YClS 5, 1935, 3–53; B. WALKER 1952; H. Y. MCCULLOCH, JR., Narrative Cause in the *Annals* of Tacitus, Königstein 1984.

[2] Cf. E. WÖLFFLIN, Die hexadische Composition des Tacitus, Hermes 21, 1886, 157–159; SYME, Tacitus 686–687; E. KOESTERMANN, Commentary, on *ann.* 1. 22; on the problematic aspects of the theory of 'hexads' (and in favor of 14 books of *Historiae* and 16 books of *Annales*): C. POGHIRC, Sur la répartition des livres de Tacite entre *Annales* et *Histoires*, StudClas 6, 1964, 149–154; cf. also F. R. D. GOODYEAR 1970, 17–18.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Rhetoric. Tacitus was an orator from the very beginning, and he never disclaimed these roots. As a young man he admired M. Aper, who was from Gaul, and Julius Secundus, an orator highly esteemed by Quintilian. As had been customary in republican Rome, he learnt from them by listening to their forensic speeches and to their familiar conversation. Later he would immortalize them in his *Dialogus.*

Dialogue as a genre harkened back to a Ciceronian tradition (*De oratore, De re publica, De natura deorum,* and also *Brutus*). Tacitus knew Cicero's[1] rhetorical writings and imitated them in his *Dialogus* and, earlier, in his *Agricola.* In style, the *Dialogus* differs from the other works of Tacitus. This is not owing to chronology, but to literary genre. Roman authors had a keen sense of the difference between *sermo* (the tone of familiar conversation)[2] and *historia* (historical writing).

Tacitus' development from an orator to an historian was an organic process. The lost funeral speech in honor of his predecessor was close to the *Agricola* both in chronology and literary genre. The speeches inserted into his historical works attest his mastery of rhetorical techniques including even prose rhythm.[3] Many a Ciceronian echo gains an ironical ring in Tacitus: just think of (*ann.* 1. 13) servile Q. Haterius aping Cicero's majestic *quo usque* from the first Catilinarian speech. Since his student days Tacitus had been admiring Cicero (and republican orators in general). This attitude, which was contrary to Neronian modernism, became popular in Domitian's time, owing, among other reasons, to Quintilian's influence.

'Philosophical' sources, including ethnography. Some philosophers opposed tyranny; hence, in the imperial period, serious philosophical studies were deemed dangerous. Domitian expelled philosophers from Rome (Suet. *Dom.* 10): moreover, ancient Roman prejudice against philosophy (a prejudice virtually overcome only by men like Cicero and Seneca), was still very much alive. It said: Do not push your study of philosophy too far (Enn. *scaen.* 95 J.). Tacitus mentions the strong

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[1] For Cicero's influence on Tacitus: R. Klaiber, Die Beziehungen des Rednerdialogs von Tacitus zu Ciceros rhetorischen Schriften, 2 parts, Progr. Bamberg 1914; 1916; A. Michel, Le *Dialogue des orateurs* de Tacite et la philosophie de Cicéron, Paris 1962; I. Borzsák, Le *Dialogue* de Tacite et le *Brutus* de Cicéron, BAGB 1985, 3, 289–298.

[2] Syme, Tacitus 125 wrongly paraphrases *sermo* by 'oratory' (Plin. *epist.* 5. 5. 3); *sermo* and formal speech are quite different things.

[3] I. Borzsák, 1970 II, 58: *ann.* 1. 22; 15. 63 (Seneca's last words).

philosophical inclinations of his father-in-law (*ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori: Agr.* 4. 3), not forgetting to emphasize that, fortunately, his caring mother healed him betimes of such malady. Tacitus' own philosophical education stays within the limits of his class. However, in his *Dialogus*, there is a critical approach to Cicero's *De re publica.*[1] And we have no reason to doubt that Tacitus knew that the Earth is a globe.[2] Influence of Seneca is found in geographical contexts (e.g. in the *Germania* and in the excursus on Britain in the *Agricola*); the same author was the source for the antithesis of *eloquentia* and *libertas.*[3] Tacitus' psychology may be influenced by physiognomics.[4] (For his ethics and his view of history s. Ideas)

The *Germania* adheres to the generic traditions of ethnographical literature. This is not to deny that Tacitus clearly refers to Roman perspective and moral values (though this aspect is sometimes overemphasized). Greek and Roman categories merge in the traditional idealization of primitive tribes.

Agricola: a crossing of genres. An interesting crossing of genres may be observed in the *Agricola.*[5] It contains elements of biography[6] (*Agr.* 1–2), quotes Roman biographies and uses expressions like *vitam narrare* (*Agr.* 1; 46); the sketch of Agricola's early years is reminiscent of Nepos and Sallust.[7] Moreover there are traces of *laudatio funebris*[8] and laudatory biography;[9] rhetorical rules for writing a λόγος βασιλικός have

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[1] E. Koestermann, Der taciteische *Dialogus* and Ciceros Schrift *De re publica,* Hermes 65, 1930, 396–421.

[2] Pointed out correctly by P. Steinmetz, Tacitus und die Kugelgestalt der Erde, Philologus 111, 1967, 233–241.

[3] Tac. *hist.* 1. 1; *dial.* 27; Sen. *cons. Marc.* 1. 4; Cic. *de orat.* 1. 30; *Brut.* 45 (Tac. *dial.* 40 is different).

[4] J. Cousin, Rhétorique et psychologie chez Tacite. Un aspect de la δείνωσις, REL 29, 1951, 228–247.

[5] P. Steinmetz, Die literarische Form des *Agricola* des Tacitus, in: G. Radke, ed., 1971, 129–141; R. Häussler in: K. Büchner (Tr), 3rd ed. 1985, 285–286; A. Dihle 1988.

[6] Biographies from the epoch of Nero: P. Anteius wrote about Ostorius Scapula, Thrasea Paetus about Cato Uticensis.

[7] On the *Agricola* and Sallust's description of Catilina's youth: R. Guerrini, La giovinezza di Agricola. Tecnica allusiva e narrazione storica in Tacito, RAL, ser. 8, 32, 1977, 481–503.

[8] *Agr.* 2 *laudare*; the obituary is Ciceronian in character: *Agr.* 45–46; cf. Cic. *de orat.* 3. 1–8; *Brut.* 1–6; cf. also Tacitus' funeral speech in honor of Verginius Rufus, which must have contained historical information as well; an authoritative paradigm was Titinius Capito's *Exitus illustrium virorum* (Plin. *epist.* 8. 12. 4–5).

[9] Cf. Isocrates' *Evagoras,* Xenophon's *Agesilaus,* Polybius' remarks on his biography of Philopoemen as compared to historical works (10. 21), the laudatory biographies of Caesar written by Cornelius Balbus and C. Oppius; an outstanding example was

to be taken into account as well. In a biographical encomium a speaker was allowed to take liberties of which an historian could not dream.[1] Nevertheless, the *Agricola* is also reminiscent of historical monographs: there is an excursus on Britain and its people, comparable to that on Africa in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*. Both digressions even hold a similar position within the respective works.[2] Moreover, the description of the great battle conforms to the patterns of historiography.[3] The account of Agricola's activities as a governor partly recalls the traditions of Roman annalists. Calgacus' 'anti-Roman' speech evokes Caesar's oration of Critognatus (*Gall.* 7. 77) and Sallust's letter of Mithridates (*hist.* 4. 69). Furthermore, the 'twin speeches' of Calgacus and Agricola are indebted to Livy both in general and in detail. Finally, there are echoes of Caesar and Seneca in the excursus on Britain, which, as a whole, belongs to ethnographical literature.[4] On 'bias' in the *Agricola* s. below. In his first work, which, in a nutshell, foreshadows all aspects of his œuvre, Tacitus creatively combined elements from many genres.

First-hand historical material was given to Tacitus orally by his father-in-law. A parallel text on Britain is found in Plutarch's *De defectu oraculorum*, which preserves information from Scribonius Demetrius of Tarsus, who was part of Agricola's staff in York and conducted the governor's educational program.[5]

The Historical Works: Sources. It was not Tacitus' intention to study original sources in detail. Nor does he cite all the books he consulted. He names his sources especially when quoting dissenting opinions, for which he is not ready to take responsibility.[6]

The sources of the *Annales* are different in character from those used in the *Historiae*.[7] In the *Historiae*, which treat contemporary events,

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Cicero's *Cato*; Nicolaus of Damascus wrote a biography of Augustus (FGrHist 90) that was impartial only in theory; K. Kumaniecki, Ciceros *Cato*, in: Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 168–188; cf. esp. *Agr.* 1 with Cic. *orat.* 35; *Att.* 12. 4. 2.

[1] Cicero to Lucceius, *fam.* 5. 12. 3; Polyb. 10. 21, esp. 8; Nep. *Pel.* 1; Plut. *Alex.* 1.

[2] Cf. also *Agr.* 37 with Sall. *Iug.* 101.

[3] Cf. also the principle of *posteris tradere* (*Agr.* 46 and 1, alluding to Cato's *Origines*, 2 P. and 118 P.

[4] For the shape of Britain, Tacitus quotes Fabius Rusticus (*Agr.* 10).

[5] R. M. Ogilvie, The Date of the *De defectu oraculorum*, Phoenix 21, 1967, 108–121.

[6] E. Mensching, Zu den namentlichen Zitaten in Tacitus' *Historien* und *Annalen*, Hermes 95, 1967, 457–469.

[7] Both titles cannot be traced to Tacitus with absolute certainty. The current distinction between *annales* (events of a distant past, grouped according to years) and *historiae* (contemporary history) is not exempt from exceptions.

Tacitus can rely to a larger extent on his own experience and that of eye-witnesses (e.g. Plin. *epist.* 6. 16 and 7. 33). Formerly, scholars believed[1] that the literary portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, and Germanicus were the work of a single great author (who, strangely enough, had remained unknown). This author would have intended, at the beginning of Caligula's reign, to glorify Germanicus, the father of his emperor. This hypothesis of a 'single source' has been abandoned today: first, some inconsistencies in Tacitus show that his portrait of Tiberius (and even that of Germanicus) cannot be 'of a piece'; second, Tacitus himself names several authorities and reflects different verdicts of the upper classes. It is true that he did not consult Velleius, who sympathized with Tiberius (Velleius' humble origin might not have been the only reason for neglecting him) but he did use Augustus' *res gestae.*

In the preface to his *Annales* Tacitus maintains that there did not yet exist any adequate historical account of the Julio-Claudian period (*ob metum* and *recentibus odiis*).[2] As some parallel texts in other authors show, Tacitus, in the books devoted to Tiberius, manifestly[3] dissociated correlated facts or concealed the causal links between them, in favor of his personal psychological theories. Though Tacitus sometimes rejects malevolent interpretations which usually popped up after an emperor had died, he almost regularly does accept them.[4]

It is true that, in the *Historiae*, we should not overrate the extent of Tacitus' criticism of pro-Flavian historians,[5] but it may be taken for granted that Tacitus' negative portrayal of Domitian implies such a criticism, at least in part.[6] Tacitus explicitly objects to the efforts of Flavian historians to descry all-too noble motives behind the actions of the Flavians.

After all, Tacitus sometimes refers to the acts of the senate under

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[1] E. Schwartz, Cassius Dio, RE 3, 2, 1899, 1716–1717 = Griechische Geschichtsschreiber, Leipzig 1957, 441–443.

[2] E. Koestermann, Commentary, on 1. 60; R. Häussler, Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie, Heidelberg 1978, 256–257 (excursus: *sine ira et studio*).

[3] F. Klingner, Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius, SBAW 1953, 7, repr. in: Klingner, Studien 624–658 and in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 513–556.

[4] F. Klingner, Tacitus und die Geschichtsschreiber des 1. Jh. n. Chr., MH 15, 1958, 194–206, repr. in: Klingner, Geisteswelt, 5th ed., 483–503; D. Flach 1973.

[5] H. Heubner, Gymnasium 68, 1961, 80–82 against A. Briessmann, Tacitus und das flavische Geschichtsbild, Wiesbaden 1955; convincing: D. Flach 1973.

[6] R. Urban 1971, 122–123 hesitatingly agrees with A. Briessmann.

Nero[1] (*ann.* 15. 74) and the official journal of the city of Rome (*ann.* 3. 3). Moreover he cites memoirs like those of Nero's mother, Agrippina (*ann.* 4. 53) and of Cn. Domitius Corbulo (*ann.* 15. 16). For the first part of the *Annales* scholars think of Servilius Nonianus,[2] of the Epicurean historian Aufidius Bassus (Sen. *epist.* 30), and of Pliny the Elder, who wrote on wars against the Germans. In the later part of the *Annales* Tacitus (13. 20) cites the contemporary history of Cluvius Rufus, who was biased in favor of Nero. He further mentions Pliny the Elder (of whom he used in this case a work not identical with the *Bella Germanica*) and Seneca's friend, Fabius Rusticus. These three authors, however, are not likely to be the sole sources of *Annales* 13–16.[3]

Nor can any of them be identified with the sources of Dio and Suetonius. For his *Historiae*, Tacitus used, among others, Pliny (*hist.* 3. 28) and Vipstanus Messalla (*hist.* 3. 25. 2). The parallels with Plutarch's biographies of Galba and Otho are often very close and are traced to common sources, since there is more material in Plutarch.

Let us now turn to the way Tacitus assimilated his source material. Nobody can deny that there are traces of different sources and traditions (to give an example, in the first part of the *Annales* there is no mention of *prodigia*, because they had been lacking in the sources).[4] Nor can it be doubted that Tacitus' verdicts on his characters are inconsistent; examples are Otho (cf. *hist.* 1. 13 with *ann.* 13. 46), Antonius Primus,[5] Cornelius Fuscus (*hist.* 2. 86), Vespasian, and, of course, Seneca (cf. *ann.* 13. 42 with 15. 60–64). This may be caused by change of sources. Yet it may also reflect an artistic intention. In fact, Tacitus is especially concerned with the links between the actions of an individual and the political development as a whole: between both, there are interactions which may reverberate on a character by modifying or unmasking it.

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[1] On the problem of direct use of the acts of the senate: F. A. Marx, Untersuchungen zur Komposition und zu den Quellen von Tacitus' *Annalen*, Hermes 60, 1925, 74–93, esp. 82–90.

[2] Tac. *ann.* 6. 31; 14. 19; *dial.* 23; Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 102; Plin. *epist.* 1. 13.

[3] Correct: J. Tresch 1965; cf. also C. Questa, Studi sulle fonti degli *Annali* di Tacito, Roma, 2nd ed., 1963.

[4] R. von Pöhlmann, Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus, SBAW 1910; 2nd. ed. 1913.

[5] M. Treu, M. Antonius Primus in der taciteischen Darstellung, WJA 3, 1948, 241–262.

Generally speaking, the problem of sources cannot be solved without taking into account literary patterns. These partly depend on genre. In this respect, historians are relevant, again, but as models rather than as sources.

The Historical Works: Genre and Models. As a rule, Tacitus adopts the Roman principle of annalistic arrangement. However, he often protests against it and even violates it (though not without warning his readers). Infractions multiply in the later books of the *Annales.* For Tacitus, the laws of the historical genre were especially embodied in his great predecessors Sallust and Livy. Beginning with the *Agricola,* he imitated Sallust, and he frequently referred to Livy whom he envied his great subject: the Roman republic.

The presence of historiographic models and traditions is especially felt in the portrayal of characters. Agricola and Germanicus are modeled on Alexander.[1] The theme of Alexander partly overlaps with the typology of Caesar. The duality of Caesar and Cato from Sallust's *Catilina* has been interpreted as a background to the character of Agricola whose *virtus* unites the qualities of both of them.[2] Many literary portraits are reminiscent of Sallust: Sejanus (*ann.* 4. 1) recalls Catiline (Sall. *Catil.* 5); Poppaea (*ann.* 13. 45) is another Sempronia (Sall. *Catil.* 25).[3]

According to Quintilian (*inst.* 10. 1. 102–104), the main representatives of an ambitious historiography bordering on poetry were Servilius Nonianus, Aufidius Bassus, and Cremutius Cordus whom Tacitus commemorated in his *Annales* (4. 34).

Influence of Poets. The so-called hexameter at the beginning of the *Annales* is not a quotation from Ennius but hardly anything more than a vague reminiscence of the dactylic rhythm of epic poetry. Quintilian (*inst.* 9. 4. 74) had observed the same in the first line of Livy. No doubt, Tacitus improved on Sallust, *Catil.* 6 and succeeded in producing the effect of σεμνόν he cherished even in his speeches.

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[1] I. Borzsák 1982 (partly debatable); id. 1968, 404; id. 1970 I, cf. 1970 II, 53–54; G. A. Lehmann, Tacitus und die *imitatio Alexandri* des Germanicus Caesar, in: G. Radke, ed., 1971, 23–36; L. W. Rutland, The Tacitean Germanicus. Suggestions for a Re-Evaluation, RhM 130, 1987, 153–164; on the typology of Alexander: Norden, Kunstprosa I, 337–338; on the 'hagiography' of Germanicus: C. Questa, Il viaggio di Germanico in Oriente e Tacito, Maia 9, 1957, 291–321. The reader is kept guessing why the use of the Alexander pattern should *not* have been influenced by Trajan's cult of Alexander.

[2] M. Lausberg, Caesar und Cato im *Agricola* des Tacitus, Gymnasium 87, 1980, 411–430 (e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 18. 5; Sall. *Catil.* 53. 1).

[3] Cf. Leeman, Orationis ratio 1, 356–358.

The numerous parallels with the language of Augustan poets need not all be 'quotations'. Many of them may be a result of a general evolution of the literary language. Since Livy Latin prose had assimilated more and more elements which *for us*, in the main, are attested in poetry. For all this, the influence of poetry is significant: in the *Dialogus*, along with Cicero, Virgil is the only author to be quoted more than once (the citation on *poeticus decor* has programmatic importance: 20. 5). It is Virgil, again, who yields the typological background for Germanicus and Arminius who, to a certain degree, are comparable to Aeneas and Turnus.[1] More significant than isolated linguistic echoes are the categories provided by Virgil. Along with the typology of Alexander and the Sallustian parallels, Virgilian allusions help the reader understand how Tacitus interpreted his characters and their situations and how much importance he attributed to them.

Literary Technique

Purposeful composition and dramatic arrangement are among the specific literary qualities of Tacitus.

Overall structure. The first 'hexad' of the *Annales* is devoted to Tiberius. His character does not 'develop' but it is successively unfolded or revealed, as obstacles gradually fall off. At the end of book 6 Tacitus explains the structure of the first hexad though not entering into details (on hexadic structure cf. above: Survey of Works).

Even more coherent are the books on Nero. Within this unit Agrippina's death and the end of Burrus' and Seneca's[2] beneficial influence are significant caesuras.[3] The Pisonian conspiracy is a self-contained complex.[4] However, the phases are not very distinct. The crucial act of the drama is the struggle for power between mother

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[1] W. Edelmaier 1964, 134–139; the long ailment of Julia *ann.* 1. 53 is reminiscent of *Aen.* 6. 442; Tac. *Germ.* 44 helps to understand the grammar of *Aen.* 6. 302: Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 331, n. 4.

[2] J. Tresch 1965.

[3] Compared with the tradition in Dio Cassius, dramatization is somewhat more articulate in Tacitus; actually, the former shows a preference for earlier dates: in Cassius the mother's influence ends in 54 and that of the 'ministers' in 55. Trajan's utterance about the happy *quinquennium Neronis* (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 5. 2) marks the other extreme.

[4] W. Suerbaum, Zur Behandlung der Pisonischen Verschwörung (Tac. *ann.* 15. 48–74), in: Handreichungen für den Lateinunterricht in der Kollegstufe, 3rd ser., vol. 1, 1976, 167–229.

and son. In the books on Nero, Tacitus does not separate Nero's personal tragedy from Rome's political tragedy. They form an organic whole.[1]

Structure of Individual Books. As a rule, within each book the subject matter is arranged year by year.[2] At the beginning of each year the *consules ordinarii* are named. There follow the exploits of emperors and armies, the debates in the senate, other events in Rome, and the deaths of men of distinction. Occasionally, Tacitus complains that he is compelled to separate correlated events, only because they happened in different years (*ann.* 4. 71; 12. 40). In the first part of the *Annales* he rarely frees himself from annalistic constraints (e.g. at the end of book 2); he does so more often in the second part, e.g. when condensing the campaigns in Britain (12. 40) or when exploring the Pisonian conspiracy (15. 48; 50). In the *Historiae* the annalistic principle is less prominent—not only because our information is limited to two years but also because of the frequent shifts of the scenes of action and the great number of parallel events; hence, a free arrangement of material was imperative.[3]

To understand the structure of the *Annales*, it is not enough to refer to the annalistic scheme or speculate on possible numbers of books. Convincing are structural hints found in the text. Thus, the epilogue to the first 'hexad' (6. 51) indicates several phases of the gradual unmasking of Tiberius' character. This subdivision is in harmony with the structure of the text;[4] in fact, the ends of phases coincide with the ends of books: Germanicus dies at the end of book 2, Drusus at the beginning of book 4, and Seianus between books 5 and 6.

As a rule, important structural markers are found in initial, central or final position within the books. The sequence of critical areas (Rome, Germany, the East) established in *hist.* 1. 4–11 determines the structure of the first three books.[5]

Passages in central or marginal position emphasize compositional

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[1] J. Tresch 1965, 84; 89.

[2] *Annales nostros* (4. 32) does not imply a definition of specific literary procedures.

[3] A. Briessmann 1955, 16; nevertheless, Tacitus exploited the dramatic potential offered by the annalistic scheme (cf. the insurrection of the Batavians and also the end of the Judaica before the seizure of Jerusalem).

[4] K. Nipperdey, G. Andresen, Commentary, on *ann.* 6. 51; U. Knoche, zur Beurteilung des Kaisers Tiberius durch Tacitus, Gymnasium 70, 1963, 211–226.

[5] F. Münzer, Die Entstehung der *Historien* des Tacitus, Klio 1, 1902, 308.

caesuras: the central chapters *hist.* 1. 50–51 form a transition from Rome to the Rhine border; the opening of book 2 (2. 1) is an introduction to the account of events in the east. In the very middle of book 3 (*hist.* 3. 36–48) the author comes back to the geographical arrangement used in book 1 (west, north, east, south, west) for a survey of the consequences of the Flavians' victory. Both books 1 and 2 start with a search for *ratio* (or *initia*) and *causae* (*hist.* 1. 4; 2. 1). Events of symbolic significance serve as 'corner-stones': e.g. the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina (*ann.* 12. 1–9), her murder of Claudius (64–69), and the deaths of Agrippina (14. 1–11) and Octavia (14. 60–64). The fall of Arminius is the finale of the 2nd book (even contrary to chronology). The 3rd book ends in a painful retrospect to the Republic (the ancestral portraits of Brutus and Cassius are conspicuous by their absence—the saying originates from this passage). The end of book 4 contains a foreboding of Nero's era (the marriage of Domitius and Agrippina), the finale of book 14 forecasts the Pisonian conspiracy.

Mention of gods is another structural marker. The ponderous words on the punishing gods are placed conspicuously at the end of the introduction (*hist.* 1. 3). The gods come back at culminating points: e.g. before the battle of Bedriacum (2. 38) and after the burning of the Capitol (3. 72. 1).

Tacitus' compositional technique is based on contrasts. He shows a preference for multiple ring composition. He uses the transposition of material as a significant structural means of interpretation. The *Historiae* are basically a history of the Flavian dynasty followed back to its roots.[1] Correspondingly, even in significant passages of the early books, hints at the members of this family are found: at the center of book 1, chapter 50 is a cardinal point. The reflections expounded here range from the murder of Galba to the future reign of Vespasian. Similarly the chapters on the Flavians, opening the 2nd book (2. 1–7) interrupt the account of the conflict between Otho and Vitellius, thus throwing a quite unexpected light on it.[2] Likewise, in 2. 74–86, the rise of the energetic Flavians is inserted as a critical

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[1] A parallel case: the rebellion of the legions in Germania superior (1. 12) was the cause of Piso's adoption by Galba. The message of that rebellion is at the same time an intentional foreshadowing of the imminent death of Galba and, as will be seen in retrospect, of Otho, as well.

[2] M. Fuhrmann 1960 with bibl.; cf. also E. Schäfer 1977.

reminder into the description of the indolence of the victorious Vitellians. In *ann.* 4. 1. the literary portrait of Sejanus opens the sinister second half of the hexad devoted to Tiberius, and in 4. 74 the first allusion to Sejanus's imminent fall is given at the moment of his greatest triumph. By anticipating later events (or emphasizing events relevant to the future) Tacitus unmasks the futility of what he actually has to report.[1] The killing of Blaesus (*hist.* 3. 38–39) turns out to be a cruel farce, because the reader does already know that the battle of Cremona is lost. This technique is reminiscent of Sallust, who in his *Catilina* (41–47) and *Iugurtha* (63–82) fathoms the tragedy of 'vain effort', but also of Virgil's epic.[2] In some cases, Tacitus' account dwells on the marginal regions of the empire before turning to Rome,[3] whereas Greek historians prefer the reverse order. Tacitus is, therefore, aware of the crucial importance of the frontier districts, a vision not to be taken for granted in a Roman senator of his time.

Contrasts help to achieve climax. While the cowardly senators betray their fellow conspirators, a prostitute is courageous enough to keep silent persistently (*ann.* 15. 51), and there is a hardy tribune to tell Nero the plain truth (*ann.* 15. 67). The annalistic formulas typical of the beginning of the year[4] are turned by Tacitus into a means to illustrate the contrast between a monarchic present and a republican past.[5] In Livy the consuls inaugurate the year, they go to war, come back and organize the elections for the next year. In *ann.* 1–6, Tacitus observes this order (*res internae—externae—internae*) for only 8 of 19 years. If, in the year 18, for example, he only reports external events (*ann.* 2. 53–58) he does so for the sake of literary economy: he does not want to distract our attention from Germanicus. In book 12 at the beginning of each year he mentions a significant fact throwing light on the future.[6] Similarly, the final chapters of the annual accounts are closely linked to overarching themes. In the three books devoted

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[1] M. Fuhrmann 1960, 271; Thucydides, however, respects chronology: ibid. 277–278, n. 4; for the tragedy of vain effort ibid.

[2] 'Being surpassed by events' as an epic theme: Virg. *Aen.* 11. 445–446; Hom. *Iliad* 18. 310–313; 1. 304–305.

[3] M. Fuhrmann 1960, 267.

[4] J. Ginsburg 1981.

[5] More frequently than Livy, Tacitus, when naming the consuls, uses the abl. abs. (*X. Y. consulibus*). The consuls do no longer appear as acting subjects of political consequence, they are just instruments of the emperor's will and even a mere means of dating.

[6] E. Borzsák 1968, 475; 1970, II, 59; J. Ginsburg 1981, 23; 39.

to Germanicus the beginnings of years have a comparable function. Structure and interpretation, therefore, are inseparably interwoven.

Character portrayal. Two contrasting characters may dominate entire works or large sections of them: in the *Agricola* there is a tension between the hero and Domitian,[1] as is the case with Germanicus and Tiberius in the early books of the *Annales*, and with Galba's traditional rigor, who even blames the alleged murderer of his rival (*hist.* 1. 35) and Otho 'the Neronian' who rejoices at Galba's death (*hist.* 1. 44). Moreover there are individuals important enough to tower over entire groups of books: the emperors.

Characters may be introduced at the beginning of a section: to give an example, a portrait of Sejanus reminiscent of Catiline significantly opens the second half of the Tiberian hexad (*ann.* 4. 1). Conversely, the character of Tiberius is portrayed gradually, in course of the action, to be summarized only at the end. To be sure, our author is well aware of certain *topoi*:[2] in the *Agricola*, Domitian is a tyrant such as might have come straight out of a book, and Nero's growing apprehensions and pangs of conscience,[3] not to forget the appropriate prodigies, follow the same literary pattern. A consituent of the portrayal of Tiberius (and others) is the gradual disappearance of inhibitions.[4] Nevertheless, individual features are not suppressed: Tiberius detests flattery (*ann.* 2. 87) and is altogether depicted as a live human being. As far as we can judge, Tacitus, as compared to earlier evidence on Tiberius, makes large use of transpositions: he

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[1] R. Urban 1971.

[2] W.-R. Heinz 1975, 16.

[3] Eur. *Ion* 621–631; Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 57–63; Plat. *rep.* 562a–580c; *Gorg.* 524e–525a; Xen. *Hier.* 5. 1–2; 6. 3–8; E. A. Schmidt, Die Angst der Mächtigen in den *Annalen* des Tacitus, WS 95, 1982, 274–287; W.-R. Heinz 1975; B. Cardauns, Mechanismen der Angst. Das Verhältnis von Macht und Schrecken in der Geschichtsdarstellung des Tacitus, in: Antike Historiographie in literaturwissenschaftlicher Sicht. Materialien zur wissenschaftlichen Weiterbildung 2, Mannheim 1981, 52–71; H. Hoffmann, *Morum tempora diversa.* Charakterwandel bei Tacitus, Gymnasium 75, 1968, 220–250; J. R. Dunkle, The Rhetorical Tyrant in Roman Historiography. Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, CW 65, 1971, 12–20; F. Klingner, Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius, SBAW 1953, 7, München 1954, repr. in: Klingner, Studien 624–658; U. Knoche, Zur Beurteilung des Kaisers Tiberius bei Tacitus, Gymnasium 70, 1963, 211–226; A. Cook, Scale and Psychological Stereotyping in Tacitus' *Annals*, Maia n.s. 38, 1986, 235–248; A. J. Woodman, Tacitus' Obituary of Tiberius, CQ 39, 1989, 197–205; F. Krohn, Personendarstellungen bei Tacitus, diss. Leipzig 1934; A. J. Pomeroy, 1991.

[4] On this element in the portrayal of Nero: R. Häussler 1965, 268; 64–65; on the scheme of 'gradual unmasking' 317–339; on Tiberius' apprehensions: Dio 61. 7. 5.

dissociates given connections of cause and effect and connects originally unrelated elements[1] to make possible his own psychological interpretation.

Fortunately, Tacitus' character portrayal, in other respects, too, is far from dull monotony. Though fond of clear contrasts, Tacitus, except for the *Agricola*, in most cases tries to avoid the dangers of schematic black-and-white drawing. Even the brilliant figure of Germanicus during the Germanic campaign shows weaknesses at times: he is irascible (*ann.* 2. 70), menacing (2. 57) or cooly calculating (1. 44; 49). Germanicus, who is somehow reminiscent of the 'orientalizing' tastes of Marc Antony, is 'only a human being',[2] upon whom Tiberius enforces the *mores maiorum*; for all this, it would be doubtless an exaggeration to affirm that Tacitus 'only apparently'[3] maintained the traditional view of Germanicus. As for Claudius, he clearly figures as the sport of his ladies and freedmen, but the beneficial achievements of his administration are not concealed either. Like Sallust's Catiline, Otho meets an honorable death; even a Vitellius is not totally devoid of noble features.

Letters and Speeches.[4] Letters and speeches indirectly contribute to character portrayal. To give an example, a letter hedged with provisos to the point of obscurity reflects Tiberius' inscrutable heart (*ann.* 6. 6).

Character portrayal is one aim of orations (as can be seen e.g. in the *Dialogus*); another is the interpretation of historical events (s. esp. the speech of Claudius *ann.* 11. 24 and Galba's oration *hist.* 1. 15–16). Both intentions may overlap. The traditional allocutions of generals before battles (an early example is *Agr.* 30–32; 33–34) are often meant to illumine a situation from two contrary points of view.

Indirect speech in Tacitus frequently reflects the intrinsic dialectic potential of an event—this happens as early as after the death of Augustus, who is seen through the eyes of different anonymous groups,

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[1] K. P. Seif, Die Claudius-Bücher in den *Annalen* des Tacitus, diss. Mainz 1973, 297–298; the disparate elements in the portrayal of Claudius are overemphasized by A. Mehl, Tacitus über Kaiser Claudius. Die Ereignisse am Hof, München 1974.

[2] W. Edelmaier 1964, e.g. 168–173.

[3] I. Borzsák 1970, I, esp. 286.

[4] N. P. Miller, Dramatic Speech in Tacitus, AJPh 85, 1964, 279–296; B. Maier, Othos Rede an die Prätorianer. Gedanken zu Tacitus, *hist.* 1. 37–38, Anregung 31, 1985, 168–173; E. Aubrion 1985, esp. 491–678; J. Ginsburg, Speech and Allusion in Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 49–51 and 14. 48–49, AJPh 107, 1986, 525–541.

each of which passes a different judgment. Here, the psychology of the masses[1] may come into play. As a literary device such multiple interpretation of events creates a mysterious chiaroscuro.

Dramatic Scenes. Tacitus, the 'Shakespeare' of Roman historians, fascinates his readers by the evocative power of his scenes.[2] The visual and almost theatrical qualities of his account are traced in part to the tradition linked to Alexander.[3] Livy and the rhetorical doctrine of *evidentia* may have served as intermediaries. The 'tragedy' of the 'year of four emperors' is perfectly staged: onlookers gaze at the corpses of Roman citizens on the battlefield of Bedriacum (*hist.* 2. 70); there is a spectacular entry into the Capital (2. 89) and a scene of abdication (3. 67–68); the people watch the war as spectators (3. 83); the emperor himself becomes a *foedum spectaculum* (3. 84); the Romans may feast their eyes on Teutonic tribes exterminating one another (*Germ.* 33).

Nevertheless it would be one-sided to consider our author's interest in happenings such as mutinies as mainly rhetorical, for he is also eager to observe the dynamics of changes of power and to capture irrational elements, especially as far as the psychology of soldiers is concerned. The latter is, at that moment, a factor of considerable historical and political impact. The points made by Tacitus are important not only in terms of literary art but also as an interpretation of reality.

Large-scale composition is matched by an artful arrangement and interweaving of elements on a smaller scale, as has been shown especially for the thread of thought in the *Germania*.[4]

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[1] The formula *fuerunt qui crederent* is part of this pattern and does not indicate unknown historians: F.-F. Lühr, zur Darstellung und Bewertung von Massenreaktionen in der lateinischen Literatur, Hermes 107, 1979, 92–114; H. G. Seiler, Die Masse bei Tacitus, diss. Erlangen 1936 (collects the material); W. Ries 1969; Lucan was one of Tacitus' predecessors: Andreas W. Schmitt, Die direkten Reden der Massen in Lucans *Pharsalia*, Frankfurt 1995.

[2] H. Hommel, Die Bildkunst des Tacitus, Stuttgart 1936; U. Rademacher 1975.

[3] I. Borzsák 1970, II, 53.

[4] After the excursus on metals (5. 2–3), *ferrum* forms a transition to the following passage which will be on arms and military tactics (a sort of 'heading': Norden, Urgeschichte 460–466, esp. 461 'mannerism'), or 17. 2–18. 1 with the transition from 'clothing' to 'matrimony': despite scanty clothing, there is moral discipline; cf. E. Kraggerud, Verknüpfung in Tacitus' *Germania*, SO 47, 1972, 7–35.

Language and Style[1]

Tacitus uses a select vocabulary. He avoids Greek and replaces quotations with paraphrases in Latin (*ann.* 3. 65; 6. 6; 15. 71). This is in harmony with both the dignity of historical style and the author's Roman perspective. The same is true for Teutonic words: with the exception of *framea* 'spear' and *glesum* 'amber', he eschews them even when discussing problems of barbaric vocabulary (*Germ.* 43). He describes the structure of Germanic society in Latin terms, even if they are inappropriate. Tacitus himself notices differences of meaning in words like *fides, servus, vicus,* and others.[2]

Nor does Tacitus make systematic distinctions among Latin synonyms: it is true that *gens, natio, populus, civitas* are not entirely exchangeable, but they frequently overlap. This lack of precision is typical of the style of Tacitus, as is his avoidance of technical terms;[3] exceptions are found only in the later books of the *Annales* (11. 11. 1; 16. 22. 1). The historian shuns trite political catchwords[4] and investigates their loss of meaning. 'Liberty' is sometimes a euphemism for 'power' (Cerialis: *hist.* 4. 73), sometimes for 'anarchy' (*dial.* 40. 2); 'civilization' (*humanitas*) is a specious synonym for 'subjugation' (*Agr.* 21); *pietas* has lost all meaning to the point of being only good as an ironical title for the matricide Nero. To describe political circumstances, Tacitus borrows terms from the medical sphere or, more generally, from organic life, such as *status* or *habitus.*

As a rule, Tacitus avoids current expressions and phrases: e.g. he prefers *civium bellum* to *bellum civile.* He goes so far as to invert the regular word order in proper names (even in the *Dialogus*). A similar tendency can be observed on a larger scale: he shifts the emphasis from the main part of the sentence to an appended ablative absolute (for instance);[5] in fact, such appendixes often contain what is most

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[1] A. Draeger, Über Syntax und Stil des Tacitus, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1882; Löfstedt, Syntactica 2, 276–290; id. 1948; Leeman, Orationis ratio 1, 349–350 on *ann.* 1. 65. 1–2; W. Richter, Tacitus als Stilist. Ein Kapitel philologischer Forschungsgeschichte, in: G. Radke, ed., 1971, 111–128; von Albrecht, Prose 147–159.

[2] G. Perl, Die gesellschaftliche Terminologie in Tacitus' *Germania,* SDAW 15 G, 1982 (= Rom und Germanien, FS W. Hartke), 56–66.

[3] Tacitus, who is a master of lofty style (σεμνόν; cf. Plin. *epist.* 2. 11. 17), prefers the archaic expression *praetor* to *proconsul;* he says *virgines Vestae* instead of *virgines Vestales; sedes curulis* for *sella curulis; sacerdotio XV virali praeditus* instead of *XV vir sacris faciundis.*

[4] C. Becker, Wertbegriffe im antiken Rom—ihre Geltung und ihr Absinken zum Schlagwort, Münchener Universitätsreden n.s. 44, 1967, 4–5 (about *ann.* 14. 53–56).

[5] A. Kohl, Der Satznachtrag bei Tacitus, diss. Würzburg 1960; R. Enghofer,

important (e.g. *hist.* 1. 49 on Galba: *maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,* 'he seemed too great to be a subject so long as he was a subject, and all would have agreed that he was equal to the imperial office—if he had never held it). Such addenda often contradict the expectations which had been roused in the reader. Moreover, Tacitean paragraphs frequently end in maxims (as can be seen, for example, in the *Agricola* and the *Germania*), but this is a feature he shares with many other authors.

Tacitus takes his audience by surprise[1] thus stimulating them to further reflection. His enigmatic style invites the reader to ponder on his words. When in a writer so keen at variation repetitions are found, they must be meaningful. Not without reason the 'deadly effect' of Tacitus' repetitions has been emphasized.[2] Tacitus separates what belongs together and combines things originally unrelated: *mutuo metu aut montibus,* 'by mutual misgivings or mountains (*Germ.* 1. 1).[3] On a small scale, therefore, Tacitus follows the same stylistic priniciples he had adopted on a larger scale when arranging his material.

The same is true for the sphere of 'textual syntax' (a fascinating no-man's-land between grammar and literature). From sentence to sentence, the train of thought makes great demands upon the reader's mental activity. Often Tacitus links his new sentence to an element which had been silently implied in the previous sentence. The chain of reasoning is often reminiscent of Sallust.[4] A basic idea is split up into an antithesis; then, the second term of the latter is split up in its turn, and this procedure is veiled by slight asymmetry (Tac. *hist. prooem.*, Sall. *Catil.* 3. 2). From this it might be concluded that the structure of Tacitean texts is the antipodes to the 'linear' style of classical prose.[5]

Der *Ablativus absolutus* bei Tacitus, diss. Würzburg 1961; F. Kuntz, Die Sprache des Tacitus und die Tradition der lateinischen Historikersprache, Heidelberg 1962; B.-R. Voss 1963; H. Walter, Versuch der Rückführung des taciteischen Stils auf eine formelhafte Grundeinheit, in: Antike Historiographie in literaturwissenschaftlicher Sicht. Materialien zur wiss. Weiterbildung 2, Mannheim 1981, 72–97; A. Klinz, Sprache und Politik bei Cicero und den römischen Historikern, AU 1986, 4, 59–64; N. W. Bruun, Der Anakoluth bei Tacitus, Maia n.s. 39, 1987, 137–138.

[1] P. Steinmetz 1968; cf. also W. Hartke 1959, esp. 193.

[2] Syme, Tacitus 2, 725.

[3] P. Wülfing, Prägnante Wortverbindungen bei Tacitus. Interpretationen zu *Agr.* 4–9, in: Dialogos. FS H. Patzer, Wiesbaden 1975, 233–241; B.-R. Voss 1963.

[4] P. Steinmetz 1968, 262; cf. 258.

[5] F. Klingner, Beobachtungen über Sprache und Stil des Tacitus am Anfang des 13. Annalenbuches, Hermes 83, 1955, 187–200; repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 557–574.

However, the structure of Tacitus' periods does aim to reveal the motives of actions.[1] This type of style, in the first place, obeys the rules of psychology. It is by means of his style that Tacitus conveys his evaluation of the facts to the reader and and guides his judgments.[2]

Are there differences of style between the works and within each of them? The most colorful display of stylistic hues is found in the *Agricola*: the 'historical' main section follows Sallust and Livy, even in style; the biographical introduction on Agricola's early years is reminiscent of Nepos;[3] the obituary at the end is Ciceronian.

The concise and sparkling style of the *Germania* sometimes borders on Seneca's manner. Depending on the subject, sober and quasi poetic passages alternate. Unfortunately we do not possess Latin predecessors (e.g. Seneca's works on Indians and Egyptians);[4] so we are not in a position to define precisely the language and style of the genre of ethnographic writings—if they did have a style of their own at all.

Unlike the other works of Tacitus, the *Dialogus* adopts a Ciceronian style: this problem can be solved neither by declaring the *Dialogus* spurious, nor by assigning it an early date and presupposing a development of Tacitus' style from Ciceronian beginnings to an historical style of his own. We had better take into account the severity of generic laws. Cicero had put a stamp on the rhetorical dialogue; historiography followed a discordant tradition.

Even within his dialogue, Tacitus attributes to each speaker a distinct style (as Cicero had done in his *De oratore*). The passionate 'modernist', Aper, shows a preference for parataxis and shuns participles, infinitives and gerundives; Messalla, who is more considerate, embodies the other extreme.[5]

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[1] W. Klug, Stil als inhaltliche Verdichtung (on: Tac. *ann.* 13. 1- 2), Glotta 57, 1979, 267–281.

[2] H. Heubner, Sprache, Stil und Sache bei Tacitus, Gymnasium suppl. 4, Heidelberg 1964, esp. 133–134; N. P. Miller, Style and Content in Tacitus, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., 1969, 99–116.

[3] Modifications in: R. Häussler, in: K. Büchner (Tr), 3rd ed. 1985, 282, n. 6.

[4] On the history of literary forms: K. Trüdinger, Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie, diss. Basel 1918; Norden, Urgeschichte 181–182; 195–196; 457–466; critical: D. Flach, Die *Germania* des Tacitus in ihrem literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang, in: H. Jankuhn, D. Timpe, Beiträge zum Verständnis der *Germania* des Tacitus, 1, Göttingen 1989, 27–58, esp. 46; 54–55.

[5] H. Gugel, Untersuchungen zu Stil und Aufbau des Rednerdialogs des Tacitus, Innsbruck 1969; C. Klähr, Quaestiones Tacitinae de *Dialogi* genere dicendi personis accommodato, diss. Leipzig 1927.

In the *Historiae* the historical style of Tacitus is fully developed. Some Tacitean peculiarities become even more prominent in the first hexad of the *Annales*; to give way, in the later books, to a less tense diction. On the whole, towards the end, some mannerisms occur less often: in the *Historiae*, for instance, *forem* is thrice as frequent as *essem*; in the earlier books of the *Annales*, twice as frequent; whereas, in the later books, there is only one instance of *forem*.[1] Nevertheless, Tacitus tightens up his style in other respects: a symmetrical correlation like *neque—neque* becomes even rarer in the later books.[2] An undeniable fact is the decrease in 'benevolent' and 'hopeful' vocabulary within the *Annales*.[3] *Pietas* and *providentia* appear only once each, and have an ironical ring. *Felicitas* (not unfrequent hitherto) is found only twice in the *Annales; integritas* and *humanitas* are completely absent from this work; *prudentia* and *veritas* are lacking in its later part.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

For our author's attitude to literature, the *Dialogus*[4] is a chief document. This work is based on an eminently historical idea: the decline of oratory was caused by a political change; in this respect, the *Dialogus* is intimately linked to the rest of Tacitus' oeuvre.

Literary problems come up in his other works as well: when recording the deaths of senators he does not fail to mention their achievements as orators; this makes the *Annales* a source of the history of Roman oratory. But there is more: in an oration incorporated into the *Annales*, he has the historian Cremutius Cordus raise the problem of freedom of speech.[5] This text is preceded and followed by personal remarks of Tacitus, and may largely reflect his own opinion.[6]

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[1] H. C. Nutting, The Use of *forem* in Tacitus, UCPPh 7, 1923, 209–219; further examples in Syme, Tacitus 340–363; E. Wölfflin, Tacitus. I. Schriften über den taciteischen stil und genetische entwicklung desselben, Philologus 25, 1867, 92–134 (repr. in: E.W., ausgewählte Schriften, ed. by G. Meyer, Leipzig 1933, 22–45).

[2] F. R. D. Goodyear, ad *ann.* 1. 1.

[3] Syme, Tacitus 2, appendix 66.

[4] On his terminology: P. Santini, Terminologia retorica e critica del del *Dialogus de oratoribus*, Firenze 1968.

[5] W. Suerbaum, Der Historiker und die Freiheit des Wortes. Die Rede des Cremutius Cordus bei Tacitus, *ann.* 4. 34–35, in G. Radke, ed., 1971, 61–99.

[6] Syme, Tacitus 2. 517; it is uncertain, however, if Tacitus here implies a criticim of Hadrian.

Tacitus expressed his view of the historian's task in the introductions to his works and in personal remarks dropped in other instances; in addition, there is indirect evidence from speeches like *ann.* 4. 34–35.

An historian has to be thruthful and impartial (*hist.* 1. 1; *ann.* 1. 1). Both principles are part of an old tradition (cf. Sall. *Catil.* 4. 2–3). The historian, therefore, turns out to be a judge[1] who calls to account the men of the past. Distance of time—as Tacitus himself observes—facilitates objectivity.[2] Granted that it is not always possible to find out the truth (*ann.* 3. 19), and no human being ever attained absolute impartiality; but this is not sufficient reason to doubt the sincerity of Tacitus' striving for truthfulness and objectivity. In many respects Tacitus was and remained a senator. He may have trusted that his very rank gave him the independence he needed for writing *sine ira et studio*, 'without anger and without partiality' (much unlike the grateful or disappointed creatures of imperial caprice!). His interpretation of Tiberius' character in terms of *dissimulatio* proves that a writer may yield the temptation of a great design—certainly at the expense of objectivity but not of personal honesty (would not happen the same thing, in the case of Caesar and Cicero, to no lesser a scholar than Mommsen?). Once, for Tacitus, truth was to be found in the human heart rather than in institutions, he could not but regard his psychological method as the true one.

According to Lucian (*hist. conscr.* 53) the *prooemium* of an historical work has to make its readers attentive and ready to learn. Contrary to Lucian's advice, Tacitus moreover tries to win their benevolence,

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[1] According to Lucian (*hist. conscr.* 38–41) a historian should not resemble bad judges who pass their verdicts according to friendship or enmity (cf. Cic. *Planc.* 7 *iniquus iudex est qui aut invidet aut favet*; further material in: C. WEYMAN, *Sine ira et studio*, ALLG 15, 1908, 278–279; J. VOGT 1936, 1–20, esp. 5–6; repr. in: V. PÖSCHL, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 49–69, esp. 53–55; G. AVENARIUS, Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung, Meisenheim 1956, 49–54; on the beginning of the *Annals* cf. also: B. WITTE, Tacitus über Augustus, diss. Münster 1963, 3–25; C.-J. CLASSEN, Zum Anfang der *Annalen* des Tacitus, AU 29, 4, 1986, 4–15; R. URBAN, Tacitus und die *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Gymnasium 86, 1979, 59–74.

[2] Cf. already Cic. *Marcell.* 29: posterity judges *et sine amore et sine cupiditate et rursus sine odio et sine invidia*; cf. also Plin. *epist.* 8. 12. 5; a closeness of the historian's objectivity to Epicureanism is surmised by A. DIHLE, *Sine ira et studio*, RhM 114, 1971, 27–43; against this view: R. HÄUSSLER, Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius..., Heidelberg 1978, 265–266 and W. KIERDORF 1978; the expression has to be explained in the context of Roman legal proceedings: R. SCHOTTLAENDER, *Sine ira et studio*. Ein Tacituswort im Lichte der römischen Prozeßordnung, Klio 57, 1975, 217–226.

although his remarks on truthfulness and impartiality spring from his subject matter as well. In his relationship to his readers the principle of *exemplum* is significant: *virtus* shall not be passed over in silence. The leading role of *virtus* makes Tacitus a successor of Sallust.[1] The same is true for *vitia*. Even if their contemporaries are not sympathetic to the praise of *virtus*, historians traditionally hope to produce an encouraging or deterring effect.[2] This is true of the *Annales* no less than of the *Agricola*. The introduction to the latter has a bearing on historical writing as well, since the exploits of *clari viri* (*Agr.* 1) are the subject matter of history, not biography alone (Polyb. 10. 21. 3–4).

Tacitus' intention to praise *clari viri*[3] gains a special ring, if seen against the background of his age: under the emperors, an individual did not have the same chances of achieving greatness as he would have had in the republic;[4] moreover, the historian, having lived the era of Domitian, is haunted by a sense of collective guilt,[5] a sense linking him up with the mentality of late republican historians. What is more, he explicitly names those, for whose death the senate (and himself) shared responsibility (*Agr.* 45).

As early as in the *Agricola* (46), Tacitus manifests an awareness of his literary achievement: he knows that his work will endure.[6]

The different shapes his ideas took in the prefaces to his various works have provoked numerous theories concerning the development of Tacitus' thought; however, in each case, the context as well as the aim of his argument are sufficient reason to explain the discrepancies.

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[1] And, ultimately, of Cato the Elder; cf. *Agr.* 1 *clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere* (and H. Heubner ad loc.); 3. 3; Sall. *Catil.* 3. 2 *de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memorare; Iug.* 4 *memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit.*

[2] *Ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit* (*ann.* 3. 65; cf. Diod. 1. 2. 2; 11. 46. 1; 37. 4 probably following Posidonius): R. Häussler 1965, 163.

[3] Cf. also Cic. *fam.* 5. 12; *de orat.* 2. 341.

[4] Cf. *Agr.* 17–18; 42.

[5] On sense of guilt as a typical feature of Roman historical writing: V. Pöschl, Die römische Auffassung der Geschichte, Gymnasium 63, 1956, 205–206; F. Klingner, Die Geschichte Kaiser Othos bei Tacitus, SSAL 92, 1940, 1, 17–18.

[6] 'Both Thucydides and Tacitus, when writing their works, thought of immortality: if we did not know it, we could guess it from their style. One of them believed he would make his thoughts durable by salting them, the other by boiling them down; and both, evidently, have not been mistaken' Nietzsche, Works, ed. R. Schlechta 1, 933.

In the *Agricola* Tacitus has to justify his writing a biography containing elements of a historical monograph. Hence, *clari viri* and *virtus* are thrown into relief. Moreover he has to come to terms with the era of Domitian, which is part of the recent past.

In the introduction to his *Historiae*, Tacitus faces the objection that he is too close to the events and therefore unable to pass an objective verdict. Therefore, he has to make reference to his career, which protects him against the suspicion of bearing a personal grudge against Domitian. Furthermore he has to draw a line of demarcation between himself and the Flavian historians: there had been neither talent, nor unconditioned search for truth nor knowledge of politics but intrusion of personal motives.

In the *Annales* the sore point is the fact that their subject matter had been treated more than once by others. As a result, criticism of his predecessors, many of whom had been biased, comes into the forefront.

Thus, Tacitus develops different aspects, according to the specific points he wants to make. Neither in the *prooemia* nor in his choice of material a change of opinion can be observed; there is no subjective darkening of his view, only an increase of historical insight.[1]

Moreover, there is many an indirect hint as to Tacitus' views of historical writing. At the beginning of the *Historiae* Tacitus follows Sallust and Thucydides, thus suggesting to his readers to consider him on a par with these authors.[2] By adopting the annalistic pattern the author of the *Historiae* (which start with Jan. 1st, 69, not with Nero's death) justifies his claims to continue the tradition of the republican annalists.[3] Both overtly and covertly he indicates his aim to renew the great tradition of senatorial historiography (quotations as well as structural adaptations from eminent predecessors illuminate the meaning of events).[4]

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[1] W. Steidle, Tacitusprobleme, MH 22, 1965, 81–114.

[2] F. Klingner, über die Einleitung der *Historien* Sallusts, Hermes 63, 1928, 165–192, esp. 165–166 on Sallust.

[3] It has been supposed that Tacitus, like previous Roman historians, projected problems of his own time into the past; this would explain why his contemporaries were cut to the quick by his historical works. Yet it is difficult to keep such conjectures within limits.

[4] This program is based on the fact that, as a senator, he was both politically competent and relatively independent of the emperors (unlike an obedient soldier such as Velleius). Just as the column of Trajan displays their *virtutes*, Tacitus (according to A. Michel 1966) unfolds their *vitia* in a continuous narrative. It is true that

Ideas II

In Tacitus' thought there is a deep chasm between his theoretical adherence to the ideology of the Roman republic and the radically different reality of the Principate. Two possible solutions suggest themselves: either an open conflict between the *princeps* and the representatives of the old *virtus* or an adjustment of the Roman values to the changed exigencies of the new era. Tacitus is aware of both ways and describes them. He analyzes the decline of the epoch as a sharp-eyed criminologist while discovering at the same time the signs of a new age. Let us first consider the ideas he shares with his period and his peers, then the new approaches by which he outshines them.

Senatorial Perspective and Selection of Material. The perspective of Tacitus' readers—the senators—influenced his selection of material. The topography of Britain or Germany is more interesting for English or German readers than for Roman senators; hence, the perfunctory treatment of this subject in Tacitus. The annoying lack of precision in his accounts of the proceedings of the senate and of provincial administration—details familiar to the author, who is a senator, but passed over by him in silence—is explained by his regard for his public as well (as senators they knew these things by heart). Tacitus was not concerned with the ignorance of future generations. *Praetor minima non curat*, 'the praetor does not care about unimportant cases': in conformity with this principle and in view of the dignity of the Roman people (*ann.* 13. 31) he selected his material, and left the rest to the daily news (*acta diurna*). Similarly, some of his factual errors were conditioned by his perspective as a denizen of the city.[1]

Traditional values. New senators often adopt the views of the aristocracy with special zeal. Tacitus despises Roman knights, citizens of *municipia*, and freedmen. On the other hand he mentions members of old families even if they are not particularly important politically.

Tacitus' access to sources was limited: D. TIMPE, Geschichtsschreibung und Senatsopposition, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 33, 1987, 65–102.

[1] Errors of Tacitus: I. BORZSÁK 1968, 434–435; SYME, Tacitus 378–396 (indulgent) and Appendix 61. Magic practices are described vaguely: A.-M. TUPET, Les pratiques magique à la mort de Germanicus, in: Hommages à la mémoire de P. WUILLEUMIER, Paris 1980, 345–352. The dramatic (imaginary) date of the *Dialogus* seems to be internally inconsistent (SCHANZ-HOSIUS, LG 2, 608); in favor of A.D. 76: C. LETTA, La data fittizia del *dialogus de oratoribus*, in: Xenia. Scritti in onore di P. TREVES, Roma 1985, 103–109; in favor of 75: e.g. R. HÄUSSLER in: K. BÜCHNER, 3rd. ed. 1985, 320–322.

It is true that he is aware of the faults of his peers—down to their servility (*ann.* 1. 7; 3. 65), but he does neither dissociate himself from them nor doubt their capability of governing the empire.[1]

Not always does he succeed in surmounting the limited perspective of the city of Rome, although he knows that great decisions were taken more and more in other places. When pointing out that in Germany freedmen were unimportant (*Germ.* 25) he is thinking, above all, of Rome where the opposite happened, since the days of Claudius at least. When affirming that the burning of the Capitol moved the Gauls to the point of making them believe that the last day of Rome had come (*hist.* 4. 54), he projects on the barbarians the apprehensions of the denizens of the city.

Even his portrait of Tiberius reflects the perspective of a Roman senator. Viewed against the background of the lawsuits carried on against senators during the last years of his reign,[2] the 'republican' gestures of Tiberius' earlier days must appear to Tacitus as mere hypocrisy.

Adopting the mentality of his peers, who acknowledged no limits for *virtus* and *gloria* (*Agr.* 23), our historian fails to understand the peaceful policy of Augustus and Tiberius who wisely renounced imperial expansion (*Agr.* 13; *ann.* 1. 11).

As a typical senator, Tacitus, in relations to foreign peoples, advocates relentless discipline, draconian punishment, even terror and genocide (e.g. *Agr.* 18; *ann.* 1. 56; 2. 62). Although calling for justice in principle, he deems mild governors indolent and weak.[3] In his belief, other peoples, as a rule, are inferior to the Romans: Parthians are boastful and arrogant, Arabs and Armenians faithless, Jews (and Christians)[4] stubbornly superstitious (*ann.* 2. 85), Greeks unreliable,

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[1] Unlike Sallust he does not link *malus* to *nobilis*; this is owing to the change of the political system and of the senatorial order. Praise of women (*hist.* 1. 3; 3. 69), even of a courageous libertine (*ann.* 15. 57; cf. 51) is a gratifying feature, but it is also meant to put to shame the senators.

[2] W. Kierdorf, Die Einleitung des Piso-Prozesses (Tac. *ann.* 3. 10), Hermes 97, 1969, 246–251.

[3] For a different view (Tacitus slightly dissociating himself from the harshness of the *mos antiquus*): E. Aubrion, Tacite et la *misericordia*, Latomus 48, 1989, 383–391; on *liberalitas* and *comitas*: R. Häussler 1965, 280–284.

[4] H. Fuchs, Tacitus über die Christen (*ann.* 15. 44), V Chr 4, 1950, 65–93; repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 575–607; H. Fuchs, Tacitus in der Editio Helvetica, MH 20, 1963, 205–229, esp. 221–228, the latter pages repr. under the title 'Nochmals: Tacitus über die Christen', in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 608–621.

conceited and servile. Teutons, though late-risers and drunkards, do have some virtues, but, precisely for this reason, the suicidal wars, in which they constantly indulge among themselves, are a benefit to Rome (*Germ.* 33).

Tacitus feels that there are times inimical to *virtus* (*Agr.* 1) and that the very best are the most threatened (*hist.* 1. 2; cf. *ann.* 4. 33). To give an example, Agricola, by his very success roused Domitian's envy (*Agr.* 39–43; esp. 41), not unlike his excellent father who had incurred Caligula's hatred *Agr.* 4). Tacitus adopts the ancient Roman principle of *virtus*: the lives of an Agricola, Germanicus, or Corbulo are symptomatic of the reduced scope for political activitiy left to senators under the principate.[1] It is true that Agricola's destiny was individual and partly out of the ordinary,[2] but he made an experience familiar to any senator: he felt defrauded of the summit of a republican senator's career.

The prevalence of a 'Roman' view of things conditions our author's 'moralism' as well (e.g. *ann* 3. 65). In his *Germania* Tacitus draws many parallels—much to the detriment of Roman society—and implies even more of them. In the *Agricola*, he occasionally hints at the ambiguous effects of civilization and Romanization (*Agr.* 21) or inserts a mordant aside against Roman *avaritia.*[3] His picture of uncivilized peoples romantically converges with his idea of the ancient Roman republic, whose traditional moral code he adopts in theory.[4] His sympathy for the conquered shows from his ascribing to them the moral categories of ancient Rome. As a consequence, in the speech of Calgacus[5] *virtus* is linked to *libertas*; of course, in a barbarian speaker, *libertas* is oriented against Rome.

Positive aspects of a 'modern' age. For all this, Tacitus' approach to history cannot be reduced to a narrow-minded ancient Roman perspective; in fact, he is not blind to the merits and advantages of his

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[1] I. Borzsák 1982.

[2] K. H. Schwarte, Traians Regierungsbeginn und der *Agricola* des Tacitus, BJ 179, 1979, 139–175, esp. 141.

[3] *Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam* (*Agr.* 12).

[4] *Vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt* (*Agr.* 44).

[5] *Agr.* 30–32 (cf. also *Agr.* 11. 4); further: Arminius (*ann.* 1. 59); Caratacus (*ann.* 12. 37), Boudicca (*ann.* 14. 35): W. Edelmaier 1964; H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt, Berlin 1938, esp. 17 and 47; G. Walser 1951, 154–160; H. Volkmann, Antike Romkritik. Topik und historische Wirklichkeit, in: Interpretationen, Gymnasium suppl. 4, 1964, 1–20; W. Fauth, Die Mißgunst Roms, Anregung 5, 1967, 303–315.

own period. He is a member of the 'new' stratum of senators, which came from the provinces and inspired a senescent Rome with fresh life, and he shares their self-awareness. Unlike some venerable families of the old aristocracy, who seemed to make a point of honor of being ruined financially, the families of the new senators brought back old Roman morality and frugality. In this respect, the modern age was occasionally superior to the good old times.[1]

Even under the principate, Tacitus discovers chances for developing *virtus* (*Agr.* 42)—midway between defiant revolt and groveling servility. Thus he paves the way for a new ideology of the principate, in which the subjects show *moderatio*; the princeps, *clementia*.[2] 'Moderation' is limited to domestic policy: it implies renunciation of all striving for supreme power in the state. On the other hand, the struggle against foreign enemies, and for Roman supremacy, remains the classical field of Roman *virtus*. During his British campaign, Agricola may be compared even with Alexander or Caesar.

Tacitus does not try to justify imperialism morally. Whereas Cicero and Virgil had insisted on the moral and cultural superiority of Rome and on a religious sense of mission, our historian is more of a realist: despite all the defects of her officials (*avaritia, superbia, lubido*), Rome guarantees order and prevents a war of all against all (*hist.* 4. 73–74). Furthermore, he approvingly mentions building operations (*Agr.* 21). It has to be acknowledged that Tacitus insists on just and basically peaceful government.[3]

Trying to find a heroic side even to conformity (an attempt intrinsically problematic) Tacitus in his *Agricola* appoints himself as the mouthpiece of an entire ('moderate') group of senators around Trajan.[4] Some passages of the *Annales* have a similar ring: Tacitus praises a senator who under a tyrant was able to preserve his dignity 'without giving offense' (*ann.* 4. 20). In the *Agricola* the heroes of resistance are less prominent, in Tacitus' later works, however, they repeatedly find due recognition.

Philosophy and Religion. In a senator of Domitian's era, we are not surprised to find Roman values, as it were, doubly refracted: they

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[1] Tac. *ann.* 3. 55; cf. also *hist.* 1. 3; S. Döpp, *Nec omnia apud priores meliora.* Autoren des frühen Principats über die eigene Zeit, RhM 132, 1989, 73–101.

[2] W. Edelmaier 1964.

[3] *Agr.* 6; 9; 19; cf. 13.

[4] Syme, Tacitus 19–29; E. Koestermann, Commentary on *ann.* 1–3, Heidelberg 1963, 25–31.

look partly archaic, partly trivialized. In fact, they must appear in such a shape, since Tacitus, when analyzing the motives of real politics inevitably has to start with ideas common among his peers in his epoch. Hence it would be unjust to expect philosophical depth from him. Given this background it is quite natural that the passage on immortality (*Agr.* 46) and the well-known chapter on *fatum* (*ann.* 6. 22; cf. 4. 20) are pathetically nebulous. We should neither call this a critical assessment of philosophical doctrines[1] nor deny our senator all philosophical education.

Tacitus is far from idealizing Stoic philosophy and philosophers.[2] The description of Seneca's courageous death is preceded by other passages, which imply a negative or ambivalent verdict. Helvidius Priscus elicits from Tacitus the comment that thirst for glory is the vice last overcome by wise men (*hist.* 4. 6). Musonius the Stoic makes a fool of himself by moralizing (*hist.* 3. 81). Another Stoic proves to be venal (*ann.* 16. 32).

Signs and wonders play an important role; however, some of them had been part of the source material (such as prodigies), others (like dreams and prophecies) belonged to the requisites of the sublime literary genre. Our historian's approach to ancient Roman religion is prevalently 'juridic' (cf. his remarks on the *flamen Dialis, ann.* 4. 16); he regards the traditional cult as something archaic, not quite up-to-date. Nevertheless, he does not understand that Tiberius was a 'rationalist', and gives a different explanation of the emperor's actions. Why did Tiberius not want to become a 'god'? Why did he not sue those who had sold statues of Augustus or committed perjury to god Augustus? Why did he refuse to consult the Sibylline books? Instead of discovering the common motive,[3] which is quite evident, Tacitus (not convincingly) tried to apply his general key of *dissimulatio.* Tiberius' characteristic union of rationalism and astrology smacks of Stoicism; Tacitus (the so-called champion of 'Stoic' opposition in the senate) fails to notice (or ignores) this feature in Tiberius. As for *fatum* and

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[1] K. Nipperdey, Commentary ad loc.

[2] J. P. Armleder, Tacitus and Professional Philosophers, CB 37, 1961, 90–93; id., Tacitus' Attitude to Philosophy, CB 38, 1962, 89–91; K. Schneider, Tacitus and Sallust, diss. Heidelberg 1964; U. Zuccarelli, Le esitazioni di Tacito sono dubbi di storico o incertezze di psicologo?, GIF 18, 1965, 261–274; R. T. Scott, Religion and Philosophy in the *Histories* of Tacitus, Rome 1968.

[3] Suetonius (*Tib.* 69) is right: *Circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus mathematicae.*

astrology, his verdicts vary.[1] *Fortuna* embodies chance, uncalculable and demonic (*ann.* 16. 1). In *ann.* 6. 22 the real theme is not freedom of will but astrological fatalism, intellectual choice of life (there would be freedom only at the beginning) or the Epicurean doctrine of chance; however, passages like *ann.* 4. 20 and *Agr.* 42, as well as the great death scenes evince that, according to Tacitus, there are ways for man of asserting his liberty and dignity.[2]

There is some general affinity between philosophical thought and Tacitus' praise of the Germans (*Germ.* 9) and the Jews (*hist.* 5. 5) whose immaterial idea of god excluded idolatry. Other mentions of deities—manifold and contradictory—are often no more than a literary device.[3] Tacitus credits the gods with a preference for the Romans on the one hand, (*ann.* 4. 27; *Germ.* 33), and with rancor and vindictiveness on the other.[4] Moreover, in many cases, he insists on the ('Epicurean') indifference of the gods to human affairs. Repeatedly he detaches himself from popular beliefs.[5] To put it briefly, Tacitus' attitude to philosophy and religion is typical of his class.

Crucial Experiences. Let us now turn to some features distinguishing our author from his peers and his contemporaries. It is true that he shared the notorious 'Domitian experience' with others but he transformed it into a creative impulse.[6] As a historian he observed the

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[1] Negative: *hist.* 1. 22; *ann.* 2. 27; ambivalent or positive: *ann.* 6. 20; 22; 46; 4. 58; 14. 9; on *ann.* 6. 22: R. Häussler 1965, 389–397.

[2] The expression *urgentibus imperii fatis* (*Germ.* 33) is multifaceted; its meaning is not entirely negative: authoritative is D. Timpe, Die Germanen und die *fata imperii*, in: K. Dietz (and others), eds., Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum (FS A. Lippold), Würzburg 1993, 223–245.

[3] R. von Pöhlmann, Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus, SBAW 1910; 2nd ed. 1913 (corr. and augmented); P. Fabia, L'irréligion de Tacite, JS 12, 1914, 250–265; L. Deubner, in: C. de la Saussaye, A. Bertholet, E. Lehmann, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte 2, Tübingen 4th ed. 1925, 482; E. Fraenkel 1932, esp. 230; A. Gudeman, Review of N. Eriksson, Religiositet och irreligiositet hos Tacitus, Lund 1935, in: PhW 57, 1937, 270–275.

[4] Tac. *ann.* 4. 1; 14. 22; 16. 16 *ira; hist.* 1. 3 *ultio.*

[5] Tac. *hist.* 1. 86; 2. 1; 4. 26; *ann.* 1. 28; 4. 64; 13. 17.

[6] For his portrayal of Domitian: H. Nesselhauf, Tacitus und Domitian, Hermes 80, 1952, 222–245, repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 219–251; K. von Fritz, Tacitus, Agricola, Domitian and the Problem of the Principate, CPh 52, 1957, 73–97; also in: R. Klein, ed., Prinzipat und Freiheit (= WdF 135), Darmstadt 1969, 421–463; K. H. Waters, The Character of Domitian, Phoenix 18, 1964, 49–77; R. Urban, Historische Untersuchungen zum Domitianbild des Tacitus, München 1971; S. Döpp, Tacitus' Darstellungsweise in *cap.* 39–43 des *Agricola*, WJA n.s. 11,

corrupting effect of power on the rulers as well as its paralyzing effect on the subjects which get used to inertia and finally come to love their condition of incapacity (*Agr.* 3). Some remains, therefore, of the curse of Domitian's era survived in the following *beatissimum saeculum.*[1]

After a long silence, the new 'freedom' made Tacitus find his voice, and become the mouthpiece of conscience and of a collective sense of guilt: 'It was our hands that led Helvidius into the dungeon, it was us that Mauricus pierced with his eyes, it was us that Senecio stained with his innocent blood' (*Agr.* 45). The paradox situation of having 'outlived oneself', of being *sui superstes*[2] was a personal experience thanks to which Tacitus matured to become the great historian we know.

Less noticed, if no less formative was another experience: 'the year of four emperors', the vicissitudes of which he must have observed as an adolescent. An aging Tacitus would discover in it the presages of a future historical age. We will come back to this point.

Approach to History. In his search for *ratio causaeque* Tacitus gives proof of analytic and diagnostic skills (in fact, *status* and *habitus* are medical terms). In his pathology of politics he does not abstain from rational analysis; as a matter of fact, while studying mechanisms of cause and effect, he took into account imponderable factors as well.[3]

Tacitus is neither a merely rational interpreter of history nor a novelist emphazising the irrational dimension. In his rational investigation of irrational factors he adopts procedures typical of a

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1985, 151–167; A. Städele, Tacitus über Agricola und Domitian (*Agr.* 39–43), Gymnasium 95, 1988, 222–235.

[1] K. H. Schwarte, Trajans Regierungsbeginn und der *Agricola* des Tacitus, BJ 199, 1979, 139–175, esp. 174–175.

[2] Cf. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1. 3; Aufidius Bassus *apud* Sen. *epist.* 30. 5; O. Seel, *Nostri superstites*, in: Almanach des E. Klett Verlages, Stuttgart 1946–1971, 64–83; earlier: F. Zucker, Syneidesis—Conscientia. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte des sittlichen Bewußtseins im griechischen und im griechisch-römischen Altertum, Jena 1928, repr. in: F.Z., Semantica, Rhetorica, Ethica, Berlin 1963, 96–117; O. Seel, Zur Vorgeschichte des Gewissens-Begriffes im altgriechischen Denken, FS F. Dornseiff, Leipzig 1953, 291–319; M. Class, Gewissensregungen in der griechischen Tragödie, Hildesheim 1964; P. W. Schönlein, Zur Entstehung eines Gewissensbegriffes bei Griechen und Römern, RhM 112, 1969, 289–305; on the discovery of conscience s. now: G. Ibscher, G. Damschen, eds., Demokrit, Fragmente zur Ethik, Stuttgart 1996.

[3] M. Fuhrmann 1960, esp. 254, n. 1; R. Koselleck, Der Zufall als Motivationsrest in der Geschichtsschreibung, in: Die nicht mehr schönen Künste. Poetik und Hermeneutik 3, 1968, 129–141.

criminologist. Though following Thucydides and Polybius in several respects he does not share their scientific optimism.

Tacitus is aware of the change undergone by an individual when becoming part of a collective. Under the influence of monarchy citizens develop *patientia* ('docility'), not a virtue any more but a type of *servitus* ('servility'). *Virtus* and *libertas*, therefore, are linked to one another (*Agr.* 11). Furthermore, Tacitus enucleates the psychological mechanisms which posthumously transform losers into martyrs and winners: *punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas*, 'genius chastised grows in authority' (*ann.* 4. 35). Generally, Tacitus discovers in history an 'enigmatic trend towards futility and absurdity'.[1] His attention is less focused on personalities as such than on man as exposed to diverging powers and groups, or on collective reactions. As a historian, he senses the impact of 'atmosphere' on political events. Therefore, he pays due attention to the psychology of the masses, especially of the army.[2] In a crucial passage (as early as *hist.* 1. 4) he mentions the state of mind of the army as an important element of historical causality—second after the situation in the capital (which for a Roman senator always comes first). Tacitus is perfectly rational in stating that everything danced to the soldiers' tune, but the army, in its turn, was under the sway of irrational moods. In the *Annales*, likewise, the army is assessed as a factor of power politics. According to Tacitus, Tiberius did not have a 'republican's' scruples about taking command of the army; he spared such noble hesitations for the sessions of the senate (*ann.* 1. 7). Galba was unsuccessful because he failed to recognize how much he depended on the military (cf. *hist.* 1. 5 and 1. 7). In fact, he practiced ancient Roman thriftiness and even reprimanded the alleged murderer of his rival Otho, instead of rewarding him (*hist.* 1. 35). Otho was more 'modern' in this respect: he flattered his soldiers (*omnia serviliter pro dominatione*, 'he played in every way the slave to secure the master's place', *hist.* 1, 36). Vitellius gave them money

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[1] V. Pöschl 1962, esp. 7; repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, esp. 120.

[2] I. Kajanto, Tacitus' Attitude to War and the Soldier, Latomus 29, 1970, 699–718; E. Olshausen, Tacitus zu Krieg und Frieden, Chiron 17, 1987, 299–312; an interpretation of the mutiny of the soldiers in Pannonia is found in: E. Auerbach, Mimesis, chapter 2: 'Fortunata, *ann.* 1. 16 ff.', Bern 1946, 40–46; 6th ed. 1977, 37–43, (cf. n. 1 to p. 1117).

(*hist.* 1. 52).[1] Tacitus discovered this second *arcanum imperii*[2] ('secret of power') in earlier history as well: did Augustus not owe his dominion to an army, which he had paid privately (*ann.* 1. 10) and obligated by gifts (*ann.* 1. 2; 1. 10)? The events reported in the first three books of the *Historiae* reveal the dangers inherent in such a system: power shifts from civil to military authorities and, in certain cases, further: from the commanders to the soldiery.

A corollary to this development is the decline of the senate, of the capital city, and of Italy. The rise of Galba had demonstrated that emperors could be made outside Rome (*hist.* 1. 4), and Vespasian was chosen in the east (*hist.* 2. 79). Correspondingly Tacitus, as a further historical cause, considers the situation in the provinces (*hist.* 1. 4). The importance of the provinces, then, has been discovered long before Mommsen (cf. vol. V of his *Roman History*). In this context, Tacitus draws the important historical parallel to Caesar and Pompey (*hist.* 2. 6), who each had based their power on the conquest of borderlands. It is not surprising, however, that it is to Rome that he ultimately refers the events at the periphery; a contrary example is Pompeius Trogus.

Yet there are still deeper insights. He knew full well that even ancient Roman values were subject to change as to their practicability, that an all too strict adherence to them might fall short of reality and even turn out to be disastrous. Therefore, on occasion of the adoption of Piso, Galba's speech, for all its moral elevation, beats the air (*hist.* 1. 15–16). After all, Galba advocated an old-fashioned Roman rigor, to which mankind, in his day, could no longer measure up (*antiquus rigor et nimia severitas, cui iam pares non sumus*, 'old-fashioned strictness and excessive severity—qualities which we can no longer bear': *hist.* 1. 18). Times had changed; ancestral customs could not be enforced without concessions.

Social conditions did not fail to influence the system of values: under despots, mentality and moral categories changed, as appears from the beginning of the *Agricola*. As early as under Sulla, Cicero, at the end of his speech *Pro Roscio Amerino* had observed, that, under

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[1] E. Koestermann, Das Charakterbild Galbas bei Tacitus, in: Navicula Chiloniensis, FS F. Jacoby, Leiden 1956, 191–206; repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 428–446; F. Klingner, Die Geschichte Kaiser Othos bei Tacitus, SSAL 92, 1, 1940 = Klingner, Studien 605–624.

[2] Caesar is said (Dio Cass. 42. 49. 4) to have called soldiers and money the two pillars of dominion; they are interdependent.

such circumstances, human beings got used to the most outraging atrocities to the point of taking them for granted.

Decline and progress are not the only categories familiar to Tacitus; both lines may intersect; again and again, individual developments come to pass; and this applies even—and eminently so—to the field of morals.[1]

Tacitus' achievement is a phenomenological study of politics—especially under the auspices of autocracy; rather than a mere analysis, it is an artistic creation. Despite the seriousness of his search for truth, he is not primarily concerned with unequivocal logic. As a Roman interested in practical life, he is not able to take a fancy to 'insoluble' problems; now and then, he alludes to them, to lay bare the abysses of the human mind without trying to bridge them. Neither a philosopher nor a preacher, he intends to describe human life with all its contradictions.

According to Tacitus, man is free in as far as he is able to find, in active life, a response to antinomies of human existence, otherwise irreconcilable. Often he admiringly describes death as a door to freedom,[2] but he rejects this way for himself. If he depicts Seneca's last hours against the background of Socrates' death, this certainly implies that Tacitus, too, must have had an idea of Socrates. In a different context, he calls Plato's Socrates to witness for the tyrant's pangs of conscience (*ann.* 6. 6).

Digression: Development? All efforts to reduce the contradictory statements made by Tacitus on the gods to a pattern of mental development cancel one another.[3] Other theories implying a development of this thought are based on no less shaky foundations. He did not develop from a 'monarchist' to a 'republican';[4] for this antithesis is inherent in a Roman senator's mind from the beginning and is bound to remain irreconciled. A view still widespread says that his outlook

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[1] Cf. W. Edelmaier 1964.

[2] P. Schunck, Römisches Sterben. Studien zu Sterbeszenen in der kaiserzeitlichen Literatur, insbesondere bei Tacitus, diss. Heidelberg 1955.

[3] P. Fabia, L'irréligion de Tacite, JS 12, 1914, 250–265 (from belief to disbelief, then back to belief and disbelief); similarly N. Eriksson, Religiositet och irreligiositet hos Tacitus, Lund 1935; R. Reitzenstein 1927 (from belief to skepticism).

[4] Thus: R. Reitzenstein 1927; id. 1914–1915, 173–276, esp. 235–241, repr. in: Aufsätze zu Tacitus, Darmstadt 1967, 17–120, esp. 79–85; much more convincing, however, F. Klingner 1932.

darkened gradually.[1] However, there is darkness enough as early as the *Agricola* and the *Historiae*, and it is hardly possible, in the *Dialogus*, to separate the 'acceptance of monarchy' from the speaker Maternus. Does it tell of illusion or resignation?[2] Differences of atmosphere traceable from work to work in the prologues need not be indicative of growing pessimism,[3] rather there is an increase in historical insight.[4] Moreover, the structure of the texts and their respective 'point' suffice to explain the differences.[5] If comparing Agricola with Paetus Thrasea, Piso, or Arulenus Rusticus, for whom their moderation was of no avail, we may be allowed to surmise that Tacitus became even more reflective and pensive.[6]

The author shuns taking sides directly. Often the reader seems to hear his voice through the speeches of his characters; but who can be certain about it? The problem presents itself in a similar way as it does for Thucydides. Crucial themes are treated in the following speeches: succession to the throne by adoption (Galba's speech: *hist.* 12. 15–16), cult of emperors (Tiberius' speech: *ann.* 4. 37–38), administration of provinces: standards of law (Tiberius' speech: *ann.* 3. 69), luxury and economy (Letter of Tiberius: *ann.* 3. 52–54).

Especially instructive is the transference of patterns of thought from republican history to the imperial era: once the source of fear has been eliminated, decadence of government is the consequence. For republican historians, especially for Sallust, moral decay began after the Romans had no longer to fear Carthage. Tacitus (in *ann.* 1–6)[7] applied the same principle to Tiberius' biography (and the change of his government). This interpretation is confirmed by parallels from

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1 K. Hoffmeister, Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus, Essen 1831; A. Gudeman, edition of the *Dialogus*, Leipzig 2nd ed. 1914, repr. 1967, 47; F. Klingner 1932, esp. 164, repr. in: Klingner, Geisteswelt, 5th ed., 1965, esp. 521.

2 Syme, Tacitus 1, 220; it is seducing, but perhaps too simple to find mere irony in Maternus' speech (A. Köhnken, Das Problem der Ironie bei Tacitus, MH 30, 1973, 32–50).

3 Thus, Klingner, Geisteswelt 521; 513; W. Jens 1956, esp. 346–348 (influenced by R. Reitzenstein 1927); W. Wimmel, Roms Schicksal im Eingang der taciteischen *Annalen*, A&A 10, 1961, 35–52.

4 Convincing: W. Steidle 1965, esp. 112–113.

5 A. D. Leeman 1973, 169–208; repr. in: Leeman, Form 317–348.

6 R. Häussler 1970–1971, 398.

7 F. Klingner, Tacitus über Augustus und Tiberius (1953), in: Klingner, Studien 624–658; repr. in: V. Pöschl, ed., 2nd ed. 1986, 513–556, esp. 547–549; for the tradition: R. Häussler 1965, 322–324.

Sallust;[1] Tacitus emphasizes the responsibility of the individual, on whose moral decision the destiny of the empire depends—an idea suggesting itself to other authors as well in the period of Domitian (Sil. 13. 504).

For all its importance the character of the emperors is not the sole issue of Tacitus. No less significant are the changes in the minds of their subjects. Political interaction between emperor, army, and senate, between political authority and individual freedom are a basic theme: Vitellius exemplifies a weak character deteriorated by power. In the first three books of his *Historiae* Tacitus gives two different presentations of the roles of the individual and the masses in the two halves of the empire: in the west, not the personality of an Otho or a Vitellius, but the caprice of the military dominates, here the author is concerned with the moods and views of the masses. In the east, however, the generals—Vespasian and Mucian (the governor of Syria) are the acting subjects.[2] The decadence of emperors, together with the senate's servility and the insolence of the army, converges to produce the typical changes in the human mind, which Tacitus wants to pinpoint. His œuvre is an interpretation of reality, a study in the corrupting effects of power on the individual and entire groups—including the the consequences for universal history, which were inevitable in view of the dimensions of the empire.

As a result, some current opinions about Tacitus need to be modified: first, although Rome remains the center of his interest, he does not limit his perspective to the capital city. Moreover, neither his view of history nor his view of man is inflexible or reactionary. Finally, his special concern with ethics and the characters of the emperors was a need of the moment, since in the imperial period the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual called for high moral standards.

Above all, the views of Tacitus may serve as a serious corrective to modern views of history. Today, in search for laws determining the historical process, many of us emphasize 'biological', economic, or institutional constraints; institutions, above all, enjoy a certain idolatry. On the other hand, Arnold Toynbee (*A Study of History*) draws

[1] Cf. Sall. *Catil.* 10 *saevire Fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit*; Tac. *ann.* 4. 1 *turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse*; Sall. *hist.* 1. 12 M. *postquam remoto metu Punico* . . .; Tac. *ann.* 6. 51. 3 *postquam remoto pudore et metu.*

[2] M. Fuhrmann 1960, 257–260 with bibl.

our attention to man, who every day has to find new responses to new challenges. This is to revive a perspective of ancient historiography which reminds the individual of his historical responsibility and asserts his liberty to look for new creative solutions.

Transmission

Only one copy of each work did come down to the Middle Ages:

ann. 1–6: there is only the Mediceus I = Laurentianus plut. 68, 1 (9th century), *ann.* 1–16 and *hist.* 1–5: only Mediceus II = Laurentianus plut. 68, 2 (11th century), written in Montecassino and discovered by Boccaccio around 1370.

Minor writings (*Germ.*, *Agr.*, *Dial.*, and Suet. *gramm.*): we are compelled to reconstruct the lost Hersfeldensis, mostly from copies. According to recent studies, the fragment found in Iesi[1] in 1902 is much closer to the Hersfeldensis than had been thought.[2]

Details:

1. The manuscripts of *ann.* 11–16 and *hist.* 1–5 form three groups (according to where the text breaks off in *hist.* 5). The Mediceus II, which leads the group with the longest text, is probably the source of all other manuscripts (which, therefore, should be eliminated). Good readings in these late codices are no better than conjectures. The Leidensis (facsimile edition C. W. Mendell, Leiden 1966) is in all probability worthless, although E. Koestermann tried to rescue its authority (ed. Leipzig 1960–1961). R. Hanslik deemed the 'Genuese group' (of manuscripts V 58 and B 05) independent—without gaining acceptance (cf. e.g. H. Heubner, Gnomon 51, 1979, 65). Under the guidance of R. Hanslik, the material from the *deteriores* was explored and utilized in separate editions: *ann.* 11–12, ed. by H. Weiskopf, Wien 1973; *ann.* 15–16, ed. by F. Römer, ibid. 1976.

2. The titles *Annales* and *Historiae* are uncertain. Tertullian (*apol.* 16) quotes two passages from book 'four' (actually, five) of the *Historiae*; the text he

[1] R. Till, Handschriftliche Untersuchungen zu Tacitus' *Agricola* und *Germania*. Mit einer Photokopie des Codex Aesinas, Berlin 1943.

[2] H. Merklin, '*Dialogus*'—Probleme in der neueren Forschung. Überlieferungsgeschichte, Echtheitsbeweis und Umfang der Lücke, ANRW 2, 33, 3, 1991, 2255–2283. A 9th century codex written in minuscules contained Dictys, *Germania*, and *Agricola*; another minuscule codex contained, among other texts, the *Dialogus* and the fragment of Suetonius. From these two manuscripts the three Tacitean works were collected into the Hersfeldensis (H) at a moment we cannot date precisely. In the Aesinas the old *Bellum Troianum* and the old rest of *Agricola* must have come together anew between 1456 and 1473.

used must have been written on scrolls. Jerome (*in Zach.* 3. 14 = PL Migne 25, 1522) consulted an edition in which the *Annales* preceded the *Historiae* (the works were arranged according to their subject matter, not their dates of composition): *Cornelius . . . Tacitus qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani vitas Caesarum XXX voluminibus exaravit.* In the Mediceus II the 1st book of the *Historiae* is called *liber decimus septimus ab excessu divi Augusti.* Therefore, in all probability there were 16 books of *Annales* and 14 of *Historiae.*[1]

3. It is impossible to establish with absolute security if in the (oldest) codex Hersfeldensis the *Dialogus de oratoribus* explicitly bore the name of Tacitus.[2] In that manuscript the works were arranged in the following order: *Germania, Agricola, Dialogus,* Suet. *gramm.*; hence, the context of the tradition is no compelling evidence for Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus.* Beatus Rhenanus doubted the authenticity of this work (in his edition of Tacitus, Basel 1519). Justus Lipsius ascribed the *Dialogus* to Quintilian but later rejected this idea. J. H. Nast (in his translation of the *Dialogus,* Halle 1787) surmised that it was written by Pliny the Younger. In favor of Tacitus as the author of the *Dialogus* we may adduce a citation from *dial.* 12 in Pliny (*epist.* 9. 10. 2), if Pliny does not quote a lost letter of Tacitus. The 'un-Tacitean' style of the *Dialogus* is not an argument against authenticity, for a 'Ciceronian' style was appropriate to the theme of oratory, whereas history followed different standards. Nor is the difference of style, once accepted the authenticity, an argument for a very early date.[3] In all probability, the *Dialogus* was written after Domitian's death, perhaps only on the occasion of the consulate of Fabius Justus (102),[4] slightly later than *Agricola* and *Germania.*[5] The theory supposing a lacuna in chapter 40 has today been abandoned. Beyond any doubt, however, there is a lacuna in chapter 36. Its size is disputed: if there was a 'small' lacuna, it comprised one and a half folios; in this case, there was no speech of Secundus.[6] If there was a 'big' lacuna

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[1] R. Syme, however, for the sake of the hexadic principle supposes that there were 18 books of *Annales* and 12 books of *Historiae* (in his Tacitus 1, 211, n. 2 and Appendix 35); in consideration of the above-quoted subscriptio he suggests that Tacitus planned 18 but completed only 16 books of *Annales.*

[2] H. Merklin, Probleme des *Dialogus de oratoribus.* Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ihrer methodischen Lösung, A&A 34, 1988, 170–189, esp. 176 supposes for the Hersfeldensis a subscriptio like that found in the Vindobonensis.

[3] Before 90: G. Romaniello, Il *Dialogus de oratoribus* nella sua definitiva soluzione della vexata quaestio, Roma 1968.

[4] H. Gugel, Untersuchungen zu Stil und Aufbau des *Rednerdialogs* des Tacitus, Innsbruck 1969, 38, n.6; accepted by R. Güngerich, Gnomon 43, 1971, 31.

[5] Roughly between 102 and 107, S. Borzsák 1968, 433; in favor of dating the *Dialogus* after Domitian's death but earlier than *Agricola* and *Germania*: C. E. Murgia, The Date of Tacitus' *Dialogus,* HSPh 84, 1980, 99–125 (problematic).

[6] K. Barwick, Der *Dialogus de oratoribus* des Tacitus. Motive und Zeit seiner Entstehung, Berlin 1954, 33–39; F. Pfister, Tacitus und die Germanen, in: Studien

(six folios), Secundus did give a speech.[1] Today the 'small' lacuna[2] is *communis opinio*.

Influence[3]

In classical antiquity Tacitus was quoted rarely; many readers considered his work a series of biographies of emperors (an opinion which after all reflects some part of the truth). Tertullian (*apol.* 16) discussed his biased verdicts on the Jews and unmasked the man whose name promised taciturnity as *mendaciorum loquacissimus*, 'a real chatterbox when it comes to lies' (not quite unjustly, in this case). Ptolemy grotesquely misunderstood (*ann.* 4. 73) the words *ad sua tutanda* (~ 'for protection'), in which he 'discovered' the name of a (non-existent) place: Σιατουτάνδα (~ 'Fort Protection'). The eminent geographer was the first of a long series of scholars who vainly searched Tacitus' text for precise information. No grammarian quoted Tacitus, for his style was unsuitable for the classroom. As the story goes, his namesake, Emperor Tacitus (Hist. Aug. *Tac.* 10. 3) had his writings copied ten times yearly in all libraries; misluck would have it, however, that this emperor reigned no longer than half a year.

Around 400 Tacitus was studied in the circle of the Symmachi. Ammianus when writing his own history started with Nerva, thus continuing Tacitus' work. He was inspired even by his predecessor's style, although we should not overestimate the parallels.[4] Sulpicius

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zu Tacitus, FS C. Hosius, Stuttgart 1936, 91–92; K. Büchner, Tacitus. Die historischen Versuche (TrN), Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1985, 326–328; in favor of a lacuna of six columns (three pages) *and* a speech of Secundus: P. Steinmetz, Secundus im *Dialogus de oratoribus* des Tacitus, RhM n.s. 131, 1988, 342–357.

[1] K. Vretska, Das Problem der Lücke und der Secundusrede im *Dialogus de oratoribus*, Emerita 23, 1955, 182–210; W. Richter, Zur Rekonstruktion des *Dialogus de oratoribus*, NAWG 1961, 2, 387–425.

[2] R. Häussler 1986, 73–77.

[3] E. Cornelius, Quomodo Tacitus... in hominum memoria versatus sit usque ad renascentes litteras saec. XIV et XV, Wetzlar 1888; J. von Stackelberg, Tacitus in der Romania. Studien zur literarischen Rezeption des Tacitus in Italien und Frankreich, Tübingen 1960; E.-L. Etter, Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jh., Basel 1966; K. C. Schelhase, Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought, Chicago 1976; H. A. Gärtner, Massilia et l'*Agricola* de Tacite, in: La patrie gauloise d'Agrippa au VIème siècle, Actes du Colloque (Lyon 1981), Paris 1983, 89–98; R. Chevallier, R. Poignault, eds., Actes du colloque Présence de Tacite, Tours 1992.

[4] I. Borzsák, Von Tacitus zu Ammian, AAntHung 24, 1976, 357–368.

Severus and Cassiodorus were familiar with Tacitus. Sidonius Apollinaris repeatedly mentioned Tacitus, Orosius quoted him; in 4th and 5th century Gaul many writers were familiar with him.[1]

In the Middle Ages Tacitus' influence was modest, as was his transmission. Einhart (d. 840) knew the *Germania* and the *Historiae*. Fulda was a center of his authority (as were the neighboring Benedictine monasteries of Corvey and Hersfeld). As early as in the ninth century the *Germania* and the *Annales* were read there. The latter work was also used in the *vita Heinrici IV* (early 12th century). The other strand of tradition (that of the Mediceus II) had an impact on Boccaccio (d. 1375), Leonardo Bruni (d. 1444), and others.

In the Renaissance Tacitus came to be very influential. Humanists discovered him as an observer of human behavior. For example, Vico (d. 1744) wrote in his autobiography: 'Tacitus considers man such as he is, Plato, as he should be' (*Tacito contempla l'uomo qual'è, Platone qual dee essere*).[2]

In many respects Tacitus the moralist inspired his heirs from Montaigne to Lichtenberg[3] and Nietzsche (d. 1900), who was pleased both with Tacitus' innuendos against Christians and with his sarcastic remark on the vanity of the wise.[4] Voltaire discovered Tacitus the satirist, Boissier the moralist and the artist.[5]

Tacitus' ideas as well as his literary style exerted an incalculable influence on 16th and 17th century historians. This is true not only of the Romania but also of the rest of Europe (H. Grotius, P. C. Hooft).[6] Political literature in Italy and in France was first imbued with Machiavellism, then with Tacitism.[7] Beroaldus (d. 1612), a great initiator in many fields, discovered the political import of Tacitus. After him, many read Tacitus' works as a Machiavellian *ars aulica* (F. Cavriana, *Discorsi sopra Tacito*, Fiorenza 1599–1600; F. Guicciardini,

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[1] F. Haverfield, Tacitus During the Late Roman Period and the Middle Ages, JRS 6, 1916, 196–201.

[2] G. Vico, Opere, ed. by F. Niccolini, Milano 1953, 31–32.

[3] 'Pagan Tacitus, who, with Jewish finesse, probed right down to the bottom of every action, to discover the devil'. Lichtenberg, Schriften und Briefe, ed. by W. Promies, vol. 1, Sudelbücher I, München 1973, 386.

[4] Works, ed. by K. Schlechta 2, 192.

[5] J. Hellegouarc'h, Tacite, Voltaire et G. Boissier, in: R. Chevallier, R. Poignault, eds. (quoted above p. 1139, n. 3), 141–149.

[6] von Albrecht, Rom 13–37.

[7] P. Burke, Tacitism, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., 1969, 149–171.

A. Collodi). Tacitism became a pseudomorphosis of Machiavellism, Tiberius replaced the *principe*.[1]

Tacitus' narrative talent inspired many dramatists; suffice it to mention Corneille's *Othon* (first performed in 1664), Racine's *Britannicus* (1669), Alfieri's *Ottavia* (1780–1782), Mar-Joseph Chénier's *Tibère* (around 1807). During his exile, Arnault wrote a *Germanicus* (1817).

Individual quotations have a history of their own,[2] e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 30. 4 *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* Byron (*The Bride of Abydos* 2. 20. 431) does not refer the quotation to imperialism but to the behavior of man: 'He makes a solitude and calls it peace'.

Editions:[3] *ann. 11–16, hist. 1–5, Germ., dial.*: Bononiae 1472; Vindelinus De Spira, Venetiis (probably 1473). * *Agr.*: F. Puteolanus, Mediolani about 1477. * *First complete edition*: P. Beroaldus, P. Cornelio Taciti libri quinque noviter inventi atque cum reliquis eius operibus editi, Romae 1515. * The early printed editions are quoted in: M. Valenti, Saggio di una bibliografia delle edizioni di Tacito nei secoli XV–XVII, Roma 1953. * *ann.*: H. Furneaux (TC), vol. 1, Oxford 2nd ed. 1896, vol. 2, 2nd ed. 1916, repr. 1951. * K. Nipperdey, G. Andresen (TC), vol. 1, Berlin 11th ed. 1915, vol. 2, 6th ed. 1908. * E. Koestermann (C), 4 vols., Heidelberg 1963–1968. * A. Horneffer (Tr), W. Schur (N), Stuttgart 1964. * C. D. Fisher, Oxford 1906. * H. Heubner, Stuttgart 1983. * *ann. 1–2*: N. P. Miller (TC), London 1959. * F. R. D. Goodyear (TC), 2 vols., Cambridge 1971; 1982. * *ann. 1–6*: S. (= I.) Borzsák, Leipzig 1992. * *ann. 4*: R. H. Martin, A. J. Woodman (TC), Cambridge 1989. * D. C. A. Shotter (TTrC), Warminster 1989. * *ann. 11–12*: W. Weiskopf, Wien 1973. * H. W. Benario (TC), London 1983. * *ann. 11–13*: P. Wuilleumier, Paris 1976. * *ann. 11–16*: K. Wellesley, Leipzig 1986. * *ann. 15*: N. P. Miller (TC), London 1973. * *ann. 15–16*: F. Römer, Wien 1976. * *hist.*: C. D. Fisher, Oxford 1911. * H. Goelzer (TTrN), Paris 1920, repr. 1959. * W. Heraeus (TC), 2 vols., Leipzig 5th ed. 1904; 4th ed. 1899. * K. Wellesley, Leipzig 1986. * H. Heubner (T), Stutgardiae 1978. * H. Heubner (C), 5 vols. (vol. 5 together with W. Fauth), Heidelberg 1963–1982. * K. Vretska (TTrN), Stuttgart 1984. * P. Wuilleumier, H. Le Bonniec, J. Hellegouarc'h (TTrC), 3 vols., Paris 1987–1992. * *hist. 1–2*: G. E. F. Chilver (C), Oxford 1979. * *hist. 3*: K. Wellesley (C), Oxford 1972. * *hist. 4–5*: G. E. F. Chilver,

[1] In his *Essai sur les règnes de Claude et de Néron*, however, Diderot used Tacitus' portrayal of Seneca to find arguments in favor of the collaboration of the philosopher with his ruler (Conte, LG 544).

[2] A. Mehl, *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, Gymnasium 83, 1976, 281–288.

[3] On the problem of the editio princeps: R. Häussler 1986, 95.

G. B. TOWNEND (C), Oxford 1985. * *Germ.*, *Agr.*, *dial.*: E. KOESTERMANN, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1970. * *Agr.*, *Germ.*, *dial.*: R. M. OGILVIE, E. H. WARMINGTON, M. WINTERBOTTOM, M. HUTTON, W. PETERSON (TTr), London 1970. * M. WINTERBOTTOM, R. M. OGILVIE (best T), Oxford 1975. * K. BÜCHNER, R. HÄUSSLER (TrN), Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1985. * *Agr.*, *Germ.*: A. STÄDELE (TTrN), München 1991. * M. HUTTON, R. M. OGILVIE, E. H. WARMINGTON (TTr), London 1995. * *Agr.*: R. M. OGILVIE, I. RICHMOND (TC), Oxford 1967. * J. DELZ (best text), Stutgardiae 1983. * H. HEUBNER (C), Göttingen 1984. * R. FEGER (TTrN), Stuttgart 1973. * R. TILL (TTrN), Berlin 5th ed. 1988. * *Germ.*: J. G. C. ANDERSON (TC), Oxford 1938. * E. FEHRLE (TTrN), rev. by R. HÜNNERKOPF, Heidelberg 5th ed. 1959. * R. MUCH, H. JAHNKUHN, W. LANGE (TC), Heidelberg 3rd ed. 1967. * A. ÖNNERFORS, Stutgardiae 1983. * A. A. LUND (TTrC), Heidelberg 1988. * G. PERL (TTr), Darmstadt 1990. * *dial.*: W. PETERSON (TC), Oxford 1893. * A. GUDEMAN (TC), Berlin 2nd ed. 1914. * H. FURNEAUX (TC), Oxford 3rd ed. 1939. * A. MICHEL (TC), Paris 1962. * D. Bo (TC), Torino 1974. * H. VOLKMER (TTr), München 3rd ed. 1979. * R. GÜNGERICH, H. HEUBNER (C), Göttingen 1980. * H. HEUBNER, Stutgardiae 1983. ** *Lexica*: A. GERBER, A. GREEF, Lexicon Taciteum, Leipzig 1903, repr. 1962. * P. FABIA, Onomasticon Taciteum, Paris 1900, repr. 1964. ** *Bibl.*: H. BENARIO, CW 58, 1964–1965, 39–83; CW 63, 1969–1970, 253–267; CW 71, 1977–1978, 1–32; CW 80, 1986, 73–147. * A. BRIESSMANN, Auswahlbericht zu Tacitus, Gymnasium 68, 1961, 64–80. * R. HANSLIK, AAHG 13, 1960, 65–102; 20, 1967, 1–31; 27, 1974, 129–166. * R. HANSLIK, 1939–1972, Lustrum 16, 1971/72, 143–304; Lustrum 17, 1973–1974, 71–216. * F. R. D. GOODYEAR, Tacitus, Greece and Rome, New Surveys in the Classics 4, Oxford 1970. * F. RÖMER, AAHG 37, 1984, 153–208; 38, 1985, 129–204. * To be consulted in the first place: ANRW 2, 33, 2–5, 1990–1991 (articles, bibliographies, critical overviews).

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B. SPEECHES AND LETTERS

PLINY THE YOUNGER

Life and Dates

C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus[1] was in his 18th year (*epist.* 6. 20. 5), when Mount Vesuvius erupted; he was born, therefore, in 61 or 62; his hometown was Comum; later, he would give it a library (*epist.* 1. 8) and an endowment for free-born children (*epist.* 7. 18). Upon the the death of his father he was educated by Pliny the Elder, his maternal uncle, who adopted him in his testament. Pliny studied at Rome with Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos (*epist.* 2. 14. 9; 6. 6. 3). He early entered the legal profession and came to Syria as a military tribune; there he was a hearer of the philosophers Euphrates and Artemidorus (*epist.* 1. 10. 1–2; 3. 11. 5). Since he held many offices, his life was anything but contemplative:[2] In A.D. 100 he was *consul suffectus*, in 111–112 (or 112–113) an imperial *legatus* in Bithynia. He was proud of being an *augur* as Cicero had been (4. 8. 4). The latest information we have about him refers to his administrative activity in Bithynia. As an official he also came in touch with Christians; the Emperor Trajan gave him rather humane directions how to treat them.[3] Tacitus was one of Pliny's friends and they seem to have many ideas in common.[4] He was very helpful to his friends;

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[1] Inscriptions: CIL 5, 5262–5264; suppl. to 5, 745; 5667; 11, 5272; E. Marinoni, Una nuova dedica a Plinio il Giovane, CRDAC 9, 1977–1978, 75–89.

[2] Besides: *praefectura aerarii militaris, praefectura aerarii Saturni, cura alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis.*

[3] Plin. *epist.* 10. 96 and 97; R. Freudenberger, Das Verhalten der römischen Behörden gegen die Christen im 2. Jh., dargestellt am Briefe des Plinius an Trajan und den Reskripten Trajans und Hadrians, München 1967; cf. as well: J. E. A. Crake, Early Christians and Roman Law, Phoenix 19, 1965, 61–70; P. Winter, Tacitus and Pliny on Christianity, Klio 52, 1970, 498–502; R. F. Clavelle, Problems Contained in Pliny's Letter on the Christians, diss. Urbana 1971, cf. DA 32, 1972, 5758 A; P. V. Cova, Plinio il Giovane e il problema delle persecuzioni, BStudLat 5, 1975, 293–314 (on modern research); U. Schillinger-Haefele, Plinius, *epist.* 96 und 97, Chiron 9, 1979, 383–392; A. Wlosok, Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und römischem Staat, AU, ser. 13, suppl. 1, Stuttgart 1970.

[4] M. Vielberg, Bemerkungen zu Plinius d.J. und Tacitus, WJA 14, 1988, 171–183.

this is especially true of Suetonius, an introverted scholar, and of an aging Martial. In other respects his contacts with the circles frequented by Martial and Statius seem to have been scarce.[1]

Of his works we possess the *Panegyricus* on Trajan (delivered on September 1, 100 and published in the following year in an expanded form) and the *Letters*; books 1–9 contain letters directed to diverse addressees, who partly belong to Trajan's entourage;[2] book 10, probably published posthumously, contains letters to the Emperor, sometimes with his answers. Minor poems and numerous speeches have been lost as well as a rhetorical biography of Vestricius Cottius.[3] These works are only known to us from Pliny's *Letters*.

It is difficult to date the *Letters*.[4] 2. 11 is a report on the condemnation of Marius Priscus (A.D. 100), whereas 3. 4 was written towards the end of 98. Book 4 was not published before 106, books 5–9 not before 109. The later books contain some older letters as well. The letters are not grouped chronologically. It cannot be proved that Pliny published his *Letters* in 'triads'.[5] Before publication, the letters (and the *panegyricus*) were revised.

Survey of Works

Epistulae

Instead of surveying the content of all the letters we may mention here some themes and illustrate them with a few examples: dedication (1. 1), congratulations (10. 1), recommendation (1. 24), thanks (4. 8), request for news (1. 11), Pliny's daily routine and his wish for leisure (3. 1), country life and literary studies (1. 9; cf. also 1. 6), recitals (1. 13), style (1. 20), lives and deaths of acquaintances (2.1 and passim), politics (2. 11–12), Pliny's

[1] P. White, The Friends of Martial, Statius, and Pliny and the Dispersal of Patronage, HSPh 79, 1975, 265–300; Pliny held Martial in high esteem: T. Adamik, Pliny and Martial. *Epist.* 3. 21, AUB 4, 1976, 63–72.

[2] G. G. Tissoni, Sul *consilium principis* in età Traianea, SDHI 31, 1965, 222–245, appendix.

[3] Pliny is not the author of the *De viris illustribus* sometimes ascribed to him; cf. W. K. Sherwin, The Title and Manuscript Tradition of the *De viris illustribus*, RhM 102, 1969, 284–286 (with bibl.).

[4] Fundamental for the chronology of Pliny: A. N. Sherwin-White, Commentary 1966, Introduction; R. Syme, The Dating of Pliny's Latest Letters, CQ 35, 1985, 176–185.

[5] G. Merwald 1964 supposes a publication in groups: books 1–3; 4–5; 6–7; 8–9. According to him, each book would fall into two halves (largely symmetrical); the arrangement of the letters would be partly linear, partly cyclic (triadic).

beneficence (1. 8; 1. 19; 2. 4; 2. 5), praise of others (1. 16; 1. 17), dreams (1. 18), specters (7. 27), travels (4. 1), natural phenomena (4. 30), justice to inferiors (2. 6), jokes (1. 6; 1. 15).

Panegyricus

Pliny restructured and amplified his *Gratiarum actio*. He praises Trajan's life, military talents and imperial virtues. Trajan is the *optimus princeps* chosen by divine providence. Against the dark background of the era of Domitian he recalls Trajan's career and exploits up to his entry into Rome (23). Next follow the measures he took as a ruler (24–80), and a glance at his private life (81–89). Finally Pliny expresses his gratitude for his consulship (90–95) and offers prayers to Jupiter.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Letters are particularly connected with real life. Their metamorphosis into a literary genre is a 'late' phenomenon. In this regard Pliny's *Letters* are a counterpart to Horace's *Epistles*. A specific attraction of the epistolary genre is the multiple possibilities it offers for a crossing of genres: the gamut from the sublime forms of historiography and oratory down to the treatment of agricultural problems[1] and facetious chatter.

Pliny's memorial addresses may be compared with the genre of *laudatio funebris*[2] and with the pattern of *exitus illustrium virorum*.[3] Influence of the historiographical genre has been observed, for instance, in Pliny's famous letter about his uncle's death (*epist.* 6. 16); there Pliny pretends to furnish Tacitus the historian with material, while actually composing a report of his own, bordering on historiography.[4]

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[1] In the passages dealing with economy, parallels with Columella have been observed: R. MARTIN 1981.

[2] An ironical *laudatio funebris: epist.* 6. 2.

[3] F. A. MARX, Tacitus und die Literatur der *exitus illustrium virorum*, Philologus 92, 1937, 83–103; A. RONCONI, *Exitus illustrium virorum*, SIFC 17, 1940, 3–32.

[4] M. BARATTA, La fatale escursione Vesuviana di Plinio, Athenaeum n.s. 9, 1931, 71–108; S. HERRLICH, Die antike Überlieferung über den Vesuvausbruch im Jahre 79, Klio 4, 1904, 209–226; F. LILLGE, Die literarische Form der Briefe Plinius' d.J. über den Ausbruch des Vesuvs, Sokrates 6, 1918, 209–234; 273–297; F. A. SULLIVAN, Pliny *epist.* 6. 16 and 20 and Modern Vulcanology, CPh 63, 1968, 196–200; L. BESSONE, Sulla morte di Plinio il Vecchio, RSC 17, 1969, 166–179; D. PASQUALETTI, N. (= K.) SALLMANN, R. SCHILLING, De Vesuvii ignium eruptione, de Pompeiorum interitu, de morte Plini, Romae 1980; K. SALLMANN, *Quo verius tradere posteris possis* (Plin. *epist.* 6. 16), WJA n.s. 5, 1979, 209–218; H. W. TRAUB 1955; cf. also the

The *Panegyricus* conforms to the principles of epidictic oratory. Its subject matter is part of the tradition of 'manuals for princes', a tradition represented in Roman literature by Cicero (e.g. De *Marcello* and *Pro Ligario*) and Seneca (*De clementia*). Furthermore there are parallels with Dio's Λόγος βασιλικός[1] (around A.D. 100) and Galba's speech in Tacitus (*hist.* 1. 15–16).

Among the orators, Cicero as a model takes a place of honor.[2] The impact of epidictic oratory on Pliny's entire œuvre can hardly be overrated.[3] Among his Stoic authorities we should name Paetus Thrasea (6. 29. 1–3) and Musonius Rufus.[4] The *Letters* are adorned with quotations from poets; Pliny preferably cites Homer, at times in the Greek original,[5] and Virgiliana are no less frequent.

Literary Technique

The *Letters* are addressed to real persons and often use a real event as a starting-point.[6] This speaks in favor of the letters being authentic messages. On the other hand, two facts suggest a literary design: Pliny's subtle and elaborate style as well as his focussing each letter on a single theme. However, with an educated author, these two features cannot be excluded even in real letters. The most probable guess is that Pliny made choices from his real correspondence and

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section on literary technique; Pompeii and the Vesuvian Landscape. Papers of a Symposium by the Archaeological Institute of America Washington Society and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1979; R. Martin, La mort étrange de Pline l'Ancien ou l'art de la déformation historique chez Pline le Jeune, VL 73, 1979, 13–21; M. D. Grmek, Les circonstances de la mort de Pline. Commentaire médical d'une lettre destinée aux historiens, Helmantica 37, 1986, 25–43; R. Copony, *Fortes fortuna iuvat.* Fiktion und Realität im 1. Vesuvbrief des jüngeren Plinius (6. 16), GB 14, 1987, 215–228.

[1] F. Trisoglio, Le idee politiche di Plinio il Giovane e di Dione Crisostomo, PPol 5, 1972, 3–43.

[2] H. Pflips 1973; A. Weische 1989.

[3] The treatment of the theme of 'adoption' in the *Panegyricus* exhibits some parallels to related ideas (though non-political) in the declamations (G. Calboli 1985, 366); Tacitean parallels, however, suggest themselves more naturally.

[4] H.-P. Bütler 1970, 56–57.

[5] E.g. *epist.* 1. 20. 22; 5. 19. 2.

[6] K. Zelzer, Zur Frage des Charakters der Briefsammlung des jüngeren Plinius, WS 77, 1964, 144–161 (stresses the non-ficticious character of the *Letters* and literary emulation among friends); as for the identity of the persons: R. Syme 1968 and 1985; A. A. Bell, Jr., A Note on Revision and Authenticity in Pliny's Letters, AJPh 110, 1989, 460–466.

published them in a revised form. Yet it is possible that he wrote some pieces only for the publication.

The collection is meant to give the impression of being casual. In reality, however, its arrangement is artistic.[1] Colorful variation is a principle; still, a letter may find a sequel in the next one.[2] We cannot help suspecting that Pliny, like Horace in his *Epistles*, had some literary program in mind.

Cicero used to publish his speeches after delivery. Pliny went further in two respects: as a rule, he remodeled his speeches more completely than Cicero would have done; moreover, he introduced a new custom: after having been delivered, speeches were recited once more in an amplified version. Hence, the epidictic element is more manifest than in Cicero.

The mention of Domitian in the *Panegyricus* (90. 5 *carnifex*; cf. *epist.* 4. 11. 6–13) and of the 'informer' Aquilius Regulus in the *Letters* (e.g. 1. 5) is a consequence of Pliny's intention to throw into relief his moral teachings by exposing the opposite. Contrast is a device cherished by Pliny. Yet we should not reduce his method to a mere 'rhetoric of affirmation'.[3]

Pliny enlivens his brilliant narrative technique by boldly changing perspectives.[4] He makes a subtle use of imagery taken from nature to characterize human reactions.[5] Pliny draws convincing and impressive literary portraits of the persons he meets—apart from some stereotyped caricatures.[6]

Language and Style

'First of all, he loved abundance, abundance to the point of satiety . . . Second, he loved a diction gracefully dressed up . . . Third, he

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[1] G. Merwald 1964.

[2] E. Lefèvre, Plinius-Studien II. Diana und Minerva. Die beiden Jagdbillette an Tacitus (1. 6; 9. 10), Gymnasium 85, 1978, 37–47; cf. also von Albrecht, Prose 160–166.

[3] E. Aubrion, Pline le Jeune et la rhétorique de l'affirmation, Latomus 34, 1975, 90–130.

[4] J. A. Maritz, The Eruption of Vesuvius. Technicolor and Cinemascope?, Acroterion 19, 3, 1974, 12–15 (on *epist.* 6. 16).

[5] W. E. Forehand, Natural Phenomena as Images in Pliny, *epist.* 6. 20, CB 47, 1971, 33–39; qualifying (but not cogent) D. S. Barrett, Pliny, *epist.* 6. 20 again, CB 48, 1972, 38–40.

[6] A. Maniet, Pline le Jeune et Calpurnia. Etude sémantique et psychologique, AC 35, 1966, 149–185.

took pleasure in sharply pointed maxims.'[1] This contradictory diagnosis is explained by differences of genre: language and style of Pliny's letters captivate the reader by their clarity, often accompanied with brevity. As an orator, however, he subscribes to the principle of fulness.

The pointed style of the *Letters* is sometimes reminiscent of Martial, Pliny's contemporary. Some of his letters might be called 'epigrams in prose'.[2] One of his specialties are final sentences wittily echoing the beginning.[3]

As a stylist Pliny tried to satisfy the partisans of both Attic and Asiatic style.[4] *Severa,* concise sentences, would be congenial with the former; whereas the latter would appreciate *dulcia*—clausulae, poetic and grandiloquent expressions.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Pliny's stylistic usage is based on firm convictions in matters of literary criticism. He takes for granted that brevity is an essential of epistolary style. Whenever he departs from this principle he gives good reasons for doing so.

As far a speeches are concerned, Pliny adopts the opposite principle: he makes an explicit plea for lengthiness (*epist.* 1. 20). The fact that the addressee of this plea is Tacitus need not imply a pinprick: Pliny is well aware of generic differences, as can be seen from the distinction he draws between oratorial and historical[5] narrative (*epist.* 5. 8).

Significant are his ideas on authorship: The *Letters* convey a moral ideal of the orator. Pliny is not given over to pure contemplation, not a mere aesthete or *scholasticus.* He does not condemn creative moments of leisure, but meditation must be subservient to righteous action.[6] For him the right use of the word is a problem of ethical

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[1] NORDEN, Kunstprosa 319–320.

[2] A.-M. GUILLEMIN 1929, 150; M. SCHUSTER 1951, 449–450 (bibl.).

[3] L. WINNICZUK, The Ending-Phrases in Pliny's *Letters*, Eos 63, 1975, 319–328.

[4] M. DURRY, edition, vol. 4, Paris 1948, 89–90.

[5] J. HEURGON, Pline le Jeune tenté par l'histoire, REL 47bis, 1970, 345–354; V. USSANI, *Oratio-historia*, RCCM 13, 1971, 70–135.

[6] F. TRISOGLIO, L'elemento meditativo nell'epistolario di Plinio il Giovane, in: Saggi in onore di V. D'AGOSTINO, Torino 1971, 413–444.

attitude. Perfecting one's *studia* and *scripta* is certainly a path to immortality, but in Pliny's view intellectual progress is inseparable from a moral conduct of life. His ethical interpretation of oratory is evinced from a list[1] of motives why a lawyer should take charge of a case. Significantly he reverses Cato's definition of the orator (as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, 'a good man skilled in the art of speaking') by labeling an informant a *vir malus dicendi imperitus*, 'a bad man unskilled in the art of speaking' (*epist.* 4. 7. 5). Pliny's *Letters* give concrete examples illustrating Quintilian's 'Catonian' ideal of the orator as a *vir bonus.*[2] Being both a man of letters and a man of action, Pliny discovered for himself as an author—and for Roman literature—an harmonious and firm sense of self-identity. In this regard his *Letters* are far more than an idealized self-portrait.[3]

Ideas II

In his *Panegyricus* Pliny developed an ideal of the emperor, which would become authoritative throughout late antiquity and even far beyond. The opposition of *princeps bonus* and *princeps malus* would dominate the *Historia Augusta.* Another idea he affirmed programmatically would rarely be put into practice: the princeps voluntarily submits to the law (*paneg.* 65. 1) and treats the consuls as his 'colleagues' (ibid. 78. 4). The corresponding virtue on the part of the subjects is *concordia*, inseparably linked to the *salus principis.*

Stoic values are found, for instance, in the letters on the eruption of Vesuvius: a disposition intrepid and even, a mind (*ratio*) ready to die.[4] In his report on his uncle's death the dangers imminent from nature create the situation of a moral trial. Yet Pliny is not a philosopher, and nature for him is not only an ethical challenge: there are aesthetic and serious economical components as well.

His attitude to nature and architecture[5] manifests a typically Roman feature: Pliny's villas dominate the landscape around them, just as,

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[1] Pliny (*epist.* 6. 29. 1–3) quotes Thrasea for the first three motives; then he adds those *claras* and *illustres.*

[2] G. Picone 1978, 143–148.

[3] For a different view: J.-A. Shelton, Pliny's Letter 3. 11. Rhetoric and Autobiography, C&M 38, 1987, 121–139; E. Lefèvre 1969; more sympathetic E. Bury, Humanitas als Lebensaufgabe . . . Lektüre der Pliniusbriefe, AU 32, 1, 1989, 42–64.

[4] K. Sallmann 1979, 214; cf. P. V. Cova, Lo stoico imperfetto. Un'immagine minore dell'uomo nella letteratura latina del principato, Napoli 1978.

[5] E. Lefèvre 1977.

much earlier, the ancient Roman *dominus* had controlled his entire household from his place in the *tablinum*. Scholars found in Pliny the 'sentimental' approach to nature typical of a denizen of the city, but they also discovered a genuine 'feeling for the countryside'.[1] His ostensible lack of interest in agriculture is belied by the facts. Pliny is a gentleman farmer, not a mere owner of *latifundia*. He does not own a huge undivided area tilled by slaves but several independent smaller farms worked by free tenants. As an *assiduus dominus* ('a landowner frequently present on his estate') he personally takes charge of his properties—perhaps more so even than Cato the Elder. In this respect he is a precursor of the landed proprietors of the 4th century. This is only one of the aspects linking an author of Silver Latin to the late Principate; other points of contact had repeatedly attracted our attention (in the domain of literary genres like panegyrics, occasional poems, epigrams, letters, etc.).

On the other hand our author is separated from late antiquity by his worldliness. His claim to immortality is not based on philosophy or religion but—in a way reminiscent of Epicurus—on the memories of his friends—and his readers.[2]

Pliny's letters convey a picture of the world and the society where he lives; neither history nor biography, they are lively reports of precious moments, of course, in a highly stylized form. His constant references to ethical standards should not be libeled as pharisaism. If Pliny, to our taste, makes too much fuss about his beneficent activities and endowments this is owing to his intention to promote, in a period of crisis, an ideal of a citizen who places his talent and his fortune at the service of his friends and of his country: of a 'man of letters', who is orator, politician and a *vir bonus*, all in one.[3]

Transmission[4]

The manuscripts fall into two *corpora*: 1. the private letters published by Pliny in 9 books, 2. a collection of 10 books including, as well, his correspondence with Trajan.

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[1] R. Martin, Recherches sur les agronomes latins et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales, Paris 1971, 344–345 (with bibl.).

[2] C. Gnilka, Trauer und Trost in Plinius' Briefen, SO 49, 1973, 105–125.

[3] G. Calboli 1985, 372.

[4] R. A. B. Mynors, edition 1963, praefatio (bibl.); G. Carlsson, Zur Textkritik der Pliniusbriefe, Lund 1922.

The main representatives of the first group are the Mediceo-Laurentianus plut. 47. 36 (M; 9th century) containing all 9 books and—for books 1–4—a close relative, the Vaticanus Lat. 3864 (V; 9th century). MV offer a reliable text. Additional evidence for books 1–7 and 9 is the so-called 'family of eight books' attested in late manuscripts (γ; 15th century). The abbreviation θ denotes the late witnesses for book 8.

The oldest representative of the second group, which contained all 10 books, is the Codex Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, now in New York, Morgan Library M 462 (Π; beginning 6th century), of which only a small part (2. 20. 13–3. 5. 4) has been preserved. Despite its venerable age this manuscript is not particularly trustworthy. The following manuscripts derive from a copy of Π: Florentinus Laurentianus Ashburnham. 98, olim Beluacensis (B; 9th century, only 1–5. 6. 22 with lacunas),[1] Florentinus Mediceo-Laurentianus, olim S. Marci 284 (F; end of 11th century, containing exactly 100 letters: up to the end of 5. 6; with interpolations). Some manuscripts of French origin (12th–13th century) related to F have no independent value.

The correspondence with Trajan had been attested in a lost Parisinus (probably identical with Π); today we are left with substitutes like the early editions and the copy found in the Bodleiana (L. 4. 3.), which had been owned by Budaeus (G. Budé). This scholar deserved well of Pliny's text after the architect Joannes Jucundus had discovered the Parisinus (which at that moment had been complete).

The *Panegyricus* is transmitted in the corpus of the *Panegyrici*.

Influence

The *Panegyricus* became the perfect model of its genre; the *Letters* found many followers in late antiquity; even as far as the structure of the collection is concerned.[2] Apollinaris (*epist.* 8. 10. 3) would mention Pliny's speech for Attia Viriola (*epist.* 6. 33. 1). Pliny was not much read during the Middle Ages.[3]

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[1] Originally B was part of the Riccardianus 488, which today only contains the Elder Pliny's *Natural history*.

[2] On Pliny's influence: E. Allain, Pline le Jeune et ses héritiers, 4 vols., Paris 1901–1902; A. Cameron, The Fate of Pliny's *Letters* in the Late Empire, CQ 15, 1965, 289–298; 17, 1967, 421–422 (on Jerome, among others); F. Trisoglio, Sant'Ambrogio conobbe Plinio il Giovane?, RSC 20, 1972, 363–410 ('congeniality'); M. Zelzer, Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition, WS 100, 1987, 201–226; F. Trisoglio, San Girolamo e Plinio il Giovane, RSC 21, 1973, 343–383; K. Smolak, Drei nicht erkannte Klassikerzitate bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, *De conscribendis epistolis*, WS n.s. 13, 1979, 214–220 (*paneg.* 19. 1).

[3] The *Letters* were quoted by Bishop Ratherius of Verona, the *Panegyricus* by John of Salisbury.

Pliny influenced the letters of the humanists (beginning with Petrarch's) and, through this channel, epistolography in modern languages. Our author's serene humanity attracted Montaigne, the philosopher of human life. Pliny's descriptions of villas and gardens inspired the creativity of Renaissance artists.[1] Thomas Jefferson's (d. 1826) Monticello, a jewel of ingenious architecture and *savoir vivre*, is a villa in the vein of Pliny and Cicero. Christoph Martin Wieland (d. 1813) translated and explained some of Pliny's letters. In the 19th century Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (d. 1848) and Gustav Freytag (d. 1895)[2] were familiar with Pliny.

Editions: epist. 1–7. 9: L. Carbo, Venetiis: Valdarfer 1471. * *paneg.*: F. Puteolanus, Mediolani 1482. * *epist., paneg.* (with *vir. ill.*): Venetiis 1485. * *epist. 10. 41–121*: Hieronymus Avantius, Venetiis 1502. * *Complete text*: Aldus Manutius, Venetiis 1508. * H. Keil (T), T. Mommsen (Index nominum with explanations), Lipsiae 1870. * M. Schuster, recogn. R. Hanslik, Lipsiae 3rd ed. 1958, repr. 1992. * B. Radice (TTr), 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1969. * F. Trisoglio (TC, Glossaries, Indices), 2 vols., Torino 1973. * *epist.*: R. A. B. Mynors, Oxonii 1963. * A. N. Sherwin-White (hist. C.), Oxford 1966. * H. Kasten (TTr), München 1968, 2nd ed. 1974 (corr.). * A. Lambert (TrN), Zürich 1969. * W. Krenkel (Tr), Berlin 1984. * H. Philips (TTr), 10 vols., Stuttgart 1987–1996. * *Book 6*: J. D. Duff (T), Cambridge 1906. * *Book 10*: E. G. Hardy (TC), London 1889. * M. Giebel (TTr), Stuttgart 1985. * A partial commentary is also found in: H. Pflips 1973. * *paneg.*: M. Durry (TC), Paris 1938. * W. Kühn (TTrN), Darmstadt 1985. ** *Ind.*: X. Jacques, J. Van Ooteghem, Bruxelles 1965. * T. Mommsen, Index nominum cum rerum enarratione, in: H. Keil's edition (s. above); in addition: R. Syme 1968; 1985; C. J. Reagan, Laterculum prosopographicum Plinianum, RIL 104, 1970, 414–436. ** *Bibl.*: J. Beaujeu, Lustrum 6, 1961, 272–303. * M. Durry, Travaux récents sur Pline le Jeune, JE 37, 1964–1965, 5–8. * R. Hanslik, AAHG 17–18, 1964–1965, 1–16. * P. V. Cova, Sette anni di studi su Plinio il Giovane (1966–1973), BStudLat 4, 1974, 274–291. * F. Römer, Plinius der Jüngere, AAHG 28, 1975, 153–200; 40, 1987, 153–198. * E. Aubrion, La *Correspondance* de Pline le Jeune. Problèmes et orientations actuelles de la recherche, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 304–374. * P. Fedeli, Il *Panegirico* di Plinio nella critica moderna, ibid. 387–514.

R. T. Bruère, Tacitus and Pliny's *Panegyricus*, CPh 49, 1954, 161–179.

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[1] L. Bek, *Ut ars natura—ut natura ars*. Le ville di Plinio e il concetto del giardino nel Rinascimento, ARID 7, 1974, 109–156.

[2] M. Schuster 1951, 455; E. Arens, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff und das klassische Altertum, Hum. Gymnasium 28, 1917, 104–115.

* H.-P. Bütler, Die geistige Welt des jüngeren Plinius, Heidelberg 1970. * G. Calboli, Pline le Jeune entre pratique judiciaire et éloquence épidictique, BAGB 44, 1985, 357–374. * A. D. E. Cameron, The Fate of Pliny's *Letters* in the Late Empire, CQ n.s. 15, 1965, 289–298. * P. V. Cova, La critica letteraria di Plinio il Giovane, Brescia 1966. * A. Della Casa, Il *dubius sermo* di Plinio, Genova 1969. * F. Gamberini, Stylistic Theory and Practice in the Younger Pliny, Hildesheim 1983. * H. L. Gokel, Die Briefe des Jüngeren Plinius. Versuch einer Scheidung und Abgrenzung nach Gattungen, diss. Freiburg 1921 (probl.) * A.-M. Guillemin, Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps, Paris 1929. * R. Häussler, Abermals Plinius' Eberjagden, Philologus 131, 1987, 82–85. * H. U. Instinsky, Formalien im Briefwechsel des Plinius mit Kaiser Trajan, AAWM 1969, 12, 387–406. * F. Jones, Naming in Pliny's Letters, SO 66, 1991, 147–170. * D. P. Kehoe, Allocation of Risk and Investment on the Estates of Pliny the Younger, Chiron 18, 1988, 15–42. * D. P. Kehoe, Approaches to Economic Problems in the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger: The Question of Risk in Agriculture, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 555–590. * D. Kienast, Nerva und das Kaisertum Trajans, Historia 17, 1968, 51–71. * E. Lefèvre, Plinius-Studien I: Römische Baugesinnung..., Gymnasium 84, 1977, 519–541. II: Diana und Minerva, ibid. 85, 1978, 37–47; III: Die Villa..., ibid. 94, 1987, 247–262; IV: Die Naturauffassung..., ibid. 95, 1988, 236–269; V: Vom Römertum zum Ästehtizismus..., ibid. 96, 1989, 113–128. * S. MacCormack, Latin Prose Panegyrics, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Empire and Aftermath. Silver Latin II, London 1975, 143–205. * R. Martin, Pline le Jeune et les problèmes économiques de son temps, REA 69, 1967, 62–97; also in: H. Schneider, ed., Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit, Darmstadt 1981, 196–233. * G. Merwald, Die Buchkomposition des Jüngeren Plinius (*epist.* 1–9), diss. Erlangen 1964. * J. Mesk, Die Überarbeiung des Plinianischen *Panegyricus* auf Traian, WS 32, 1910, 239–260. * F. Millar, Emperors at Work, JRS 57, 1967, 9–19. * T. Mommsen, Zur Lebensgeschichte des Jüngeren Plinius, Hermes 3, 1869, 31–139 = Gesammelte Schriften, Hist. Schr. I, Berlin 1906, 366–468. * M. P. O. Morford, *Iubes esse liberos*: Pliny's *Panegyricus* and Liberty, AJPh 113, 1992, 575–593. * H. Pflips, Ciceronachahmung und Ciceroferne des jüngeren Plinius. Ein Kommentar zu ... *epist.* 2. 11; 2. 12; 3. 9; 5. 20; 6. 13; 7. 6, *diss.* Münster 1973. * J. Pliszczyńska, De elocutione Pliniana, Lublin 1955. * H. Peter, Der Brief in der römischen Literatur, Leipzig 1901. * G. Picone, L'eloquenza di Plinio. Teoria e prassi, Palermo 1977. * B. Radice, A Fresh Approach to Pliny's Letters, G&R 9, 1962, 160–168. * B. Radice, Pliny and the *Panegyricus*, G&R 15, 1968, 166–172. * A. M. Riggsby, Pliny on Cicero and Oratory. Self-Fashioning in the Public Eye, AJPh 116, 1995, 123–135. * N. Rudd, Stratagems of Vanity. Cicero, *Ad familiares* 5. 12 and Pliny's *Letters*, in: T. Woodman, J. Powell, eds., Author and Audience in Latin Literature, Cambridge 1992, 18–32.

* M. SCHUSTER, Plinius, RE 21, 1, 1951, 439–456. * A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, Trajan's Replies to Pliny, JRS 52, 1962, 114–125. * A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, Pliny, the Man and his Letters, G&R 15, 1969, 76–90. * P. SOVERINI, Impero e imperatori nell'opera di Plinio il Giovane, ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 515–554. * S. E. STOUT, Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's *Letters*, Bloomington 1954. * SYME, Tacitus 75–85. * R. SYME, People in Pliny, JRS 58, 1968, 135–151. * R. SYME, Correspondents of Pliny, Historia 34, 1985, 324–359. * J. W. TELLEGEN, The Roman Law of Succession in the Letters of Pliny the Younger, I, Zutphen 1982. * H. W. TRAUB, Pliny's Treatment of History in Epistolary Form, TAPhA 86, 1955, 213–232. * F. TRISOGLIO, La personalità di Plinio il Giovane nei suoi rapporti con la politica, la società e la letteratura, Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, ser. 4, 25, Torino 1972. * L. VIDMAN, Etude sur la correspondance de Pline le Jeune avec Trajan, Praha 1960, repr. Roma 1972. * A. WEISCHE, Plinius d.J. und Cicero. Untersuchungen zur römischen Epistolographie . . ., ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 375–386.

C. PHILOSOPHY (AND DRAMA)

SENECA

Life and Dates

Lucius Annaeus Seneca—labeled the 'philosopher', in contrast to his father, the so-called 'rhetor'—was born probably towards the end of 1 B.C.[1] He was the second of three sons of Seneca the Elder and his wife Helvia; the youngest son was to become the father of the poet Lucan. The Annaei were an old and wealthy family of Roman knights in Spanish Corduba. As happens frequently in colonies, the language of the founders had preserved its purity there, and the citizens faithfully cherished the traditions of the Republic and the memory of Pompey. Seneca came to Rome when a young boy. He would have unpleasant remembrances of his schooldays with the *grammaticus* (*epist.* 58. 5). He became, however, a convert of Sotion, the Neo-Pythagorean philosopher, whom an aging Ovid might have heard as well. So, for a year, he abstained from meat (*epist.* 108. 17–22). His father, who shared the traditional Romans' mistrust of philosophy, convinced him of the serious danger of being persecuted as an adherent of foreign cults. As a result, Seneca limited himself to the Stoic discipline, which in a less spectacular form satisfied the ascetic demands of a satiated generation (*epist.* 110. 19). Attalus, who probably came from Pergamum, a stronghold of Stoicism, taught him the difference between education and mere accumulation of knowledge. Consequently, Seneca gained a surprisingly independent attitude towards tradition, which would be taken badly by some custodians of the old school (Gell. 12. 2). Papirius Fabianus, who hid significant thoughts in unobtrusive words and, against the fashion of the day, convinced his listeners by the content rather than by the form of his speeches, acquainted Seneca with the doctrine of the Sextii: here he learnt to examine his conscience every day; on the other hand, the same teacher encouraged him to engage in natural science (an unusual field of interest

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[1] F. Préchac, La date de naissance de Sénèque, REL 12, 1934, 360–375; K. Abel, Zu Senecas Geburtsdatum, Hermes 109, 1981, 123–126.

for a Roman). The interest in science he manifested so early would become a basic feature of his unusual life.

When twenty years old he decided to enter upon a senator's career and, while studying rhetoric with enthusiasm, eagerly read Augustan poetry and tried his hand at writing epigrams. Yet frequent diseases of the respiratory organs almost drove him to suicide (cf. *epist.* 78. 1). Once more, his regard for his father saved him from taking an inconsiderate step. Upon medical advice he went to Egypt for a change of climate. His mother's sister, the wife of the governor of Egypt, took care of her convalescing nephew, whom, many years before, she had brought from Spain to Rome (*dial.* 11 [*Helv.*] 19. 2). The fruit of this stay was a treatise on the country and religion of the Egyptians.[1]

His return to Italy in 31 was the beginning of eleven years of political activity, which pushed philosophy into the background. None the less during this period he wrote the *Consolatio ad Marciam*, three books of *De ira*, and scientific works on stones, fish, and earthquakes. He became a quaestor, again on the recommendation of his aunt. Meanwhile he had become a celebrated orator, to the point of rousing the Emperor Caligula's envy by a brilliant plea. He was, however, spared execution, thanks to the intervention of one of Caligula's protégées, who had been quick-witted enough to convince the tyrant that the ailing scholar would soon die anyway (Cass. Dio 59. 19. 7). No wonder then that for some time Seneca lost all interest in pleading (*epist.* 49. 2). This bitter experience, however, must appear in retrospect as a hint of providence: doomed to silence in the very zenith of his fame, Seneca would henceforth, with even more determination, place his rhetorical skills into the service of philosophy, psychology, and education, thus accomplishing an historical mission within Roman literature.

In 41 Seneca was accused of adultery with Julia Livilla, a sister of Caligula (Cass. Dio 60. 8) and exiled to Corsica, to stay there until 49. The true reason for his banishment was his leading role in the senatorial opposition. His 'Augustan' ideal of *principatus* was a thorn in the side of Claudius' followers who had a preference for absolutism. Messalina had been the instigator of Seneca's expatriation. During his exile, the philosopher, in his *Consolatio ad Helviam*, constructed a Stoic appraisal of two heroes of the senatorial opposition, though, actually, Marcellus tended towards Peripatetic philosophy and Brutus

[1] Serv. *Aen.* 6. 154; Sen. *nat.* 4. 2. 7.

towards academic skepticism. The *Consolatio ad Polybium*, who was one of Claudius' creatures, conjures up the ideal of a mild emperor (resembling 'Apollo-like' Augustus, not 'Herculian' Antony).

This petition produced its effect, for Agrippina, Messalina's successor, needed Seneca for further plans. As a tutor to the young Nero and, after the latter's accession to the throne in 54, as his adviser, the philosopher blessed the empire with a few happy years. In his first speech to the senate, Nero promised to give more importance to the senate, which amounted to a return to the 'dyarchy' advocated by Augustus. Seneca wrote the official funeral speech on Claudius and, at same time, the satirical *Apocolocyntosis* of Claudius, in which Augustus acted as a prosecutor, and Hercules, the symbol of the opposite party, the Antonii, was ridiculed.[1] In his *De clementia*, which he dedicated to Nero, Seneca developed an 'Augustan' ideology of the principate. The idea of the *optimus princeps* from Cicero's *De re publica* combines with the principle of *clementia* (cf. Cicero's *Speech for Marcellus*) into an ideology of monarchy foreshadowing the 'philosopher emperors' of the 2nd century.

In practice Seneca and Burrus, the *praefectus praetorio*, jointly made the necessary changes in administration, while allowing Nero to live at liberty. Effective activities of the Romans compelled the Parthians to abandon Armenia, and a war was avoided. In Germany and Britain as well, Seneca tried to preserve the balance of power. As for domestic politics, the senate's authority increased, the inhabitants of the provinces were governed ever more justly, and the attachment of the people to the emperor gained a new emotional dimension.

After Nero had murdered his mother (59), Seneca's glory began to wane. The emperor fell under the influence of evil counselors. After Burrus' death, Seneca had no alternative but to retire from political life (A.D. 62; Tac. *ann.* 14. 52–56). Among the numerous works he wrote after this date, there are the *Epistulae morales* to Lucilius and the *Naturales quaestiones*; the introduction to the latter work is a praise of pure knowledge. Finally, the emperor accused the philosopher of having participated in the Pisonian conspiracy and ordered him to commit suicide. Seneca followed Socrates in courageously meeting death with philosophical discourse (Tac. *ann.* 15. 60–63).[2]

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[1] A different view in S. Wolf 1986.

[2] Cf. I. Opelt, Senecas Tod, in: E. Olshausen, ed., Der Mensch in Grenzsituationen, Stuttgart 1984, 29–48.

Seneca's life was shaped by painful experiences: his talent brought him into great danger but it also rescued him; paradoxically enough, it was by his bitter disappointments under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero that he was almost irresistibly pushed to find his true vocation: the discovery of the world of the human mind. On the other hand, his interest in natural science is quite unusual for a Roman. He developed it early and never gave it up.

If we try to relate his works and his fields of interest to different periods of his life, three general observations suggest themselves: first, Seneca as a young man preferably studied problems of natural science and returned to them in his old age.

Second, as a middle-aged man, he was an active politician and an orator; he wrote the *Consolatio ad Marciam*; the enforced end of his career as a lawyer under Caligula allowed him to experiment with a first philosophical work (the *De ira*) as an advice to the new Emperor Claudius; during the second section of the middle period—his exile, he wrote further *consolationes*, perhaps *De forma mundi* and tragedies.

This period of contemplation was followed by the most productive phase of his creativity. It falls into two parts: Seneca's activity as Nero's mentor[1] and Seneca's retirement; during the latter he composed an entire corpus of philosophical writings comparable to those of Cicero.

The dating of individual works[2] will be discussed within the following survey.

Survey of Works

Consolatio ad Marciam[3] (= *dial.* 6)

Marcia has been mourning her son Metilius for three years; earlier, her father, Cremutius Cordus the historian, had committed suicide (prooemium:

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[1] *brev., const., tranq., clem., vita beata, benef.*

[2] P. Grimal 1978, 262–323; vgl. K. Abel 1967, 155–170; M. T. Griffin 1976, 395–411.

[3] This is the earliest work preserved; it was written under Caligula (37–41), who allowed a new publication of the writings of Marcia's father, Cremutius Cordus (1. 3); they had been burnt under Tiberius; for a discussion of the date: M. T. Griffin 1976, 397 (bibl.); I. Bellemore, The Dating of Seneca's *Ad Marciam de consolatione*, CQ 42, 1992, 219–234; on the *Ad Marciam*: C. C. Grollios, Seneca's *Ad Marciam*. Tradition and Originality, Athens 1956; K. Abel 1967, 15–47; C. E. Manning, On Seneca's *Ad Marciam*, Leiden 1981; J. Fillion-Lahille, La production littéraire de Sénèque sous les règnes de Caligula et de Claude, sens philosophique et portée politique: Les *Consolationes* et le *De ira*, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1606–1638.

1–3). Examples show that unending grief is unnatural (3–8). All misfortune has to be anticipated in thought (9). All that we call our own is only loaned (10). To know oneself is to recognize one's mortal condition (11). Do you regret the deceased or yourself? Be grateful for the happiness he gave you (examples: 12–16). Nature makes no distinctions (17). To be born means to be mortal (18). Grief can be healed by right meditation (19). Death is nature's best invention. It is a path to freedom. As life is short anyhow, is does not matter how long you live. Who knows if a longer life would have been good for the deceased (20–22)? Given his maturity, he has lived long enough (23–24). In the other world, the wise and free men receive him, among them his father, who is assigned the final word (25–26).

De ira[1]

Book 1 (= *dial.* 3): Seneca describes the physiognomic symptoms of anger (1–2) and defines its nature and its types (3–4). Anger is not in harmony with the nature of man (5–6), it is of no use and is not compatible with any virtue, not even with that of the warrior—as the Peripatetics fancied (7–12); nor is a judge allowed to be angry (13–16).

Book 2 (= *dial.* 4): The rise of anger is not only based on a spontaneous impulse (which is beyond our control) but also on our conscious assent (which is in our power); hence, it is a *voluntarium vitium* (1–4). Anger is to be distinguished from *crudelitas* and *furor* (5). The sage shall not be angry at all, not even at evil-doing, for the latter is a general phenomenon (6–10). Anger is not useful; whoever frightens others, must be afraid of others. Emotion can be controlled by training. The superiority of civilized nations over others is owing to clemency, not anger; orators move their audiences not by being angry but by impersonating anger (11–17). Anger can be controlled by preventive measures and cured by therapies such as knowledge of temperaments and their right mixture (18–22), cautious skepticism (23–24), careful analysis of motives (25–28), consideration of extenuating circumstances (29–36).

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[1] The *terminus ante quem* results from the dedication to Seneca's brother Novatus who, from 52 at the latest, would have another name (Gallio) by adoption. Caligula's death is the *terminus post quem*: the portrait of the 'tyrant' exhibits features of this emperor. The description of the 'good judge' (a precursor of the *De clementia*) may reflect Seneca's hopes during the first months of Claudius' reign (41); in favor of 'by 52': M. T. Griffin 1976, 396 and 398. An older theory saying that book 3 was written much later than the others has been disproved by recent research of language and style; *bibl.*: M. Coccia, I problemi del *De ira* di Seneca alla luce dell'analisi stilistica, Roma 1958; R. Huber, Senecas Schrift *De ira*. Untersuchungen zum Aufbau und zu den Quellen, diss. München 1973; G. Cupaiuolo, Introduzione al *De ira* di Seneca, Napoli 1975; P. Grimal, Rhétorique, politique et philosophie dans le *De ira* de Sénèque, REL 53, 1975, 57–61; A. Bäumer 1982, esp. 72–129; J. Fillion-Lahille 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *Consolatio ad Marciam*.

Book 3 (= *dial.* 5): Anger has great power (1–4). It should be our aim, first, not to become angry; second, to separate ourselves from anger; third, to soothe others (5. 2). Anger springs from weakness. Avoid the company of persons provoking your anger (5–8); know your weak points and take your time; bear in mind positive and negative examples (9–23). Be lenient (24–28); excuse your adversary; it is nobler to master your anger (29–37). Overcome suspicion, envy, and all too great expectations (38). Make an effort to soothe the angry; the brevity of life urges us to be peaceable (39–43).

Consolatio ad Helviam[1] (= *dial.* 11; *alias* 12)
Do not mourn for me. I am fine: change of place, poverty, and infamy are only *thought* to be evils (4–13). Nor should you mourn for your own sake (14–17): by losing me you have not lost a tutor or intercessor, for you are free from ambition. You are able to control your longing for me, for you have always been courageous. Apply yourself to philosophy; take care of your other children, your grandchildren, and, above all, your sister. The work ends in the praise of this woman.

Consolatio ad Polybium[2] (= *dial.* 12; *alias* 11)
(The beginning is lost). Everything is perishable; the very fact, however, that there are no exceptions is a comfort; grief is of no avail. Fortune has endowed you, Polybius, with all kinds of happiness; she could only hurt you by your brother's death (20–22); the latter himself would want you to be moderate in your grief: nobody is pleased with your tears. Comfort your brothers by your own example (23–24), mourning is a plebeian failing. You are in the view of all; your Caesar belongs to the world and you to him.

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[1] The numbers of *dialogi* 11 and 12 vary in the editions; the number given in the Thesaurus is quoted here in the first place. Seneca did not write his consolation until his mother and he himself had overcome the initial distress caused by his exile (1). Meanwhile, he had arranged himself somehow in Corsica. The allusion to the usual ten-months time of mourning (16. 1) is evidence for summer 42 (roughly); *bibl.*: K. Abel 1967, 47–69; P. Meinel, Seneca über seine Verbannung (*Trostschrift an die Mutter Helvia*), Bonn 1972; J. Fillion-Lahille 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *Consolatio ad Marciam.*

[2] This work was written in exile as well (between the end of 41 and the beginning of 49). Claudius was *pater patriae* already (16. 4 = 35. 3); hence, January 42 is *terminus post quem.* The emperor's triumph over Britain (early 44) had not yet happened, but 'Caesar's exploits' were already known, and Claudius had come back to Rome; all this shows that the work dates from the end of 43. An earlier date is not commendable, since Polybius had been holding his office for a long time (6. 2 = 25. 2), and, moreover, Seneca pretends to have forgotten his Latin during his exile (extr.); *bibl.*: K. Abel 1967, 70–96; J. E. Atkinson, Seneca's *Consolatio ad Polybium*, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 860–884; J. Fillion-Lahille 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *Consolatio ad Marciam.*

Distract yourself by literary activity! Ask yourself, if there is no egotism in your grief (25–27). The deceased is well; who knows if death had not been a blessing for him. Remember past happiness (28–29); be aware of the transitoriness of everything, and focus your attention on the emperor and your studies (30–37).

De brevitate vitae[1] (= *dial.* 10)

The much-lamented brevity of life is our own fault; we indulge in our passions (1–2) and waste our time (3–4). We are not persistent enough to claim our time for ourselves, as is confirmed by sayings of Augustus and others (5–6). It is no use grumbling, for our unhappiness is caused by our ignorance of the real value of time (6–9). Busybodies always depend on the following day (9–10), they invest their time unprofitably (10–11). We employ our leisure in distractions and pastimes detrimental to our peace of mind (14–15); only the wise, not the busy know real tranquillity and true life (16–17). After your successful career, Paulinus, you should retire from public life and devote yourself to things more sublime.

De tranquillitate animi[2] (= *dial.* 9)

The addressee, Serenus (Nero's *praefectus vigilum*), initially describes his state of mind (1). Seneca is able to diagnose the complaint as 'satiety' and recommends *tranquillitas*, the εὐθυμία of Democritus (2). The remedies he recommends are activity and philosophical leisure in regular alternation (3). Before undertaking an obligation scrutinize yourself, the task, and your fellow-men (4–6). Friendship contributes to your peace of mind, whereas too great riches desturb it (7–9). Limit your desires (10). The sage despises death and is prepared for everything (11). Avoid over-activeness and meet adversities with a serene mind (12–14). Don't be a misanthropic recluse and smile at the

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[1] This work was written between the middle of 48 and of 55: M. T. GRIFFIN 1976, 396; 398; 401–407 (for 55, with bibl.); Caligula was dead (18. 5); hence, 41 is *terminus post quem.* Since Seneca assumes that Sulla had been the last to enlarge the *pomerium* (13. 8 = 14. 2), this dialogue was written before Claudius enlarged the *pomerium*, i.e. before May 24, 49 (P. GRIMAL, La date du *De brevitate vitae*, REL 25, 1947, 164–177); a third date (62) is no longer considered. The *De brevitate* is probably older than the *De tranquillitate* (cf. *tranq.* 1. 11); *bibl.*: M. T. GRIFFIN, *De brevitate vitae*, JRS 52, 1962, 104–113; B. HAMBÜCHEN, Die Datierung von Senecas Schrift *Ad Paulinum de brevitate vitae*, diss. Köln 1966; J.-M. ANDRÉ, Sénèque, *De brevitate vitae, De constantia sapientis, De tranquillitate, De otio*, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1724–1778.

[2] This work was certainly written after Caligula's death (cf. 11. 10; 14. 4–6). Seneca's positive assessment of a political activity of the sage (5. 3) is indicative of the period after his exile, some time between 51 and 54, in any case before 63; for a date after the *De constantia sapientis*: M. T. GRIFFIN 1976, 396 and 316–317; *bibl.*: J.-M. ANDRÉ 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *De brevitate vitae.*

common errors of mankind; do not forget to take the breaks necessary for contemplation (15).

Apocolocyntosis[1]

This witty (if sometimes over-estimated) lampoon upon the dead Emperor Claudius is a mixture of prose and verse in the manner of Menippean Satire. After his death, Claudius goes to Olympus. There he is first questioned by Hercules; however, at the request of Divine Augustus, who denounced Claudius' crimes, the heavenly senate refuses to accept him. Past his own funeral, Mercury escorts him to the netherworld. The judge of the dead puts him on trial for his murders and condemns him to play at dice with a dice-box full of holes. All of a sudden, however, Caligula claims him as his slave; at the end of our text, Claudius becomes the servant of a freedman at the court of inquiry.

De constantia sapientis[2] (= *dial.* 2)

The wise man can be offended neither by *iniuria* nor by *contumelia* (1–2). He is invulnerable and cannot lose anything. Injustice, fear, or hope do not

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[1] It was written immediately after the death of Claudius (54); *bibl.*: O. Weinreich 1923, s. Editions; R. Heinze, Zu Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, Hermes 61, 1926, 49–78; U. Knoche, Das Bild des Kaisers Augustus in Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, WZRostock 15, 1966, 463–470; K. Kraft, Der politische Hintergrund von Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, Historia 15, 1966, 96–122; G. Binder, Hercules und Claudius. Eine Szene in Senecas *Apocolocyntosis* auf dem Hintergrund der *Aeneis*, RhM 117, 1974, 288–317; id., Catilina und Kaiser Claudius als ewige Büßer in der Unterwelt. Eine typologische Verbindung zwischen Vergils *Aeneis* und Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, ACD 10–11, 1974–1975, 75–93; D. Korzeniewski, Senecas Kunst der dramatischen Komposition in seiner *Apocolocyntosis*, Mnemosyne 35, 1982, 103–114; O. Zwierlein, Die Rede des Augustus in der *Apocolocyntosis*, RhM n.s. 125, 1982, 162–175; H. Horstkotte, Die politische Zielsetzung von Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, Athenaeum 73, 1985, 337–358; K. Bringmann, Senecas *Apocolocyntosis* und die politische Satire in Rom, A&A 17, 1971, 56–69; id. 1985 (s. *bibl.*); R. C. Tovar, Teoría de la sátira. Análisis de *Apocolocyntosis* de Séneca, Cárceres 1986; S. Wolf, Die Augustusrede in Senecas *Apocolocyntosis*, Meisenheim 1986; L. F. Van Rynefeld, On the Authorship of the *Apocolocyntosis*, LCM 13, 1988, 83–85 (in favor of authenticity).

[2] This treatise, which is under the spell of Stoic paradoxes, is mostly assigned an earlier date than the *De tranquillitate*; the reason would be a possible development of Serenus, the addressee, from Epicureanism (*De constantia sapientis*) to Stoicism (*De tranquillitate animi*). However, the relevant passages (esp. *const.* 15. 4) are no evidence for Serenus' philosophical views; the latter rather seems to be at the start of his career in the *De tranquillitate* and to be more experienced in the *De constantia*. The *De constantia* was clearly written after the deaths of Caligula (41) and of Valerius Asiaticus (47). According to P. Grimal 1978, 292, this work would date from 55; *bibl.*: P. Grimal, La composition dans les dialogues de Sénèque, I: Le *De constantia sapientis*, REA 51, 1949, 246–261; K. Abel 1967, 124–147; J.-M. André 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *De brevitate vitae*.

affect him, and it is useful for him to suffer injustice (3–9). He does not resent abuse or calumny, but laughs at them as he would laugh at the babble of children or fools. All those who do not lead a philosophical life, are crazy. The treatise ends with advice on how to endure offence (10–19).

De clementia[1]

Book 1: After a praise of Nero's clemency (1–2) Seneca displays a plan of his work which goes beyond the text available to us: the 1st book is meant to be an introduction; the 2nd, to unfold the essence of clemency; the 3rd (which is lacking), to show how to educate oneself to clemency (3–4). It befits a ruler to be mild; his cruelty is liable to do more harm than a private person's cruelty. Clemency is a hallmark of greatness (5). Should severity reign in Rome, nobody could dwell in safety (6). A ruler should treat his citizens as he would like to be treated by the gods. Being a public person, he has to come up to more stringent requirements than others (7–8). Augustus practised clemency in his old age, whereas Nero might do so already when a young man (9–11). Cruelty is an attribute of tyrants; and yet it does not guarantee their safety (12–13). A ruler is a father (14–16) and a healer of his subjects (17). We are indulgent even towards slaves, all the more should we behave so towards free men (18). The citizens' love is the best protection for a ruler; he is subject to the state, not the state to him (19). Cruel and frequent punishment is detrimental rather than helpful (20–26).

Book 2: May young Nero's clemency set a precedent (1–2)! The essence of clemency (3) is the very antipode to cruelty (4); moreover, it is different from mercy (*misericordia*), which, according to the Stoics, is a vice (5–7).

De vita beata[2] (= *dial.* 7)

False goods allure the crowd; true goods are those of the mind (1–2). The pith and marrow of blissful life are *sana mens*; everything else flows from it

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[1] Written between December 15, 55 and December 14, 56 (M. T. Griffin 1976, 407–411); Nero is 18 years old. It looks as if Seneca amplified and revised this work at a later moment. It has come down to us incomplete; *bibl.*: M. Fuhrmann, Die Alleinherrschaft und das Problem der Gerechtigkeit, Gymnasium 70, 1963, 481–514; T. Adam, Clementia Principis. Der Einfluß hellenistischer Fürstenspiegel auf den Versuch einer rechtlichen Fundierung des Principats durch Seneca, Stuttgart 1970; K. Büchner, Aufbau und Sinn von Senecas Schrift über die Clementia, Hermes 98, 1970, 203–223; A. Borgo, Questioni ideologiche e lessico politico nel *De clementia* di Seneca, Vichiana 14, 1985, 179–297; B. Mortureux, Les idéaux stoïciens et premières responsabilités politiques: Le *De clementia*, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1639–1685.

[2] The *terminus post quem* is determined by the name of the addressee, Gallio, a name attested for Seneca's brother no earlier than 52. Therefore the *De vita beata*

(3–4). Do not give in to pleasure or pain; true happiness is found in virtue (16), not in pleasure (5–15), of which vulgar Epicureans are dreaming. Some people take offence at Seneca's prosperity (an objection applicable to many other philosophers), whereas he does not presume to be a sage. It is true that philosophers cannot entirely live up to their own teachings but they do so at least in part. Wealth is in safe keeping with the virtuous. The sage is in control of his property, fools are controlled by it. It needs wisdom to make the right gifts to the right people. Socrates is allowed to speak the epilogue (17–27).

De otio[1] (= *dial.* 8)
This treatise follows the *De vita beata*; the ending of the latter and the beginning of the former are lost. Only in *otium* can we turn our attention to the best of men; here, Seneca deliberately picks up an Epicurean theme (28). There are different stages in human life; seclusion befits old age (29). According to Epicurus, the sage should not meddle with politics except when circumstances demand it; according to Zeno, he ought to, except when circumstances forbid it. Seneca declares: if the state cannot be helped any more, the sage should try to give help to a few; and if even this is impossible, to himself (30). The macrocosm is a 'big state' uniting gods and men. This is a state we can serve even within our *otium*. Nature created us for active *and* contemplative life (31). Nature wants to be known by us and wants us to know her laws. In his *otium* the sage intends to benefit generations to come (32).

De providentia[2] (= *dial.* 1)
Providence exists: god loves the good and chastises them (1). They overcome all evils and earn glory, as did Cato, for instance (2). The so-called

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was written later than the *De ira*. In the *De vita beata*, Seneca is evidently a rich and respected person. This excludes a date before 50 and after 62. The atmosphere of anxiety and disquiet at the end of the dialogue would perhaps be understandable in 58; *bibl.*: W. Stroh, De dispositione libelli, quem *De vita beata* Seneca scripsit, in: W. Suerbaum and others, eds., FS F. Egermann, München 1985, 141–145; F.-R. Chaumartin, Les désillusions de Sénèque devant l'évolution de la politique néronienne et l'aspiration à la retraite: Le *De vita beata* et le *De beneficiis*, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1686–1723; s. now G. Kuen 1994.

[1] This treatise is difficult to date. There is a general preference for 62 (or soon after); the theme is in harmony with the period immediately before Seneca's retirement; *bibl.*: J.-M. André 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *De brevitate vitae*.

[2] This treatise is dedicated to Lucilius. According to some scholars it dates from Seneca's exile; according to others, from his later years. *Terminus post quem* is the death of Tiberius (4. 4); *terminus ante quem*, the *Naturales quaestiones* (dedicated to Lucilius as well), in which the *De providentia* is used; *bibl.*: K. Abel 1967, 97–124; I. Dionigi, Il *De providentia* di Seneca fra lingua e filosofia, ANRW 2, 36, 7, 1994, 5399–5414.

evils are like medicines: they lead to real goods (3). Therefore, good men willingly bear evils and place themselves at the disposal of god and fate (4). Good and bad luck are predetermined from all eternity (5). What happens to the good is not an evil. God exhorts us to be courageous (6).

Naturales quaestiones[1]

The subject matter is arranged according to elements: books 1 and 2 (fire), 3 and 4a (water), 4b and 5 (air), 6 (earth).[2]

Book 1: The important introduction shows that natural philosophy is the peak of human knowledge, superior even to ethics. The 1st book is dedicated to fiery optical phenomena, especially the rainbow.

Book 2: Seneca distinguishes *caelestia* (astronomy) from *sublimia* (meteorology) and *terrena* (geography). This book is on thunderstorms.

Book 3 is devoted to water, including the Great Flood.

Book 4 discusses the flood season of the Nile, and then turns to hail and snow.

Book 5, which has no introduction, proceeds to the winds.

Book 6 is on earthquakes;

Book 7, on comets.

Epistulae morales[3]

The 124 moral letters—perhaps Seneca's most important work—fall into 20 books; moreover, we have quotations from a 22nd book (Gell. 12. 2. 3). The first three books (1–29) are especially coherent. The concluding function

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[1] Book 6 is dated by the earthquake at Pompei of February 5, 62; *bibl.*: K. W. Ringshausen, Poseidonios, Asklepiodot, Seneca und ihre Anschauungen über Erdbeben und Vulkane, diss. München 1929; G. Stahl, Aufbau, Darstellungsform und philosophischer Gehalt der *Naturales quaestiones* Senecas, Diss. Kiel 1960; G. Stahl, Die *Naturales quaestiones* Senecas, Hermes 92, 1964, 425–454; F. P. Waiblinger, Senecas *Naturales quaestiones*. Griechische Wissenschaft und römische Form, München 1977; R. Codoñer, La physique de Sénèque: Ordonnance et structure des *Naturales quaestiones*, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1779–1822; on *book 6*: A. De Vivo, Le parole della scienza. Sul trattato *De terrae motu di Seneca*, Salerno 1992.

[2] F. P. Waiblinger, s. the preceding footnote; the comets (book 7), however, do not fit into the scheme, unless we suppose an annular composition, which even would make sense within the Stoic system (return to the point of departure: fire).

[3] The letters and the *Naturales quaestiones* accompanied Seneca throughout his last years; the fictive date of the letters is winter 62 (rather 63) to autumn 64; publication 64–65 (M. T. Griffin 1976, 400); *bibl.*: W. H. Alexander, Notes and Emendations to the *Epistulae morales* of L. Annaeus Seneca, Edmonton 1932; K. Abel 1967 (with bibl.); G. Maurach 1970; von Albrecht, Prose 112–124; B. L. Hijmans, Jr., *Inlaboratus et facilis*. Aspects of Structure in Some *Letters* of Seneca, Leiden 1976; K. Abel, Das Problem der Faktizität der Senecanischen Korrespondenz, Hermes 109, 1981, 472–499; E. Lefèvre, Der Mensch und das Schicksal in stoischer Sicht

of letter 29 is clearly marked (29. 10). Seneca adorns the letters of this group with sayings of wise men (often of Epicurus). Later he rejects his addressee's wish for further quotations on grounds of the Stoics' aversion for authorities (33. 1). The richness in themes and colors of the moral letters is unequalled. Especially in the later epistles, the author ventures even upon difficult areas like logic and dialectics. The first series of letters impresses the reader by touching upon many fundamental issues: saving of time (1), sedentary life and steadfastness of purpose (2), friendship and accurate use of terms (3), death and true wealth (4), unobtrusive conduct (5), philosophy as metamorphosis, nay transfiguration (6), seclusion (7), true freedom (8), virtue's self-reward (9). There are contrasts of theme between nos. 7 on the one hand and 5 and 10 on the other.

De beneficiis[1]

Book 1: Ingratitude is a wide-spread phenomenon. Benefits ought to be estimated by the giver's intention, not by their material value. Which benefits should we bestow on others?

Book 2: How should benefits be bestowed? Readily, quickly, without hesitation; some of them, publicly, others privately, all without ostentation. Things detrimental or infamous should not be granted. A benefit must be appropriate to the person of the giver and that of the recipient. How should benefits be received? Gratefully, without pride, greediness, or envy.

Book 3: Never should we blame ungrateful people. They punish themselves by their attitude. Masters have to be grateful even to their slaves. Fathers may receive benefits even from their sons.

Book 4: It is for their own sake that benefits and gratitude are worth striving for, not for considerations of utility. Gratitude only refers to the moral quality of gifts, not to their usefulness. In many cases even if we foresee ingratitude, we should nevertheless do benefits.

Book 5: Now Seneca turns to problems of detail: is it a shame to be surpassed in beneficence? Is it possible to render a benefit to oneself? Does Stoic philosophy allow us to call anyone ungrateful? Are all ungrateful? Do

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(Sen. *epist.* 51 und 107), AU 26, 3, 1983, 61–73; M. Wilson, Seneca's *Epistles to Lucilius*. A Revaluation, Ramus 16, 1987, 102–121; G. Mazzoli, Le *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* di Seneca. Valore letterario e filosofico, ANRW 2, 36, 3, 1989, 1823–1877.

[1] This treatise dedicated to Liberalis is especially close to the hair-splitting of scholastic philosophy; it was written after the deaths of Claudius (1. 15. 6) and Rebilus (A.D. 56: 2. 21. 6): M. T. Griffin 1976, 399. In any case it is later than the *De vita beata*; *bibl.*: F.-R. Chaumartin, Le *De beneficiis* de Sénèque. Sa signification philosophique, politique et sociale, Paris 1985; F.-R. Chaumartin 1989, quoted in the footnote to the *De vita beata*.

benefits oblige even relatives? Is it possible to bestow a benefit on someone against his will? Can a benefit be claimed back?

Book 6: Can benefits be snatched from a person? Are we obliged to those who did good to us against their will or unwittingly or for selfish reasons? Are we allowed to wish someone evil in order to get an occasion to show him our gratitude? We may thank kings and happy people by giving them advice and instruction.

Book 7: Intellectual curiosity must be restrained: all that matters is virtue and wisdom. Is it possible to make a gift to a sage, who is in possession of everything anyway? Is it sufficient to have *tried* to reciprocate a benefit? Should we return a benefit, if the giver's character has changed from good to worse? Should a benefactor forget what he has done? How to endure ingratitude.

Tragedies[1]

Hercules (*furens*)[2]

Hercules comes back from the netherworld together with Theseus. He punishes Lycus the tyrant who had tortured Hercules' wife and his father. Juno, however, sends a Fury to drive the hero mad, and he kills wife and children. On awakening he considers suicide; his father persuades him to endure life all the same.

Troades[3]

A herald announces that the dead Achilles demands the immolation of Priam's daughter Polyxena. Despite Agamemnon's reluctance, Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, insists on this human sacrifice. Moreover, seer Calchas claims that, in order to get favorable wind, Hector's son, Astyanax, must be killed. Shrewd Ulysses elicits from Andromache the hiding place of the child. A messenger reports how courageously both victims died. Finally the fleet can be prepared for departure.

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[1] None of Senecas works can be dated between the winter of 43/44 and 49. Did Seneca then write his tragedies? The fact that he did not need a big library for doing so speaks in favor of this popular theory. However, many other possible dates have been suggested; a survey in: Schanz-Hosius, LG 2, 458 and F. Nieto Mesa, Cronología de las tragedias de Séneca, Nova Tellus 3, 1985, 91–109; new observations concerning a relative chronology of the dramas in: J. G. Fitsch, Sense-Pauses and Relative Dating in Seneca, Sophocles, and Shakespeare, AJPh 102, 1981, 289–307.

[2] K. Heldmann 1974, 1–56; J.-A. Shelton, Problems of time in Seneca's *Hercules furens* and *Thyestes*, CSCA 8, 1975, 257–269; J.-A. Shelton, Seneca's *Hercules furens*. Theme, Structure, and Style. Göttingen 1978; C.-E. Auvray 1989 (with *bibl.*).

[3] W. Schetter, Zum Aufbau von Senecas *Troerinnen*, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 1972, 230–271.

Phoenissae[1]
The play consists of two pairs of scenes: Oedipus wants to retire to Mount Cithaeron to die there. Antigone opposes his suicide.—Having arrived on the mountain, she asks her father to stop the discord between his sons, but he refuses to leave.

The armies of the inimical brothers have deployed. A servant and Antigone ask Jocasta to settle the quarrel. She complies with her daughter's wish and steps between the sides.

Medea[2]
Medea overhears the wedding song for Jason and Creusa. King Creon of Corinth expels Medea from his country; on her request, he grants her, however, a delay of one day. She tries in vain to move Jason, but she becomes aware that he is most vulnerable in his love for his children. She brews a magic concoction and has her children bring a poisoned garment as a gift to her rival, whose cruel death is reported by a messenger. Then she murders her children, one of them in presence of the father.

Phaedra[3]
Phaedra declares her love to chaste Hippolytus, her stepson, is rejected by him and then accuses him falsely to his father, Theseus. The latter by imploring divine power causes his son's death. When he becomes aware of his error, it is too late. Phaedra confesses her guilt and commits suicide.

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[1] See editions; furthermore: A. Paul, Untersuchungen zur Eigenart von Senecas *Phoenissen*, diss. Erlangen, Bonn 1953; I. Opelt, Zu Senecas *Phoenissen* (1969), in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 272–285; W.-L. Liebermann 1974, esp. 115–116; 236, n. 18.

[2] A. Hempelmann, Senecas *Medea* als eigenständiges Kunstwerk, diss. Kiel 1960; D. Henry, B. Walker, Loss of Identity: *Medea superest*? A Study of Seneca's *Medea*, CPh 62, 1967, 169–181; W. Kullmann, Medeas Entwicklung bei Seneca, in: W. Wimmel, ed., Forschungen zur römischen Literatur. FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 158–167; W.-L. Liebermann 1974, 155–206; C. Blitzen, The Senecan and Euripidean *Medea*. A Comparison, CB 52, 1976, 86–90; J.-A. Shelton, Seneca's *Medea* as Mannerist Literature, Poetica 11, 1979, 38–82; Ä. Bäumer 1982, esp. 130–165; A. Arcellaschi, Médée dans le théâtre latin. D'Ennius à Sénèque, Rome 1990.

[3] L. Spitzer, The *Récit de Théramène*, in: id., Linguistics and Literary History. Essays in Stylistics, Princeton 1948, 87–134; C. Zintzen, Analytisches Hypomnema zu Senecas *Phaedra*, Meisenheim 1960 (also on the relationship to the lost Ἱππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος of Euripides); P. Grimal, L'originalité de Sénèque dans la tragédie de Phèdre, REL 41, 1963, 297–304, repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 321–342; K. Heldmann, Senecas *Phaedra* und ihre griechischen Vorbilder, Hermes 96, 1968, 88–117; E. Lefèvre, *Quid ratio possit*? Senecas *Phaedra* als stoisches Drama, WS 82, n.s. 3, 1969, 131–160, repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 343–375; J. Dingel, Ἱππόλυτος ξιφουλκός. Zu Senecas *Phaedra* und dem ersten Hippolytos des Euripides, Hermes 98, 1970, 44–56; A. D. Leeman, Seneca's *Phaedra* as a Stoic Tragedy (1976), in: Leeman, Form 269–280; G. Petrone, La scrittura tragica dell'irrazionale. Note di lettura al teatro di Seneca, Palermo 1984, on the *Phaedra*: 65–114; A. J. Boyle, In Nature's Bonds. A Study of Seneca's *Phaedra*, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1284–1347.

Oedipus[1]

A pestilence rages in Thebes. Creon informs King Oedipus that the oracle of Delphi demands the expulsion of the murderer of King Laius from the city. Oedipus has Tiresias the prophet uncover the culprit. Creon reports that, meanwhile, by necromancy, Laius had appeared and named Oedipus as his murderer. Initially Oedipus suspects a plot and has Creo arrested. But by talking with Jocasta, an old man from Corinth, and the aged Phorbas Oedipus finds out the truth. He blinds himself; Jocasta kills herself with a sword.

Agamemnon[2]

The spirit of Thyestes indicates the coming disaster. Aegisthus persuades Clytaemestra to join him in murdering Agamemnon. A warrior announces the latter's arrival. Cassandra, who appears together with the chorus of Trojan women, prophetically views herself together with Agamemnon in the bark of death (753). In another vision she describes the king's murder while it is happening in the palace. Electra saves her young brother Orestes by entrusting him to a man from Phocis. Clytaemestra condemns Cassandra to death.

Thyestes[3]

Tantalus' ghost appears. The Fury goads him to do more harm to the family of the Pelopidae. Atreus develops his plan: he will murder the children of his brother Thyestes and then have him eat their flesh. The plan is put into action.

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[1] J. Dingel, Der Sohn des Polybos und die Sphinx. Zu den Oidipustragödien des Euripides und des Seneca, MH 27, 1970, 90–96; E. Lefèvre, Die politische Bedeutung der römischen Tragödie und Senecas *Oedipus*, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1242–1262; K. Schöpsdau, Zur dramatischen Struktur von Senecas *Oedipus*, Hermes 113, 1985, 84–100; G. Paduano, Sofocle, Seneca e la colpa di Edipo, RFIC 116, 1988, 298–317.

[2] D. Henry, B. Walker, Seneca and the *Agamemnon*: Some Thoughts on Tragic Doom, CPh 58, 1963, 1–10, repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 74–91; J. M. Croisille, Le personnage de Clytemnestre dans l'*Agamemnon* de Sénèque, Latomus 23, 1964, 464–472; E. Lefèvre, Schicksal und Selbstverschuldung in Senecas *Agamemnon*, Hermes 94, 1966, 482–496, repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 457–476; W. H. Friedrich, Schuld, Reue und Sühne der Klytämnestra, A&A 12, 1966, 3–28, repr. in: W.H.F., Vorbild und Neugestaltung. Sechs Kapitel zur Geschichte der Tragödie, Göttingen 1967, 57–87; E. Lefèvre, Die Schuld des Agamemnon. Das Schicksal des Troja-Siegers in stoischer Sicht, Hermes 101, 1973, 64–91.

[3] A. Lesky, Die griechischen Pelopidendramen und Senecas *Thyestes*, WS 43, 1922–1923, 172–198; U. Knoche, Senecas Atreus. Ein Beispiel, Antike 17, 1941, 60–76, repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 477–489; I. Lana, L'*Atreo* di Accio e la leggenda di Atreo e Tieste nel teatro tragico romano, AAT 93, 1958–1959, 293–383; A. La Penna, Atreo e Tieste sulle scene romane (il tiranno e l'atteggiamento verso il tiranno), in: Studi in onore di Q. Cataudella, Catania 1972, 1, 357–371, repr. in: A. La Penna, Fra teatro, poesia e politica romana, Torino 1979, 127–141; E. Lefèvre, Der *Thyestes*

Hercules Oetaeus[1]

Hercules sends Lichas to Trachis to report his victory over Eurytus. Hercules' wife, Deianira, tells her nurse that she is jealous of Iole, a prisoner. She soaks a garment with the poisonous blood of Nessus (which she deems a love spell) and has Lichas bring it to her husband. Hyllus, her son, gives an account of Hercules' terrible ordeal and of his killing Lichas in his fury. Deianira resolves to die. The ailing hero appears; his mother Alcmena tries to comfort him. Hyllus brings the message of Deianira's death; he explains that she is not guilty of Hercules' sufferings; his father asks him to marry Iole. A messenger reports Hercules' death on a pyre. An apparition of the now divine hero comforts his mother in her grief.

Lost works

De situ et sacris Aegyptiorum and *De situ Indiae* (written during Seneca's stay in Alexandria, a stay which probably encouraged his interest in science as well). *De motu terrarum*[2] (between 31 and 49?). *De lapidum natura, De piscium natura* (under the influence of Fabianus and the Sextii, written probably shortly before or during his exile). *De forma mundi* (written perhaps in the later years of his exile). *De superstitione* (later than the *De vita beata,* probably before 62). *Moralis philosophiae libri, De immatura morte, Exhortationes* (a *protrepticus,* cf. *epist.* 89): from his last period (64).

Doubtful and spurious works

Some epigrams are ascribed to Seneca;[3] the authenticity of the *Hercules Oetaeus* is doubted; the praetexta *Octavia* (see the Appendix to this chapter, p. 1199) and the *Correspondence with St. Paul*[4] are spurious.

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des L. Varius Rufus. Zehn Überlegungen zu seiner Rekonstruktion, Mainz 1976 (bibl.); G. Picone, La *fabula* e il regno. Studi sul *Thyestes* di Seneca, Palermo 1984; E. Lefèvre, Die philosophische Bedeutung der Seneca-Tragödie am Beispiel des *Thyestes,* ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1263–1283; C. Monteleone, Il *Thyestes* di Seneca. Sentieri ermeneutici, Fasano 1991; I. Frings, *Odia fraterna* als manieristisches Motiv. Betrachtungen zu Senecas *Thyest* und Statius' *Thebais,* Stuttgart 1992.

[1] The authenticity of this play is controversial; *bibl.*: W. H. Friedrich, Sprache und Stil des *Hercules Oetaeus,* Hermes 82, 1954, 51–84; repr. in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 500–544; M. Rozelaar, Neue Studien zur Tragödie *Hercules Oetaeus,* ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1348–1419; C.-E. Auvray 1989 (with bibl.); C. Walde, *Herculeus labor.* Studien zum pseudosenecanischen *Hercules Oetaeus,* Frankfurt 1992.

[2] A. De Vivo, Le parole della scienza. Sul trattato *De terrae motu* di Seneca, Salerno 1992.

[3] See editions; M. Coffey, Gnomon 37, 1965, 98–100.

[4] *Editions*: D. Erasmus, Basileae 1515; C. W. Barlow (TTr), Epistulae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam (quae vocantur), American Academy in Rome 1938; L. Bocciolini Palagi (TC), Il carteggio apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo, Firenze 1978; *bibl.*: K. Deissner, Paulus und Seneca, Gütersloh 1917; J. N. Sevenster, Paul and Seneca, Leiden 1961; K. Abel, Gnomon 35, 1963, 38–43; fundamental now: J. Divjak, HLL 5, 1989, § 571.1 (bibl.).

Sources, Models, and Genres[1]

Unlike the Augustan classics and many other Roman authors Seneca writes both prose and poetry. Ennius, Accius, and Cicero had used verse *or* prose respectively in separate works; the same would be the case later only with Lactantius (if the *Phoenix* is genuine) and, for instance, with Sidonius Apollinaris. The mixture of prose and poetry in Menippean satire is something different: examples are found in Varro, Petronius, and Seneca himself in his *Apocolocyntosis*. A third type is the compositon of prose prefaces to collections of poems in the way of Martial, Statius, or Ausonius. As for Seneca, it is true that he often adorns his philosophical writings with poetic quotations, but nevertheless he draws a clear borderline between prose and poetry. His philosophical writings are an element distinguishing him from other Roman tragic poets. Once more, Ennius is the only parallel; however, the latter wrote, in addition, epic poetry and (as most Latin tragedians did) comedies as well. Like Accius, Seneca concentrates on tragedy and has a preference for writing scholarly treatises, although Accius is more of a philologist. Of the Augustan tragic poets, Varius wrote epic poetry as well, and Ovid composed elegies. In contrast to Ennius, who as a versatile pioneer had to break ground in many fields regardless of perfection, Seneca produced disciplined and mature literary works in divergent domains

The genres of prose cultivated by Seneca cover a wide range: the *Apocolocyntosis* is a Menippean satire, incorporating, in addition, elements of drama;[2] completely discordant in style (though almost contemporary!) is the *De clementia*, a 'prince's handbook' (stylistic criteria, therefore, are not useful for dating Seneca's works). The rhetorical fluency of the *consolationes*, again, reflects a different tradition. The diction of the *Consolatio ad Helviam* is especially eloquent, and matched by an exceptionally clear structure: hence, Justus Lipsius[3] deemed it Seneca's masterpiece. Stylistically, the *Consolationes* diverge from Seneca's later works—not for being older, but for being *suasoriae*. As for his philosophical treatises (*De constantia; De vita beata*) their genre is didactic rather than oratorial. The *Letters to Lucilius* evince a crossing of two genres: letter and philosophical treatise. Surprisingly, of the

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[1] Comprehensive and detailed A. Setaioli 1988.

[2] D. Korzeniewski, Senecas Kunst der dramatischen Komposition in seiner *Apocolocyntosis*, Mnemosyne 35, 1982, 103–114; s. also J. Blänsdorf, Senecas *Apocolocyntosis* und die Intertextualitätstheorie, Poetica 18, 1986, 1–26.

[3] In his edition of Seneca, Antverpiae, 4th edition 1652, 67.

twelve books called *Dialogi* only one is a dialogue proper (*De tranquillitate animi*). For Seneca *dialogus* denotes communication with a fictive partner as well (cf. *benef.* 5. 19. 8). In Quintilian (9. 2. 30–31) it even means soliloquy and philosophical reasoning. When creating his own philosophical literary genre Seneca probably was reminiscent of the tradition of diatribe as well. This type of philosophical sermon traced to Bion of Borysthenes had influenced Horace, among others. Many a letter to Lucilius is redolent of diatribe. However, there are limits to this parallel, as will be shown later.

It is more difficult to name Seneca's real sources than the authors he claims to follow. Even as far as the latter are concerned, there are surprises: though a Stoic, Seneca in the first three books of his *Letters to Lucilius* prefers to quote Epicurean authors, and he does so with an astounding regularity. This might be a compliment to the addressee's previous philosophical tastes. When finally asked to continue this custom with quotations from Stoics, Seneca refuses; his remarkable excuse is that a mature person should finally venture to make a statement on his own (*epist.* 33. 7).

It is rewarding, nevertheless, to reconstruct Seneca's cultural background from his writings. The philosophers who influenced him may be grouped, in reverse chronology, according to generations: Philosophers whom he met personally form the innermost circle. We already mentioned Attalus the Stoic who lead him from bookish theory to practical life,[1] but also conveyed to him some ideas of natural philosophy.[2] Another teacher was Papirius Fabianus (about 35 B.C.–35 A.D.), a disciple of the Sextii and, like Seneca, an orator converted to philosophy. His inspiring influence is felt in many domains and genres: it extends from the *Consolatio ad Marciam* to the *De brevitate vitae* and from his scientific treatises to his letters (e.g. *epist.* 100 on political philosophy). Furthermore, we must mention the Pythagorean Sotion who converted Seneca to vegetarianism and in all probability gave important hints for book 3 of the *De ira*. Among Seneca's admired friends there was, finally, frugal Demetrius the Cynic who, like Socrates, left no writings.

The generation previous to this is represented by the Augustans; besides poets like Virgil and Ovid,[3] Seneca especially highlights the

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[1] Sen. *epist.* 9; 63; 67; 72; 81; 108; 110.

[2] E.g. the theory concerning the forebodings of lightnings (*nat.* 2. 48; 50).

[3] Horace's influence is important, though less patent, cf. J. F. Berthet, Sénèque, lecteur d'Horace d'après ses *Lettres à Lucilius*, Latomus 38, 1979, 940–954.

teachers of Augustus: Arius Didymus of Alexandria, a Stoic with an eclectic turn of mind, had been influenced by the Platonist Antiochus of Ascalon as well. He had dedicated a consolation to Livia after the death of Drusus; Seneca quotes him at length in his *Consolatio ad Marciam*. Another teacher of Augustus, Athenodorus (about 75 B.C.–A.D. 7), had been an admirer of Posidonius; he was probably used in the *De tranquillitate animi*; Seneca quotes him in *epist.* 10. 5. Asclepiodotus, who wrote on natural philosophy, depended on Posidonius as well.[1]

A generation earlier is Cicero's contemporary Posidonius, whose teachings are thought to have left numerous traces in Seneca, e.g. in the 2nd book of the *De ira*, in the *Naturales quaestiones* (mediated by Asclepiodotus) and in the *Letters to Lucilius*. Cicero's teacher, Antiochus of Ascalon, influenced the *Letters to Lucilius* and probably the 1st book of the *De ira*. Cicero's own impact is documented by quotations, as in the *De brevitate vitae* and in the *Letters to Lucilius*, although, in the later parts of this work, Cicero is harshly criticized. Seneca's relationship to Cicero (which is attested in the *De clementia* as well) deserves to be studied thoroughly. Initially, Cicero served as an *exemplum* (up to Seneca's exile), to become later a piece of counter-evidence: he remained a prisoner to politics, unable to elevate himself to true freedom.[2] In the *Consolatio ad Helviam* (8) Brutus and Varro are quoted.

From the circle of the Scipios, which roughly corresponds to the fourth or fifth generation before Seneca, Hecato the Stoic is to be mentioned (160–90 B.C.). His presence is felt in the *De beneficiis* and in the *Letters to Lucilius*, whereas his teacher Panaetius perhaps lurks behind the *De tranquillitate animi* and certainly, on a more general scale, inspired Seneca's humane attitude as a spiritual adviser.

There had been at Rome, therefore, at least five generations of philosophers between Seneca and the classics of the Hellenistic schools. Citations from Epicurus are surprisingly numerous, especially in the first three books of the *Epistulae morales*, but also in the *De constantia sapientis*, for example. Moreover, Epicurus serves as a model for the genre of the philosophical letter, although Seneca raises different literary and didactic claims. In the *Letters to Lucilius* the quotations from

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[1] Sen. *nat.* 2. 26. 6; 6. 17. 3.

[2] Cf. D. G. Gambet, Cicero in the Works of Seneca Philosophus, TAPhA 101, 1970, 171–183; C. Moreschini, Cicerone filosofo fonte di Seneca?, RCCM 19, 1977, 527–534; P. Grimal, Sénèque, juge de Cicéron, MEFR 96, 1984, 655–670.

Zeno[1] and his independent disciple Aristo of Chios are second-hand in all probability. Chrysippus has been supposed, among others, to be an authority for the *De ira*, as has Cleanthes, for the *De providentia*. In the *De clementia*, the theme of kingship is ultimately traced, through Hellenistic intermediaries, to Xenophon and Isocrates. This has lead us to the generation of Plato, who is also found among Seneca's authorities. Of the Pre-Socratics, who form the last circle, Seneca quotes Democritus as an example of rejection of wealth[2] (*prov.* 6. 2). Direct consultation of the text is to be excluded in this case.

In the present overview, the following general lines stand out: first, there is a tradition of practical ethics, leading from Seneca's Stoic teachers through Posidonius and Panaetius back to the early Stoa; a second tradition, combining dialectics with religious overtones is traced through Sotion, Posidonius, and Antiochus to Plato and the Pythagoreans; the third line is scientific; through Papirius Fabianus, it goes back to Posidonius and the school of Aristotle. To the first of these traditions we should add Epicurean influences and the live example of Demetrius the Cynic; the latter reminded Seneca of Socrates, a key figure and an unsurpassed archetype for Roman philosophy of life. To the pedantry of philological polymathy Seneca opposes, in his *De brevitate vitae* (14), the philosopher's live dialogue with the heritage of the past: he may dispute with Socrates, doubt with Carneades, and enjoy tranquillity of mind with Epicurus; he may conquer human nature with the Stoics; and outgrow it with the Cynics.

To be sure Seneca had turned to Socrates as an example not only when he was about to die but already during his exile, i.e. at an early stage of his career. He especially was aware of the fact that Socrates by his behavior had done away with the traditional stigma on imprisonment (*neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat*, 'for no place that held Socrates could possibly seem a prison' (*Helv.* 13. 4). This illustrates the liberating function of Socrates for Seneca.

The *Apocolocyntosis* belongs to the supposed genre of the Menippean satire. In the 3rd century B.C. Menippus of Gadara had interspersed his prose with verse. Varro had imported the Menippea to Rome. Lucian's (2nd century A.D.) writings, too, give us an idea both of the

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[1] A. Setaioli, Citazioni da Zenone nelle opere morali di Seneca, Prometheus 12, 1986, 72–84.

[2] Cf. A. Setaioli, Citazioni da Democrito ed Eraclito nelle opere morali di Seneca, in: Munus amicitiae. Scritti in memoria di A. Ronconi, 1, Firenze 1986, 299–318.

fanciful form and of the social criticism typical of this genre.

Among Seneca's *tragedies*, there is a *praetexta*, the *Octavia*. This play, though not written by Seneca, deserves some attention, since it is the only completely preserved specimen of its genre.[1]

The *tragedies* considerably differ from comparable Greek plays.[2] The following tragedies compete with Euripides: *Hercules, Troades, Medea, Phaedra, Phoenissae, Thyestes*. The following treat Sophoclean subjects: *Oedipus, Hercules Oetaeus, Troades, Thyestes*. Seneca rivals Aeschylus in his *Agamemnon* and *Phoenissae*. Many divergencies may be owing to lost Hellenistic and Latin plays.[3] For example, 'innovations' found in Seneca's *Agamemnon* had partly been anticipated by Livius Andronicus in his *Aegisthus*. For Seneca's *Thyestes*, we have to take into account Ennius, Accius, and Varius; for his *Medea*, Ovid. The latter poet put a stamp on Seneca's poetry by his other works as well, especially by his *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*.[4] In his choice of a determined model or of a determined version of a given myth Seneca is guided by his own artistic principles (s. Literary Technique).

Literary Technique

In all of his *philosophical writings* Seneca is indebted to the literary technique of the so-called diatribe.[5] Frequent use of apostrophe is a typical feature of this form of moral preaching common among Cynics and Stoics. The person addressed may be a real recipient or an imaginary interlocutor. The literary form is enlivened by further elements reminiscent of dialogues like: fictive objections on the part of the listener, proverbs, aphorisms, similes from everyday life, or—

[1] For the *Octavia*, see the Appendix to this chapter, below p. 1199.

[2] There are diverse opinions concerning the significance of different periods of literary history for Seneca's tragedies; cf. R. J. Tarrant, Seneca's Drama and its Antecedents, HSPh 82, 1978, 213–263; G. Aricò, Seneca e la tragedia latina arcaica, Dioniso 52, 1981 (1985), 339–356; J. Dingel, Senecas Tragödien. Vorbilder und poetische Aspekte, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1052–1099.

[3] Cf. A. De Rosalia, Stilemi affini nei tragici arcaici e in Seneca, Quaderni di cultura e di tradizione classica 6–7, Palermo 1988–1989, 55–73.

[4] R. Jakobi, Der Einfluß Ovids auf den Tragiker Seneca, Berlin 1988.

[5] For the relationship of Seneca's philosophical letters to the genre of diatribe: A. Stückelberger, Der Brief als Mittel der persönlichen Auseinandersetzung mit der Philosophie, Didactica classica Gandensia 20, 1980, 133–148, esp. 133–136; for a general assessment of Seneca's literary technique in his philosophical treatises: K. Abel 1967; G. Maurach 1970; s. also below 'Language and Style' and our general bibliography to Seneca.

especially conducive (*epist.* 95. 72)—historical examples, preferably from the late Republic and the early Empire. All these elements are found in the *Epistulae morales*, the *consolationes*, and the treatises. However, to label Seneca's art as 'diatribe' is not to give a comprehensive account of it.

He adapts a rhetorical method when disguising exhortation as praise, e.g. in the *De clementia.*[1] What is more, his arrangement of thoughts is generally guided by rhetorical principles. He groups his arguments to form a gradation (*gradatio*); the same principle applies to synonyms: the most colorful and expressive are placed last. Often Seneca develops an idea in three variations, the last of which is shaped to allow a smooth transition to the next thought. The resulting form may be compared to a chain: what had been a secondary theme in the previous paragraph may become the leading theme of the following or even reappear after a longer break. A similar rhythm can be observed not only within single texts but also from letter to letter within the corpus of the *Epistulae morales.*

Metaphors, similes, and images are applied in perfect harmony with the content. Since an organic and continuous development of the addressee is a major concern of Seneca in the *Epistulae morales*, he shows a preference for imagery taken from the domain of natural growth,[2] nutrition, and medicine. The same is true of works on consolation, which have to conform to psychological laws: in the *Consolatio ad Helviam* Seneca uses medical imagery to explain how he came to write as late as this. Military and medical imagery combine to convey the idea of lightly injured recruits more afraid of the physician than of the sword. To them Seneca opposes the veterans, who, although seriously injured, courageously submit themselves to surgery (*cons. Helv.* 3).

An example may illustrate the structural function of metaphors: throughout the *De brevitate vitae* we encounter the imagery of sea and sailing: at the beginning the sea illustrates an existence lacking in steadiness and peace of mind (2); in the middle there is a contrast between a sailor aware of his destination and a person being tossed about aimlessly (8); finally Seneca recommends us to retire from the 'floods' of life into the safe 'harbor' of philosophy (18). There is a

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[1] Cf. Arist. *rhet.* 1. 9 = 1367 b 23–24 and Cicero's *Speech for Marcellus.*

[2] For a philosophical use of such imagery cf. also Zeno in Diog. Laert. 7. 40; Sextus 7. 17; cf. A. BONHÖFFER, Epictet und die Stoa, Stuttgart 1890, 16–18.

consistent development of imagery, and the text is accompanied by a meaningful series of visual impressions. Seneca refines the diatribe, a genre initially prone to strike popular notes, into the sophisticated urbanity of his essays in form of letters. Horace's *Epistles* would be a poetic parallel. Seneca's 'gliding transitions', too, are reminiscent of Horace's art.

Seneca's use of quotations is another element of his literary technique. He teaches his readers how to 'unfold' such sayings mentally—mainly by means of rhetorical amplification—and how to apply them to their own life. Rhetoric, which previously had influenced public life, now becomes a means of inner dialogue of man's conversation with himself. It was a grotesque misunderstanding to place this meditative prose and its sophisticated style on a level with the charlatan products of Hellenistic street philosophers. Seneca himself is aware of the fact that philosophy does not need a 'salesman' (*institor*) but a priest (*antistes: epist.* 52. 15).

An artistic large-scale structure may be observed in major works such as the *Epistulae morales*.[1] In the *Naturales quaestiones*, for example, there is a contrast between the charming beginning of book 4 (with the description of the Nile) and the shattering ending of book 3 (with the description of the Great Flood), although in a technical work we should not concede too much autonomy to considerations of aesthetic form.[2]

The *Apocolocyntosis* parodies elements of historiography (like the assertion of impartiality and truthfulness), of epic technique (such as the solemn and circumstantial reference to the time of the day) and poetic quotations (e.g. from Virgil and Homer). Even dirge is not exempted from parody.

As for *dramatic technique*,[3] Seneca prefers to present action directly instead of indirectly. Medea murders her children on the stage;[4] likewise, the spectator assists the deaths of Hercules' wife and of Oedipus' mother. In the *Phaedra* the heroine personally declares her love to the hero and directly calumniates him with her husband (avoiding

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[1] S. the monographs, esp. G. Maurach 1970.

[2] Good G. Stahl, Gnomon 52, 1980, 620–626.

[3] For Seneca's dramas: M. Landfester, Funktion und Tradition bildlicher Rede in den Tragödien Senecas, Poetica 6, 1974, 179–204; B. Seidensticker 1970; A. L. Motto, J. R. Clark, Senecan Tragedy. Patterns of Irony and Art, CB 48, 1972, 69–76; V. Wurnig 1982; N. T. Pratt 1983; bibl. to individual dramas: s. Survey of Works.

[4] Horace's veto (*ars* 185) might be a taunt against Ovid's *Medea*.

the detours of sending her nurse or writing a letter). Before our eyes Theseus recomposes the limbs of his son's dismembered corpse. Apart from the last-mentioned error in taste, this technique has undeniable dramatic advantages. Phaedra's confession of her guilt is certainly a dramatic highlight, and the delay of the murder of Medea's second child helps to maintain suspense until the last moment.

Scenes added by Seneca often enhance horror. In the *Medea* we observe the magic rites of preparing poison; in the *Oedipus*, Tiresias enacts a necromancy; in the *Hercules furens* Theseus gives a rigid account of his journey to the Netherworld. As a rule, ritual elements are more prominent than in Euripides. Prayers are frequent; and Medea's murder of her children is interpreted in Roman terms (offering to the dead; the Furies).

Long monologues contribute to develop the leading emotions: Seneca shows on the stage the genesis of Hercules' madness, whereas Euripides had prepared it indirectly by actions of two superhuman beings.

In his initial scenes Seneca vividly introduces the emotions which will dominate the given play. In the cases of Phaedra and Medea, the spectator is immediately confronted with their passions by way of longer monologues, whereas Euripides had started with reflecting their emotions in their entourage. However, there are other introductions in Seneca which make use of a πρόσωπον προτατικόν to forebode the tragic dimension of the events to come.[1] Another attractive feature of Seneca's literary technique are a secondary character's comments describing the reactions or movements of the protagonist.[2]

We will dwell at greater length on the characters of Seneca's heroes in the context of his 'Ideas' (II), but we should mention one typical feature here: the way they act is based on a high degree of consciousness, which might be called almost 'literary'. Medea cherishes and cultivates her emotion by means of rhetorical techniques. For her the name of Medea is, as it were, a program to which she has to live up (*Medea fiam*, 'I will become Medea' 171; *Medea nunc sum*, 'now I am Medea' 910). In order to give an exhaustive presentation of the characters,[3] the—highly passionate—prologues often anticipate later stages of action and behavior.

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[1] V. Wurnig 1982, 73, important for the interpretation of the *Thyestes*.
[2] This technique is found at Rome as early as Plautus.
[3] J.-A. Shelton, Seneca's *Hercules furens*. Theme, Structure, and Style, Göttingen 1978.

In the domain of form Seneca is striving for concentration and consistency. He omits characters who can be dispensed with (such as Aegeus in the *Medea*). At the end of the *Phaedra* there is no need of a *dea ex machina*; Phaedra cuts the knot by herself. In the final scene of the *Medea* suspense is maintained to the last moment: when Jason appears on the stage one of his children is still alive, so that he can try to defend it, whereas in Euripides his role is confined to belated and fruitless reproaches. In this case, what is called 'cruelty' implies a considerable dramatic advantage. And there is a further element contributing to the consistency of the plays: Seneca carefully anchors the content of the chorus songs in their context.[1]

Are Seneca's plays meant to be staged or merely 'recited'?[2] This problem is less fundamental than we might have expected. According to ancient habits the text was recited aloud in both cases. We have no documents attesting performances, but this is an *argumentum ex silentio*. On the other hand we do know at least that it was customary to play individual scenes from dramas.[3] To accede to the opinion of some well-bred 19th century scholars who deemed Seneca's plays 'unfit for the stage', is either to underrate the possibilities of ancient theaters or to canonize a dated judgment of taste (certainly the equation 'ghastly, hence unstageable' has been belied by 20th century theater).

There are many elements in Seneca's text favoring good stage-effects. Objects play no less prominent a role than words: Hippolytus' sword is at the center of both the love-scene and the death-scene; Phaedra's costume of huntress visibly documents her being enthralled with Hippolytus, the disciple of Diana. Medea is shown practising her magic art on the stage. It is only on the theater, therefore, that the plays bring to bear their full potential. It is not by chance that in Racine's *Phèdre* the two most effective scenes—Phèdre's declaration of love and her suicide—are taken from Seneca. The Renaissance knew that these plays were made to be staged.

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[1] G. Arroyo A., Die Chorlieder in Senecas Tragödien. Eine Untersuchung zu Senecas Philosophie und Chorthemen, diss. Köln 1979.

[2] O. Zwierlein, Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas, Meisenheim 1966; convincingly countered by L. Braun, Sind Senecas Tragödien Bühnenstücke oder Rezitationsdramen?, RPL 5, 1, 1982, 43–52; cf. D. F. Sutton, Seneca on the Stage, Leiden 1986.

[3] A. Dihle, Seneca und die Aufführungspraxis der römischen Tragödie, A&A 29, 1983, 162–171.

Language and Style[1]

Seneca's prose makes him the exponent of a 'modern style', which in its turn, at that moment, had attained the venerable age of 100 years: since the Augustan epoch the rhetorical schools of declamation had cultivated a diction rich in short, rhythmical sentences, pointed in both content and form. Seneca is the classic of this anticlassical mode. His mocking remarks on Cicero would earn him harsh censure on the part of classicists like Quintilian and archaists like Gellius. On the other hand, various passages were overlooked, where Seneca showed that he fully appreciated Cicero's stylistic achievement (*epist.* 100. 7). Artistic prose rhythm is very prominent in Seneca; the main *clausulae* are reminiscent of Cicero, but colometry is split up into smaller units. Moreover, linguistic research has shown that Seneca's Latin, in the main, is surprisingly pure, even conservative. Colloquialisms are in harmony with the personal tone of his prose works;[2] yet they are mixed with poetic elements.

By its closeness to dialogue Seneca's style is reminiscent of the diatribe; however, Seneca in the main keeps aloof from 'low style'. Changing means of expression—like parataxis, antithesis, and variation (e.g. of synonyms)—combine to serve the same goal.

Seneca's concise style—which fatigues the reader only if enjoyed to excess—is meant to satisfy the Stoic ideal of *brevitas*. However, the fact that each single sentence is short does not prevent many of his letters or books from being rather long. Moreover, Seneca's style often borders on 'the sublime', an ideal backed by the author of the

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[1] R. Fischer, De usu vocabulorum apud Ciceronem et Senecam Graecae philosophiae interpretes, diss. Freiburg 1914; A. Pittet, Vocabulaire philosophique de Sénèque, I: *A—computatio*, Paris 1937; A.-M. Guillemin 1957; R. Westman, Das Futurpartizip als Ausdrucksmittel Senecas, Helsinki 1961; N. T. Pratt, Major Systems of Figurative Language in Senecan Melodrama, TAPhA 94, 1963, 199–234; J. D. Bishop, The Meaning of the Choral Meters in Senecan Tragedy, RhM 111, 1968, 197–219; N. Catone, Metro e lingua nella *Phaedra* di Seneca, A&R n.s. 16, 1971, 19–29; von Albrecht, Prose 112–124; W.-L. Liebermann 1974, 85–142 (similes and tropes); A. Traina, Lo stile 'drammatico' del filosofo Seneca, Bologna 2nd ed. 1978; A. Setaioli, Seneca e lo stile, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 776–858; M. Billerbeck, Senecas Tragödien. Sprachliche und stilistische Untersuchungen, Leiden 1988; M. Hillen, Studien zur Dichtersprache Senecas. Abundanz. Explikativer Ablativ. Hypallage, Berlin 1989; M. Armisen-Marchetti, *Sapientiae facies*. Etude sur les images de Sénèque, Paris 1989.

[2] Cf. A. Setaioli, Elementi di *sermo cotidianus* nella lingua di Seneca prosatore, SIFC 52, 1980, 5–47; 53, 1981, 5–49.

Περὶ ὕψους ('On the Sublime') who perhaps lived during the same epoch (cf. *epist.* 41 on *animus magnus*). Depth of ideas and apparent simplicity of form conspire to produce the impression of sublimity.

Yet Seneca's prose style is far from being uniform; rather it varies according to genres. The introduction of the *Consolatio ad Helviam* is written in well-rounded periods, which perceptibly differ from the staccato style adopted in other works. However, even in this work Seneca cannot renounce his love for pointed expressions: twenty days after her grandson's death Helvia had to see her son's exile: *hoc adhuc defuerat tibi: lugere vivos*, 'this misfortune you had still lacked—to mourn the living' (*cons. Helv.* 2. 5). In all available books on consolation he could not find a person comforting those who were mourning for him (*cons. Helv.* 1).

Moreover, there are considerable differences of style even within one and the same work. In the *De clementia*, book 1 is rhetorical in character, whereas book 2 is more abstract and philosophical. Correspondingly, there is a contrast between common and terminological use of words.[1]

The diction of Seneca's tragedies is based on the poetic language of the Augustans. In his choice of words Seneca, though largely conforming to his models, does not neglect the taste of his contemporaries for a passionate, purposeful and impulsive mode. The rhetorical style of his tragedies is in harmony with his epoch, in which the borderlines between poetry and prose are blurred. As architects and painters of his day revel in atmospheric effects produced by the luster of precious material, authors, too, try to dazzle their readers with brilliance. Like his prose writings, Seneca's tragedies bear witness to his preference for concise and simple sentences and pointed expressions; the latter appear even more impressive against the background of a rich variety of themes and ideas. The specific qualities of the language and the style of Seneca's tragedies can only be understood if we constantly bear in mind those of his prose writings.

Seneca's handling of the iambic trimeter is severe. In his choruses anapaests prevail, but there are other meters as well.[2]

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[1] In book 1, *misericordia, venia, ignoscere* are synonyms for *clementia*; in book 2, they are differentiated semantically. *Severitas* is an antonym to *clementia* in book 1, in book 2 they are ultimately identical since both of them are virtues.

[2] W. Marx, Funktion und Form der Chorlieder in den Seneca-Tragödien, diss. Heidelberg 1932; R. Giomini, De canticis polymetris in *Agamemnone* et *Oedipode* Annaeanis, Roma 1959; J. D. Bishop, The Meaning of the Choral Meters in Senecan

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature[1]

It is true that Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis* derides Claudius' sympathies for *novi poetae*, but this does not mean that his ideas on literature were reactionary. On the contrary, he shocked both classicists and archaists by unconventional verdicts.[2] His 'modernism' does not disclaim history: Seneca justly observes the change of linguistic usage and finds rather plausible motives why the classics, given their epoch and their educational background, adopted some archaic expressions: he correctly observed that Ennianisms[3] should turn up in authors who had grown up reading Ennius. The period from Caligula to Nero is of unprecedented inner freedom: Seneca and his contemporaries were ready to adopt a personal standpoint without blindly idolizing the classics; they were proud of their own *ingenium*.[4]

Seneca's un-dogmatic relationship to tradition is evinced from his use of poetic quotations.[5] A theoretical statement on this subject is found in a letter (*epist.* 108. 24–38) which opposes the philosopher's approach to that of the philologist. Virgil says that 'time is fleeing' (*georg.* 3. 284). From this quotation the philosopher derives a motivation to lead a more conscious and a more active life, whereas the philologist observes that Virgil uses the verb 'to flee' (*fugere*) to express rapid motion. From mere collecting and parroting quotations from

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Tragedy, RhM 111, 1968, 197–219; N. Catone, Metro e lingua nella *Phaedra* di Seneca, A&R n.s. 16, 1971, 19–29; J. G. Fitch, Seneca's Anapaests, Metre, Colometry, Text and Artistry in the Anapaests of Seneca's Tragedies, Atlanta 1987.

[1] F. I. Merchant, Seneca the Philosopher and his Theory of Style, AJPh 26, 1905, 44–59; P. de Lacy, Stoic Views of Poetry, AJPh 69, 1948, 241–271; A. Stückelberger, Senecas 88. Brief. Über Wert und Unwert der freien Künste (TTrC), Heidelberg 1965; A. Michel, Rhétorique, tragédie, philosophie: Sénèque et le sublime, GIF 21, 1969, 245–257; I. Opelt, Senecas Konzeption des Tragischen, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 1972, 92–128; J. Dingel 1974; A. Stückelberger 1980; G. Rosati, Seneca sulla lettera filosofica. Un genere letterario nel cammino verso la saggezza, Maia 13, 1981, 3–15; K. Abel 1981.

[2] Quint. *inst.* 10. 1. 125–131; Gell. 12. 2; W. Trillitzsch 1971.

[3] On Cicero's Ennianisms: *non fuit hoc Ciceronis vitium, sed temporis; necesse erat haec dici, cum illa legerentur*; Virgil uses Ennianisms, *ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis* (*apud* Gell. 12. 2. 8–10); Seneca appreciates Cicero as a writer, but his view of style is different, s. also D. G. Gambet, Cicero in the Works of Seneca Philosophus, TAPhA 101, 1970, 171–183; P. Grimal, Sénèque juge de Cicéron, MEFR 96, 1984, 655–670.

[4] The author Περὶ ὕψους is usually assigned to the same epoch.

[5] Cf. H. Krauss, Die Vergilzitate in Senecas *Briefen an Lucilius*, diss. Hamburg 1957.

others we come to express ideas of our own by doing what we are saying (*epist.* 108. 38).[1]

Seneca does not directly assail rhetoric; rather he exploits its methods systematically for his practice of self-education and psychotherapy.[2] At times he deliberately disrupts the chains of school tradition: to him, the problem of 'sublime' or 'grand' style is not one of mere technique but one of the speaker's intellectual freedom. What is important is the impetus to think in great dimensions and to live up to such thoughts (*tranq.* 17).

Seneca is an original author in his own right. The mere fact that he makes pedagogical use of literature or of literary elements in his philosophical works does not entitle us to conclude that the poetics underlying his tragedies should be straightforwardly didactic.

Ideas II

Seneca is primarily interested in ethics and—to a lesser degree—in natural philosophy (physics). He is less attracted to logic, although in his later letters, he does turn to this subject, too.[3] It is Seneca's intention to sketch an overall survey of philosophy.

In the first place we have to assess the importance of Stoic philosophy for Seneca, since he reckons himself among its adherents. In this respect the *Epistulae morales* provide the most comprehensive evidence. They are an introduction to philosophy. His starting point, however, is practical life, not an abstract system. From a literary point of view such liveliness is clearly a great advantage. However, we should not overlook the paradox: on the one hand, Seneca repeatedly asserts that as a mature person, whose days are numbered, he has no time for hair-splitting (e.g. *epist.* 49). On the other, he does not spare Lucilius the problems of logic and dialectics. Evidently Seneca, for all his adherence to practical life, tries to maintain the scholarly level of philosophy (s. e.g. *epist.* 95).

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[1] Cf. *talis hominum oratio qualis vita* (*epist.* 114. 16); further evidence of literary criticism in Seneca: *epist.* 59. 5; 84. 1–7; 114. 11; *tranq.* (= *dial.* 9) 17. 10.

[2] A helpful survey in G. Reinhart, E. Schirok, Senecas *Epistulae morales*. Zwei Wege ihrer Vermittlung, Bamberg 1988, passim, esp. 90–94.

[3] Despite his 'un-systematical' approach, his insistence on intellectual honesty and correct use of terms (like 'friendship' *epist.* 3) touches on a genuinely Stoic principle even in an 'early' passage of his collection of letters.

Though a Stoic in principle, our author does not neglect other schools of philosophy: in the first three books of his *Letters*, each letter ends in an Epicurean quotation[1]—probably Lucilius, his addressee, was sympathetic to this doctrine and certainly Seneca was attracted to Epicurus' serenity and inner freedom.

Seneca's conciliatory nature made him susceptible to the Peripatetic doctrine of the golden mean; in fact, the courtier's flexibility is congenial with Aristotle's urbane altitude (cf. *epist.* 5). When a young man, Seneca was strongly influenced by Sotion the Neo-Pythagorean. In the introduction to the *Naturales quaestiones*[2] Seneca's praise of pure knowledge has an almost Platonic ring. In the later parts of the *Letters to Lucilius* Roman readers are not spared the subleties of dialectics. For Seneca philosophy is the true initiation, in agreement with the Pythagoreans and Plato (and Epicurean Lucretius): it is the way from darkness to light; through contemplation of the skies[3] (man's privilege over animals) it gives him the upright attitude alone worthy of man. Far from subordinating all other philosophical domains to practical ethics (as we might have expected a Roman to do)—Seneca attains a more independent standpoint. Scientific knowledge has a higher rank; virtue is not an aim in itself but a means to prepare our mind for knowledge. Science is exalted in religious language. Seneca's high opinion of contemplative life is not limited to his old age (*De otio*) but expressed as early as in the *Consolatio ad Helviam*: the *animus* is *contemplator admiratorque mundi* (8), a function to which our mind is destined by his weightless nature (11). It is not by chance that these lines were written during his exile. Only gradually and with much difficulty did the Romans come to recognize the importance of pure philosophical knowledge. Cicero, whose *De re publica* is the most significant parallel to the quoted text of Seneca, was more closely attached to the *res publica* than was Seneca. Like Cicero, Seneca had twice been excluded from political activity by force, and, like Cicero, he had used his last years to return his thanks to Philosophy, whom he called *dux vitae* since she had taught him how to live. Here he even

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[1] S. now H. Freise, Die Bedeutung der Epikur-Zitate in den Schriften Senecas, Gymnasium 96, 1989, 532–556.

[2] G. Stahl, Die *Naturales quaestiones* Senecas. Ein Beitrag zum Spiritualisierungsprozeß der römischen Stoa, Hermes 92, 1964, 425–454.

[3] Cf. also *epist.* 94. 56; *dial.* 8 (*De otio*) 32. 3 and 8; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 37; *Tusc.* 1. 69; fundamental A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, AHAW 1960, 2.

superseded the Roman postulate of philosophy's subservience to practical life.

An aging Seneca reflected on god, a theme prepared at earlier stages of his life. In the *De superstitione* (*frg.* 33) he did not limit his criticism of religion to oriental cults[1] but extended it even to 'political theology', thus showing more courage than most ancient philosophers. Augustine, when quoting the *De superstitione* (*civ.* 6. 10),[2] would recognize intellectual freedom as a characteristic feature of Seneca. Seneca's awareness of his personal independence was enhanced by his exile. Hence, we are not surprised to find in his works a spiritualized idea of god.[3] Divine power descends into man to enable him to know things divine (*epist.* 41. 5).

Our author declares his allegiance to Stoic philosophy, which in his view gives more freedom to its adherents than Epicureanism.[4] He repeatedly contradicts Stoic doctrines;[5] many a letter is spiced with Epicurean maxims; but, Seneca visits the enemy's camp as a spy, not as a deserter (*epist.* 2. 5).

Many philosophical ideas gain a specifically Roman touch: practical philosophy is for Seneca *per tot annos meditata ratio adversus imminentia*, 'a long trained attitude of reasoning towards impending evils' (Tac. *ann.* 15. 62). By deeming virtue proved in misfortune superior to virtue in good luck (*epist.* 66. 49–53), he comes into conflict with Stoic doctrine (and logic: should not virtue be always the same?) but he complies with the warlike spirit of his Romans.

The same is true for his understanding of *clementia*[6] as an emperor's virtue. To a strict Stoic, the wise man would be a *iudex severus* who gives everyone his due (*suum cuique*); clemency would be justified, if at all, as a way of adapting a verdict to *recta ratio*, which is above positive law. Seneca, however, has in mind Roman practice: the judge exercises *clementia* by deviating from the maximum punishment, a

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[1] Among which the cult of Isis and the Jewish religion. As Poppaea sympathized with the latter, the *De superstitione* should have been written before 62, when Poppaea became almighty through her marriage with Nero.

[2] Min. Fel. 25. 8; F. X. Burger, Über das Verhältnis des Minucius Felix zu dem Philosophen Seneca, diss. München 1904, 120–124.

[3] *Frg.* 123 Haase; *epist.* 41. 4–5; 83. 1.

[4] *Epist.* 33. 4; 113. 23.

[5] E.g. *epist.* 117. 1.

[6] M. T. Griffin 1976, 129–171; M. Bellincioni, Potere ed etica in Seneca. *Clementia e voluntas amica*, Brescia 1984.

juridic aspect not easily reconcilable with Stoic philosophy.[1] The clemency of a ruler who is above the law is clearly different from *aequitas* which in a given case mitigates the strictness of law.

On the other hand Roman ideas are increasingly Hellenized: the Latin notion of *principatus* merges in the Hellenistic concept of kingship. Unlike Nero's inaugural address, which conceded to the senate some participation in government, the *De clementia* boldly uses *rex* as an alternative to *princeps*. In contradistinction to the 'tyrant' Claudius, Nero is the Stoic king incarnate. The emperor's morality guarantees public morality. This Greek idea easily fits into the Roman framework of *exemplum*.

Another important principle is the Stoic sympathy for our fellowmen who like ourselves participate in the *logos* of the universe (*humanitas*). Consequently, Seneca demands fair treatment of slaves,[2] he rejects gladiatorial games[3] and the killing of criminals in the arena (*epist.* 7. 3–6). By advocating such such views, Seneca surpasses the level of most of his contemporaries.

An essential of Seneca's teaching method is due attention paid to individual talents (πρέπον, *aptum*). Like Panaetius, Seneca is not unaware of man's imperfections. He is ready to admit that *ictus animi* like blushing, fainting, first impulses of anger, grief, fear of death etc. affect everyone, even the wise; the important thing, however, is to refuse them our assent. Yet it is only in the *De vita beata* that he ventures upon admitting (with Aristotle's disciples and Panaetius) that the lack of material goods may impair the attainment of blissful life.

Seneca is not blind to the contradiction between Stoic rigor and his own way of life (*dial.* 7 = *vit. beat.* 17–27). After the ascetic experiments of his youth—up to vegetarianism—the philosopher in his later life accommodated himself well to wealth and life at court—all too well, someone might say. As a Roman he had no taste for abandoning the 'world' of politics, he rather felt obliged to hold out. Thus, he became a precursor of those modern thinkers who replaced medieval withdrawal from the world with what may be called an ascetic life within the world (examples are the religious reformers or

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[1] He focused his attention especially on the decline of jurisdiction under Claudius and on the return to legality under Nero: he hoped for a new golden age of justice modeled after Augustus, the Apollo-like *princeps*; cf. also Calp. 1. 71–73.

[2] M. T. Griffin 1976, 256–285.

[3] *Epist.* 90. 45; 95. 33.

St. Francis of Sales). Seneca, though being involved in politics, is careful of viewing secular life dispassionately; if need be, he is even ready to save his freedom and his dignity by suicide.

His philosophical writings, which reveal so little about his political activities, can be understood only as a counterpoise to his absorbing everyday routine, as a means to gain some distance and tranquillity of mind, as a method of self-examination and meditation. The scarcity of political content is a corollary to philosophy's role as a contrasting foil, not at all an expression of a lack of interest in politics. The qualities hitherto mentioned allowed a large circle of readers to assimilate Seneca's text, a fact ensuring its lasting influence.

It is not easy to assess the ideas expressed in Seneca's dramas. Are they, thanks to their pessimism, their cruelty and their relish in pain, something totally aloof from his phiiosophicas writings? Or are they, rather, didactic plays? Both answers are too simplistic.

The change of values had changed the characters as well. Seneca relentlessly shows man in a world almost devoid of gods. An example is Hercules: both his greatest achievements and his madness ultimately have the same root: his being a fighter. After such overwhelming victories there is no worthy enemy left—but himself (*bella iam secum gerat*, 'now with himself let him war' *Herc. fur.* 85). His external conquests now should be followed by a painfully gained insight: *virtus* is self-conquest. Seneca makes an effort to spiritualize a moral quality the Romans usually exercised in the material world: their spirit of conquest. This play does not convey any dogmatic 'lesson'; instead, it propounds a subtle observation: during the Roman epoch, man had ever less the sense of being guided by gods; more and more, he felt that he had to rely on his own resources; all possibilities seemed to be open to him. Would he find the right measure within himself? Such deep and harassing questions concerning the world and history are the deeper reason for Seneca's hyperbolic and paradoxical mode of expression, which is more than mere mannerism.

Seneca's Roman ambience is another influential factor.[1] The chorus no longer sides with Medea but with Jason, whose love for his children is enhanced; likewise, Roman *pietas* refines Theseus' character, who in the *Phaedra* does not exult at the cruel death of his son.

[1] This does not mean, however, that his works should be read as encoded political manifestos; one-sided J. D. Bishop, Seneca's Daggered Stylus, Königstein 1985.

In the *Medea*, Creon is free from the pusillanimity of his Euripidean namesake; he is a dignified Roman magistrate. Euripides' Phaedra is a queen, anxious to preserve her own dignity and that of her sons, whereas Seneca's Phaedra[1] is a loving woman; her character is portrayed in harmony with the greater social independence woman had gained at Rome and with the fact that for Seneca conscience was more important than propriety of conduct: hence, in the Roman play, Phaedra is not allowed to die with a lie. Her final confession of her guilt is an advantage for the play as a drama. On the other hand, Medea is much less liable to rouse the spectator's sympathy. There is a higher degree of awareness behind her actions, so that she cannot rely on 'extenuating circumstances'. Many creatures of Seneca sense a perverse 'relish in doing evil'.

Seneca's grim tyrants doubtless reflect his experiences under Caligula and Claudius; since we do not know if Seneca wrote these plays for Nero's private theater[2]—with the Emperor as protagonist—it is open to discussion if he wanted Nero to recognize his own task of being a 'good king' more clearly against this dark background. Be this as it may, Seneca in his tragedies certainly portrayed an 'unredeemed' mankind, which misses or perverts its true task of rational knowledge as a basis for action. A heroine like Medea does make use of her *ratio*—though in a sense contrary to that of Seneca the philosopher. While he, by means of rhetorically arranged words, tries to educate himself to perform good actions, Medea uses the same rhetorical devices to instigate herself to do evil. In this respects his tragedies may be called a gloomy counterpiece to his philosophical writings. Far from being primitive didactic plays,[3] they are systematic exercises in wrongdoing based on the principles of rhetoric. At the best they are liable to convey indirectly the insight that there is no alternative to right *ratio* and a practical philosophy governed by it. *Mala voluntas* and Medea's growing into her negative role reveal frightening potentialities of the human mind. Seneca's tragedies belong to the 'diagnosing' not to the 'healing' type of literature. As many of Seneca's heroes perpetrate their crimes *deliberately*, we must expect

[1] Even if Seneca here draws on Euripides' other (lost) Hippolytus drama, his choice of model remains typical of his taste.

[2] Highet, Class. Trad. 598, cf. Tac. *ann.* 15. 39; yet, an apotreptic function is not the same as *katharsis* (the former presupposes distance, the latter, identification).

[3] Against a 'didactic' interpretation: K. Heldmann 1974, 177–184.

him to infringe on Aristotle's concept of tragedy.[1] The reason is a difference of mentality, not any lack of capacity.

Seneca's is a drama without gods. Society has forfeited its right to set moral standards: released from the tutorship of religion and politics, man experiences an ecstasy of freedom.

Transmission[2]

Dialogi

For the *Dialogi* scholars had relied on a single manuscript for a long time; today the basis of our text is more diversified. These works of Seneca owe their survival to the Benedictine monks of Montecassino. The actual Mediolanensis Ambrosianus C. 90 inf. (A; 11th century; in Beneventan script), which was written in all probability on the behest of Abbot Desiderius (d. 1087), contains, in addition, old complements and corrections from a codex now lost.

Where A is lacunose or illegible, the β manuscripts (which are derived from A) are useful (especially, the Vaticanus Chigi H. v. 153; the Berol. Lat. 2° 47; the Paris. Lat. 15 086 and 6 379, all four from the 13th century); this applies especially to the *Consolatio ad Polybium.*

The γ codices are more recent (14th century), much interpolated and corrected. Some of them seem, however, to originate from a lost codex (from Montecassino), which was related to A but independent of it (the oldest representatives are the Vaticanus Lat. 2215 and 2214; 14th century).[3]

De beneficiis and *De clementia*[4]

As an exception, in this case the original source of our tradition has been preserved: Vaticanus Palatinus 1547 'Nazarianus' (N; ca. A.D. 800). The manuscript was written in Northern Italy and came to Lorsch around 850.

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[1] On this problem: K. Heldmann 1974; W.-L. Liebermann 1974; O. Zwierlein, Die Tragik in den Medea-Dramen, Literaturwiss. Jahrb. der Görres-Gesellschaft, n.s. 19, 1978, 27–63; E. Lefèvre, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, esp. 1265–1266; 1249–1253; O. Zwierlein 1984, quoted below: Influence; cf. also B. Seidensticker 1970; J.-A. Shelton 1975 (quoted above in the Survey of Works in the footnote to *Herc. fur.*); A. J. Boyle 1985 (quoted ibid. in the footnote to *Phaedra*); W.-L. Liebermann, Gnomon 59, 1987, 110–120; cf. also: I. Opelt, Senecas Konzeption des Tragischen, in: E. Lefèvre, ed., 1972, 272–285; R. Glaesser, 1984.

[2] Reynolds, Texts 357–375; H. M. Hine, ibid. 376–378; R. J. Tarrant, ibid. 378–381; s. also the prefaces of the editions.

[3] To give an example, these Vaticani offer better readings than A in 20 instances of the *De otio.*

[4] Cf. also G. Mazzoli, Ricerche sulla tradizione medievale del *De beneficiis* e del *De clementia* di Seneca. III. Storia della tradizione manoscritta, BollClass. 3, 3, 1982, 165–223.

An early copy, the Vaticanus Regin. Lat. 1529 (R; 9th century) contains notes from the circle of Lupus and Heiric. All later manuscripts (nearly 300) depend on R; they fall into two classes. As we possess the archetype this case is an especially instructive example for a methodical study of the history of a text's corruption.

Epistulae

Letters 1–88 and 89–124 have been handed down as two separate corpora. As Gellius' quotes later letters, a 3rd corpus must have been lost.

For the *first corpus* (*epist.* 1–88) there are three classes. The 1st one is represented by the Parisinus Lat. 8 540 (p; end of 9th century; *epist.* 1–71. 7), a primitive and independent witness of high value. To the 2nd class (a) belong the Florentinus Laurentianus 76. 40 (L; beginning 9th century; *epist.* 1–65) and the Brixiensis (from Brescia) B. II. 6 (Q; end of 9th-beginning 10th century; *epist.* 1–120. 12), highly estimated by Beltrami, the oldest manuscript containing both corpora. The 3rd class (γ), old as well, exhibits (in some of its representatives) a further division of the tradition into two subordinate corpora: Letters 1–52 and 53–88; only the latter are found in the Venetus Marcianus Lat. Z 270, 1573 (V; 9th century).

The *second corpus* (*epist.* 89–124) has a less broad tradition, which, however, is tripartite as well. The Bambergensis Class. 46 (M. v. 14) is by far the best witness (B; from the scriptorium of Louis I the Pious, d. 840). It forms its own class; the above-mentioned manuscript Q belongs to a second class; a third one consists of the representatives of the p tradition.

Naturales quaestiones

The tradition of the *Naturales quaestiones* is rich. Unfortunately, it starts as late as some time in the 12th century. The archetype had been mutilated. The end of book 4a and the beginning of book 4b were lacking. We know today that in the archetype books 4b–7 were placed before books 1–4a. Therefore, the difference between manuscripts offering this sequence and manuscripts offering the order adopted in modern editions is of less fundamental importance than earlier scholars had thought.[1]

Apocolocyntosis[2]

The oldest three of over 40 manuscripts are: the codex Sangallensis 569 (S; 9th–10th century, from Germany), codex Valencienn. 411, olim 393

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[1] H. M. Hine, The Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's *Natural Questions*, CQ 30, 1980, 183–217; addenda ibid. 42, 1992, 558–562; on the island of Reichenau this work of Seneca was obviously used in a redaction independent of that known to us.

[2] Cf. also P. T. Eden, The Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, CQ 29, 1979, 149–161.

(V; end 9th century, from Eastern France, formerly owned by Hucbald, d. 930), codex Musaei Britannici, add. 11 983 (L; beginning of 12th century). V and L are related more closely to each other. Their common source, the readings of which can be inferred from these two manuscripts, and S serve to reconstruct the archetype. The later manuscripts depend either on V or on L, without notable interaction.

Tragedies

The manuscripts of the tragedies[1] fall into two classes. On the one hand, there is the 'Etruscus' Laurentianus plut. 37, 13 (E; 11th–12th century); F. Leo based his edition on this manuscript. The other group (A) has only late representatives (beginning with the second half of the 14th century), but in all probability is traced to a 4th century edition; therefore, the evidence contained in it is independent. In both classes the order of the plays is different. The praetexta *Octavia* only appears in the late group. Some manuscripts of the A class exhibit corrections taken from representatives of the Etruscus class.

Influence[2]

Tacitus respectfully describes Seneca's death (Tac. *ann.* 15. 60–64); in other instances of his historical works a certain moralizing reproof

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[1] S. now O. Zwierlein, Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas, AAWM 1983, 3; A. P. MacGregor, The Manuscripts of Seneca's Tragedies: A Handlist, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1134–1241; fundamental O. Zwierlein, preface to the Oxford edition of 1986 (repr. with corr. 1987).

[2] General works on Seneca's influence: A. Bridoux, Le stoïcisme et son influence, Paris 1966; M. Spanneut, Permanence du stoïcisme. De Zénon à Malraux, Gembloux 1973; P. Grimal, Sénèque, Paris 1981 (not identical with 1978), 110–126; on his influence in antiquity: W. Trillitzsch 1971; O. Zwierlein, Senecas Hercules im Lichte kaiserzeitlicher und spätantiker Deutung, AAWM 1984, 6; on Seneca in the Middle Ages: K. D. Nothdurft, Studien zum Einfluß Senecas auf die Philosophie und Theologie des 12. und 13. Jh., Leiden 1963; L. D. Reynolds 1965; s. also Editions, *apocol., Medieval Commentary*; M. Palma, ed., N. Trevet, Commento alle *Troades* di Seneca, Roma 1977; on Seneca in the Modern Age: C. Mouchel, Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance, Marburg 1990; F. L. Lucas, Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy, Cambridge 1922; T. S. Eliot, Seneca in Elizabethan Translation (1927), in: T.S.E., Selected Essays, London 2nd ed. 1934, 65–105; T. S. Eliot, Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca (1927), ibid. 126–140; K. Vossler, Die Antike und die Bühnendichtung der Romanen, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 7, 1927/1928, Leipzig 1930, 219–256, repr. in: K.V., Die Romanische Welt, München 1965, 60–92; cf. also E. Lefèvre, ed., 18–21; A. Alaejos, Séneca, Maimónides y Luis Vives, Contemporanea 4, 1936, 140–145; J. Busch, Das Geschlecht der Atriden in Mykene. Eine Stoffgeschichte der dramatischen Bearbeitungen in der Weltliteratur, diss. Göttingen 1951; A. Block, Medea-Dramen der Weltliteratur,

is felt.[1] Caligula pertinently characterized his style as 'sand without lime' (Suet. *Cal.* 35. 2).[2] Quintilian, who adhered to a 'classical' ideal of style, consequently rejected Seneca (Quint. 10. 1. 125–131). Fronto and Gellius the archaists, likewise attacked him. Marcus Aurelius—though both a Roman and a Stoic—never mentioned him. The Christians, however, liked to quote him as an authority. In the 4th century, a correspondence of Seneca and St. Paul was forged, a concoction known to Jerome already. These letters, together with the meeting of Seneca's brother Gallio and St. Paul reported in the *Acts of the Apostles* (18. 12–17), probably contributed to the survival of Seneca's writings. The Church Fathers still read works of Seneca lost for us.[3]

Seneca's tragedies influenced Lucan and Silius. Their impact on Prudentius and the Christian poets of Southern Gaul was considerable.[4] In Boethius' *Consolatio*, the lyric poems written in short lines recall Seneca's choruses.

In the Carolingian epoch texts of Seneca reappeared (except for the *Dialogi* and the *tragedies*). In the 12th century he was much read in classrooms and, of course, exploited as a source of maxims; the awakening of natural science in France favored the dissemination of the *Naturales quaestiones*, whereas the influence of the tragedies remained

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diss. Göttingen 1957; J. Jacquot, ed., Les tragédies de Sénèque et le théâtre de la Renaissance, Paris 1964; C. Wanke, Seneca Lucan Corneille. Studien zum Manierismus der römischen Kaiserzeit und der französischen Klassik, Heidelberg 1964; A. Rothe, Quevedo und Seneca, Genève 1965; P. Bosshard, Die Beziehungen zwischen Rousseaus *Zweitem Discours* und dem *90. Brief* von Seneca, Zürich 1967; W. H. Friedrich, Racines *Phèdre* und ihre antiken Vorbilder, in: J. von Stackelberg, ed., Das französiche Theater. Vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart, 1, Düsseldorf 1968, 182–200; B. R. Rees, English Seneca: A Preamble, G&R ser. 2, 16, 1969, 119–133; Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by L. Battles, A. Malan Hugo, Leiden 1969; K. A. Blüher, Seneca in Spanien. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Seneca-Rezeption in Spanien vom 13. bis 17. Jh., Bern 1969; the influence of the *De otio* began with Diderot: I. Dionigi, edition 1983.

[1] E.g. Tac. *ann.* 13. 3. 1; 13. 11. 2; indirectly 13. 18. 1.

[2] J. Stroux, Vier Zeugnisse zur römischen Literaturgeschichte der Kaiserzeit, II: Caligulas Urteil über den Stil Senecas, Philologus 86, 1931, 349–355.

[3] In his *Formula honestae vitae* Martin of Braga (late 6th century) probably followed Seneca's lost *De officiis*; he also imitated the *De ira* (Conte, LG 422).

[4] R. Hentze, Die Nutzung von Senecas Tragödien im *Romanus-Hymnus* des Prudentius, WJA n.s. 11, 1985, 135–150; W. Trillitzsch, Seneca tragicus—Nachleben und Beurteilung im lateinischen Mittelalter von Spätantike bis Renaissancehumanismus, Philologus 122, 1978, 120–136.

scarce. Dante had little knowledge of Latin drama and regarded tragedy and comedy as narrative genres. Petrarch, however, was familiar with Seneca's dramas. Lovato Lovati was the first to rediscover Seneca's metric art; his pupil, Albertino Mussato, wrote a commentary on his tragedies and was the author of the first drama of modern times written in the classical style, the *Ecerinis*, in five acts (1315).[1]

Ever since that time Seneca has been the source of a tragic and emotional style for the European theater. This is true for Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and England.[2] Around 1400, *Medea, Thyestes*, and *Troades* were translated into Catalan. In the 15th century all the tragedies had been translated into Spanish. Camões (d. 1580) was influenced by Seneca. An Italian version by Dolce appeared in 1560; moreover, numerous versions for the stage were made, culminating in Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio's tragedies (d. 1573). Seneca could be read in French since 1556 (Charles Toutain, Seneca's *Agamemnon*); in 1629 Benoît Bauduyn made all of the tragedies accessible in his mother tongue. Following Seneca (but with explicit reference to the Greeks) Jodelle composed the first French tragedy, *Cleopatra as a prisoner* (performed 1552). Among the French classics, Corneille (d. 1684), who had been educated by Jesuits, was a 'Latinist' (d. 1684), whereas Racine (d. 1699), a disciple of the Jansenists, was a 'Hellenist'. It is no wonder, then, that Corneille's *Médée* originates in Seneca, but even Racine adapted the most impressive scenes of this *Phèdre* from Seneca.

In Germany Seneca was printed immediately after the *editio princeps* and met with a lively scholarly and didactic interest on the part of both humanists[3] and reformers.[4] In Poland, Germany, and other European countries Seneca's tragedies inspired Neo-Latin learned and scholastic dramas;[5] this was one of the channels through which

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[1] A. MacGregor, Mussato's Commentary on Seneca's Tragedies. New Fragments, ICS 5, 1980, 149–162; Hubert Müller, Früher Humanismus in Oberitalien. Albertino Mussato: *Ecerinis*, Frankfurt 1987. On the other hand, the very popular commentary by N. Treveth, an English Dominican (14th century), followed Scholastic traditions.

[2] G. Braden, Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition. Anger's Privilege, New Haven 1985; M. Helzle, Seneca and Elizabethan Revenge Tragedies. Aspects of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, A&A 31, 1985, 137–152.

[3] E.g. R. Agricola, Celtis, Luder, Schedel.

[4] E.g. Melanchthon and Calvin: A. Ganoczy, S. Scheld, Herrschaft, Tugend, Vorsehung. Hermeneutik, Deutung und Veröffentlichung handschriftlicher Annotationen Calvins zu sieben Senecatragödien und der *Pharsalia* Lucans, Wiesbaden 1982.

[5] Heinsius and Grotius wrote dramas following strict classical standards; Opitz

Seneca's style penetrated into dramas written in Dutch or German (Vondel; Gryphius).

As a rule, English dramatists were less familiar with the Greeks than with Seneca, whose *Ten Tragedies* had been translated in English between 1559 and 1581. For Shakespeare, Seneca was perhaps the most influential classical author, along with Ovid, Plutarch, and Plautus.[1] Seneca's presence is often felt in the pessimistic atmosphere, in many a gloomy and introspective hero, in a tyrant like Richard III, in the apparitions of spirits, in scenes of witchcraft and madness (cf. *Macbeth* with *Hercules furens*), and, finally, in the representation of torture and murder on the stage. In the domain of form, Seneca's influence extends to monologue, stichomythy, sometimes even theentire plot (*Richard III*) and at every step a delight in hyperbolic expression. Lessing (d. 1781) would defend Seneca the tragedian against the Graecophil Brumoy,[2] and during the French Revolution the dramatist Alfieri, who hated tyranny, would follow Voltaire, Racine, and Seneca. But with the rise of German philhellenism Seneca's glory waned.

The *Apocolocyntosis* was used in the *Octavia* ascribed to Seneca and was probably known to Ausonius. Radbertus (9th century) would quote it in his *Vita Walae.* In the 16th and 17th centuries it would find imitators.[3] J.-J. Rousseau was its most famous translator. Menippean satire in the vein of Lucian and Seneca would have a great future as a literary genre, especially in England.

The *Naturales quaestiones* were studied in the Middle Ages. Roger Bacon's *Opus maius* (13th century) deserves mention. In the modern age Goethe appreciated the work (in his *Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre*); Humboldt repeatedly cited it in his *Kosmos.*

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imitated Seneca's *Troades* in German Alexandrines; P. Stachel, Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama, Berlin 1907; A. Stender-Petersen, Tragoediae sacrae: Materialien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der polnisch-lateinischen Jesuitendramatik der Frühzeit, Tartu 1931.

[1] R. S. Miola, Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy. The Influence of Seneca, Oxford 1992.

[2] *Von den lateinischen Trauerspielen, welche unter dem Namen des Seneca bekannt sind,* in: Sämtliche Werke, vol. 6, eds. K. Lachmann, F. Muncker, Stuttgart, 3rd ed. 1890, 167–242 (on this: W. Barner, Produktive Rezeption. Lessing und die Tragödien Senecas, München 1973).

[3] R. Roncali, L'*Apocolocyntosis* nel Cinquecento. Da Erasmo all'elezione di Enrico IV, QS 6, 1980, 2, 365–379; Justus Lipsius followed the *Apocolocyntosis* in his *Somnium: Lusus in nostri aevi criticos* (1581).

Roger Bacon maintained that he had rediscovered the *Dialogi* in 1266 and used them for his *Moralis philosophia*. Chaucer exploited the *Epistulae morales*, although his knowledge was perhaps second-hand. The Renaissance authors read Seneca's letters and treatises in the original; Erasmus' edition of 1555 enhanced Seneca's popularity. A French translation had been made in the 14th century. Michael Herr compiled a German compendium (1536). Dietrich von Pleningen translated the *Consolatio ad Marciam* into German (1519). Arthur Golding made an English version of the *De beneficiis* (publ. 1578); a complete translation of Seneca's prose works was published by Lodge in 1614. S. Richardson created the genre of the novel in letters under the auspices of Seneca's *Epistulae morales* and of the theory of letters on which they are based.[1] The lasting influence of the *De clementia* extended from Cinzio to Corneille's *Cinna* and Mozart's opera *La clemenza di Tito*.[2]

For many readers of the modern age Seneca was a guide to independent thought; at the same time he delivered the modern languages from the constraints of putting clauses together into periods. Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592), the inventor of the modern essay, assimilated Seneca's ideas into a component of his identity.[3] It is thanks to Seneca that the lively prose of the great European moralists could develop: Gracian, Francis Bacon, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, Pascal, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche.[4]

In the 20th century Seneca was rediscovered in the context of a new interest in a 'philosophy of life'.[5] There is even a new understanding of the philosopher's religious feeling, 'the surrender of the

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[1] Wolfg. G. Müller, Der Brief als Spiegel der Seele. Zur Geschichte eines Topos der Epistolartheorie von der Antike bis zu S. Richardson, A&A 26, 1980, 138–157.

[2] G. Solimano, Per la fortuna del *De clementia* nel cinquecento. La *Cleopatra* di G. B. Giraldi Cinzio, Rassegna della letteratura italiana (Firenze) 88, 3, 1984, 399–419; W. Seidel, Seneca—Corneille—Mozart, in: M. von Albrecht, W. Schubert, eds., Musik in Antike und Neuzeit, Frankfurt 1987, 109–128.

[3] P. Villey, Les sources et l'évolution des *Essais* de Montaigne, Paris 1908; C. H. Hay, Montaigne lecteur et imitateur de Sénèque, Poitiers 1938; M. von Albrecht, Montaigne und Seneca, in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. della Corte, Urbino 1987, vol. 5, 543–559.

[4] For the 19th century cf. also: F. Hahne, Raabe und Seneca, in: Mitteilungen für die Gesellschaft der Freunde W. Raabes, Der Raabefreund 34, 2, Wolfenbüttel 1944, 18–33.

[5] An essential assessment of the European importance of Latin philosophers: Groethuysen, Anthropologie.

personal center to the Logos of being',[1] a description not totally adequate to the liberating role of this educator of Europe.

Appendix: The Praetexta *Octavia*[2]

The praetexta *Octavia* has been transmitted to us among Seneca's works. It is the only tragedy completely known to us on a Roman subject (praetexta). Seneca appears on the stage; Nero's death is predicted in detail (hence: *ex eventu*). The author's knowledge of contemporary history speaks in favor of a date soon after Nero's death. The parallels with Tacitus may be owing to common sources and do not compel us to assume that the work was written in the 2nd century. The author is unknown.

Nero wants to repudiate his wife Octavia and to marry Poppaea. The people of Rome bring about an insurrection in support of Octavia. Nero violently quenches the riot and condemns Octavia to death.

Editions: Opera: Matth. MORAVUS, Neapoli 1475. * D. ERASMUS, Basileae 1515, corr. 1529 etc. * M. A. MURETUS, Romae 1585. * I. LIPSIUS, Antverpiae (1605), 4th ed. 1642. * F. HAASE, 3 vols., Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1881–1886. * E. HERMES, C. HOSIUS, A. GERCKE, O. HENSE, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1905–1917. * Loeb Edition (TTr): J. W. BASORE (*dial.*), R. M. GUMMERE (*epist.*), T. H. CORCORAN (*nat.*), F. J. MILLER (*trag.*), 10 vols., London 1917–1972. * Budé Edition (TTr): *dial.* (4 vols.), *clem.*, *epist.*, *nat.*, *apocol.*, *benef.*, *trag.*: R. WALTZ, F. PRÉCHAC, A. BOURGERY, P. OLTRAMARE, Paris 1922–1964. * *Phil. writings*: M. ROSENBACH (TTr in strange German), 5 vols., Darmstadt 1987–1989. * *epist.*: A. BELTRAMI, 2 vols., Romae 1931; 2nd ed. 1949. * L. D. REYNOLDS, 2 vols., Oxonii 1965. * W. C. SUMMERS (TC, sel.), London 1910. * C. D. N. COSTA (selection, TTrC), Warminster 1988. * *epist. 1–12; 65*: G. SCARPAT (TTrC), Brescia 1975. * *epist. 88*: A. STÜCKELBERGER (C), Heidelberg 1965. * *epist. 94–95*: M. BELLINCIONI (TTrC), Brescia 1979. * *dial.*: L. D. REYNOLDS, Oxonii 1977. * *dial. 1–5*: G. VIANSINO, Milano 1988. * *dial. 2* (= *const. sap.*): G. AMMENDOLA (C), Napoli 1930. * W. KLEI (TC), diss. Utrecht 1950. * P. GRIMAL (C), Paris 1953. * *dial. 2; 7; 9; 12*: C. D. N. COSTA (T),

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[1] P. TILLICH, The Courage to Be, New Haven, 5th ed. 1954, 13; G. Grass calls Seneca 'a philosopher who might have to say something to us even today': W. RUTZ, Stoa und Stahlbeton. Bemerkungen zur Seneca-Rezeption in G. Grass' Roman *Örtlich betäubt*, Gymnasium 89, 1982, 122–134.

[2] S. the editions of Seneca; M. E. CARBONE, The *Octavia*: Structure, Date, and Authenticity, Phoenix 31, 1977, 48–67; P. KRAGELUND, Prophecy, Populism, and Propaganda in the *Octavia*, Copenhague 1982; D. F. SUTTON, The Dramaturgy of the *Octavia*, Königstein 1983; P. L. SCHMIDT, Die Poetisierung und Mythisierung der Geschichte in der Tragödie *Octavia*, ANRW 2, 32, 2, 1985, 1421–1453; L. Y. WHITMAN (s. editions) believes in Seneca's authorship.

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D. NOVEL

THE ROMAN NOVEL

General Remarks

According to Macrobius (*somn.* 2. 8) the novels of Petronius and Apuleius are comparable to Menander's comedies both for their fictional subject matter and their entertaining character (*argumenta fictis amatorum casibus referta*). Classical antiquity did not develop any theory of the novel proper. The term 'romance' originates in the Middle Ages and denotes (in France) longer verse or prose narratives written in the romance vernacular. The term, 'novel' (Italian: *novella*) was introduced by Boccaccio to denote short, new, and unheard-of stories. Modern classicists use the terms 'novel' or 'romance' for longer fictional narrative in prose.

It is expedient to make a distinction between novels in the narrower and in the larger sense of the word. The first group are serious love-stories[1]—there are numerous Greek examples—and more ludicrous forms, mainly represented in Latin literature. Both types of novel have certain features in common (s. Literary Technique).

In a larger sense the genre comprehends: travel novels,[2] biographical novels[3]—often with an educative tendency,[4] e.g. as a manual for

[1] 1st century B.C.: Chariton; the *Novel of Parthenope and Metiochus*; the *Novel of Chione*; 1st century A.D.: the *Novel of Calligone*; 2nd century: the *Novel of Herpyllis*; Lollianus; Xenophon of Ephesus; Achilles Tatius; Jamblichus; 3rd century: Longus (pastoral novel); Heliodorus; 5th–6th century: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri.* A novel in the narrower sense of the word is 'a longer prose narrative the action of which is dominated by erotic motives and a series of adventures mostly during travels, which can be classified according to certain types' (N. Holzberg 1986, 33); they have a happy ending.

[2] Antonius Diogenes, 1st–2nd century A.D.; Lucian, 2nd century, *True Histories* (a parody).

[3] The *Novel of Aesopus*, 1st century A.D., following older sources; Philostratus; 2nd–3rd century: *Vita Apollonii Tyanei*; Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae.*

[4] 5th–4th century B.C.: Antisthenes, *Cyrus*; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*; 4th–3rd century B.C.: Onesicritus, *Education of Alexander*; ca. 3rd century B.C.: the epistolary novel of the *Seven Sages*; 1st century B.C.: epistolary novel of Ps.-Chion; 4th–5th century A.D.: Synesius, *Osiris and Typhos.*

princes; further there are mythological novels,[1] which are difficult to separate from historical ones,[2] especially, the Novel of Alexander,[3] which combines features of travel novels with such of biographies and of manuals for princes. Finally, novels can become vehicles of illuminist demythification[4] or utopian reverie.[5] On the other hand there is also entertaining literature with a religious tendency. An example is Apuleius, who is a worshipper of Isis; there are Christian examples as well,[6] partly bordering on biographies and travel novels.

In this group of novels the literary patterns are less rigid than in love novels and picaresque novels.

Petronius' *Satyrica* resembles Menippean satire in the fact that they use both prose and verse. However, the Menippean satire usually adopts a determined philosophical standpoint; hence, in it, the author's satirical intention is more visible than in Petronius' novel.

Finally, novels are able to absorb minor genres such as anecdotes, fables, fairy tales, and short stories.

Greek Background

The Greek erotic novel is related to New Comedy not only by its subject, but also by its similar social background: in the Hellenistic epoch, owing to political changes, readers took an increasing interest in the private sphere. The picaresque novel, which found two important representatives in Rome, seems to have a Greek forerunner in the *Novel of Iolaus*. We will discuss the sources of the *Golden Ass* in our chapter on Apuleius. Other traditions relevant to the Latin novel are those of mythological novels, Alexander novels, erotic novels (*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*) and of hagiography.

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[1] 2nd century B.C.: Hegesianax; Dionysius Scytobrachion; 4th century A.D.: Ps.-Dictys; 6th century A.D.: Ps.-Dares.

[2] The *Novel of Ninus*: 1st century B.C.; the *Novel of Sesonchosis*: 1st century A.D.

[3] Ps.-Callisthenes, 3rd century A.D.; Latinized by Julius Valerius, 3rd–4th century A.D.

[4] 4th–3rd century B.C.: Euhemerus.

[5] 3rd or 2nd century B.C.: Iambulus.

[6] E.g. 2nd century A.D.: The *Acts of Saints Paul and Thecla*; 3rd–4th century: the Graeco-Latin *Pseudo-Clementines*; since the 4th century there are also hagiographic novels; these are akin to biographical and didactic novels.

Roman Development

For us, Petronius' *Satyrica* and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius are highlights of the classical novel. Sisenna's *Milesiae* and Varro's *Menippeae* were important precursors, although Varro had no overall plot. The Latin novel is not only part of the general tradition of the classical novel but also of a specific Latin literary development. Moreover its most significant manifestations reflect the intellectual and social situation of their epochs.

Typically enough, at the moment when Lucan developed epic into a highly emotional genre, and despaired of representing a meaningful universe of nature, history, and politics, a less pretentious narrative genre, the novel, received fresh impetus. It was a document of an oversophisticated society which had to face the decline of the old aristocracy, of instruction and of education on the one hand, and, on the other, the rise of rich freedmen: a double problem which the same society was free and unprejudiced enough to ridicule.

In the 2nd century A.D. the conditions fostering the development of the Latin novel were slightly different but no less typical: after the end of political epic under Domitian, the center of interest began to shift from Rome to the periphery of the empire. Barbarians increasingly disturbed world peace, and Marcus Aurelius, the last 'adopted' emperor, was one of the last rulers to find support in Stoic philosophy, before *ratio* definitively quit the field to *religio.* Under these circumstances, many readers felt the contemporary importance of both the form and the content of Apuleius' novel: it described an individual's experience, colorful and difficult to coordinate, within an unpredictable world of perpetual caleidoscopic change. Attention was no longer focussed on the political community but on the individual. Finally, there was a loose, though not trivial, philosophical and religious framework, the Platonic orientation of which was pointing to the future.

Literary Technique

Several literary techniques merge in the novel: they derive from epic, historiography, short story, fairy tale, declamation, and drama. Sometimes the erotic novel is called δρᾶμα, σύνταγμα δραματικόν, *fabula,* or *mimus.* As in comedy, a loving couple is in the center of interest, and the action takes place in a middle class ambience. The closeness to real life often conjured up by ancient theorists of comedy is even

less true for the novel than for comedy, for the plots are often fanciful; they accumulate sensational events which, though not entirely inconceivable, would probably not occur in such concentration.

The serious Greek love novel exhibits some typical features which—partly transformed—are equally relevant for the humorous and ironical Latin novel: a loving couple of unswerving faithfulness and purity is separated by adverse circumstances, often owing to the wrath of a deity. Let us list some typical situations: sea storm, shipwreck, captivity, slavery, imminent loss of innocence felicitously averted at the last moment, danger of life, and even apparent death. In the end the lovers are happily reunited.

The narrative technique is modeled on historiography.[1] If the lovers are separated, the author pursues two parallel strands of action. Furthermore, he inserts short stories and excursuses. Narratives in the first person and stories within the story, though more typical of epic than of historiography, appear in later novels, especially Roman ones, for which, as a rule, the *Odyssey* is an authoritative literary model.

Individual scenes are reminiscent of tragedy and comedy: dialogues replace reports, monologues are a substitute for psychological analysis. Stock scenes of drama are frequent: initial expository dialogue, scenes of deception, of trial, and of recognition.

The technique of humorous novels is similar in many respects. There is the angry deity, the typical adventures of travellers and sailors, the standard scenes of drama.

However, we should not overlook the serious differences which warn us against exclusively deriving the Roman novel from Greek erotic novels. Given the absolute faithfulness of the separated lovers, idealistic love novels practically do not allow sexual scenes, which, on the contrary, are a permanent item in the repertoire of comic novels. Moreover it is open to question whether the relationship of Encolpius and Giton in Petronius was primarily conceived as a parody of romantic love. For sure, parodying a literary genre is not sufficient reason for writing a novel in Latin. Moreover, the links to Greek traditions like the *Novel of Iolaus* show that the humorous novel could already boast a lineage of its own.

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[1] Cf. e.g. K. Plepelits in the introduction to his translation of Chariton, Stuttgart 1976, 10–11.

Language and Style

The two preserved great Latin novels differ considerably in language and style. In Petronius there is a plurality of linguistic levels: poetry, the narrator's urbane prose, and the vulgar jargon of the freedmen. In Apuleius an artfully rhymed prose prevails, in harmony with the tastes of the epoch of the 'second sophists'. His prose, if less precise and sober than that of Petronius and markedly artistic and playful, is more consistent. It is true that Apuleius often borders on poetic style, but he never lapses into verse. Occasionally, there is a touch of colloquial language but the naturalism of the dialogues of Petronius' freedmen is eschewed.

Later, a simplification of language can be observed, which sometimes verges on vulgarity. Yet compared to Petronius' sophisticated imitation of vulgar Latin, there is a difference of quality, since vulgarisms now are no longer intended as a caricature.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Petronius presents his work as *novae simplicitatis opus*, 'a work of fresh simplicity' (132). In the first place this refers to content, but to the principle of 'calling a spade a spade' there is not only a moral side but also a stylistic one. This rule converges with the *grandis et pudica oratio*, 'the great and modest style' (2) adored by Petronius' depraved rhetor Agamemnon.

Granted, Petronius uses the decadent poet Eumolpus as a mouthpiece to present some samples of poetry; nevertheless, they ought not to be regarded as examples of 'bad literature'. Former generations of scholars were right in considering him an *auctor purissimae impuritatis*, 'author of the purest impurity'. His Latin is always entirely adequate to his subject matter.

While Petronius has his heroes discuss the decline of oratory and—in the absence of chaste deeds—praise the chastity of words, Apuleius explicitly lays down in program the reader's entertainment and—in a deliberate understatement—sides with the *fabula Milesia*, that is to say, with literature of light reading. The literary claims of Petronius rest somewhat above the actual level of his style; those of Apuleius, clearly below: He does not reveal at the beginning that the story of the ass will gain deeper meaning in the end.

Ideas II

It is debated whether Petronius' work aims at mere entertainment or should be read as a satire. This antithesis is perhaps inadequate. An analysis of vocabulary as compared to content showed that Petronius criticizes the meaningless multiplication of almost unlimitedly available enjoyments. Without taking a teacher's attitude he indirectly suggests that he does know the advantages of wise restraint—if not in the field of morals, certainly in the domain of good taste. Nevertheless we should not make an Epicurean doctrinary out of him, and even less a Stoic, although he is familiar with the ideas of both schools. At the best he might be called an especially refined satirist who never offends his readers by revealing his intention.

For Apuleius the corresponding problem is posed in different terms: the body of the novel is so full of light entertainment that many readers deem the religious ending an unorganic and unconvincing addition. By way of a patient study of detail, scholars have evinced intimate connections between the main narrative and the ending; furthermore, they discovered convergencies of theme between the work as a whole and its parts, including the episodes. Therefore, an alternative one way or the other would be inadequate here. The 'autobiographical' novel, in addition, is modeled on reports of philosophical or religious conversions and is an important forerunner of Christian autobiography. Nevertheless it is most enjoyable reading. A strict separation of 'serious' and 'light' literature, once again, proves impracticable. What is best in both novels is owing to the personal talent of the authors, not to genre.

Petronius and Apuleius gave a new direction to the genre of novel, each of them in harmony with the tastes of his generation: Petronius did so in terms of social criticism. Apuleius, in terms of philosophy and religion. By doing so both of them indirectly outgrew the rather trivial perspective of the idealistic love novel,[1] partly by disillusion, partly by intensification. Yet, parody on this type of literature should not be considered the main purpose of the Roman authors; it is a by-product of their intentions which primarily sprang from their epochs and personalities.

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[1] N. Holzberg 1986 stressed the 'compensating' function of idealistic novels during the Hellenistic period (e.g. 39). R. Merkelbach 1962 established an all-too schematic relationship to mystery cults; however, there is no doubt that a personal striving for happiness and salvation—if in a secular sense—was a motive for writing such novels.

Bibl.: S. Stephens, J. Winkler, Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments, Princeton 1995. * Cf. the collection of articles edited by G. Schmeling (below) and the monographs by T. Hägg and N. Holzberg; R. Johne, in: H. Kuch, ed. (s. below) 198–230; important are the yearly *Groningen Symposia on the Novel*. S. also our chapters on Petronius and Apuleius.

G. Anderson, Ancient Fiction. The Novel in the Graeco-Roman World, London 1984. * F. M. Fröhlke, Petron. Struktur und Wirklichkeit. Bausteine zu einer Poetik des antiken Romans, Frankfurt 1977. * H. Gärtner, ed., Beiträge zum griechischen Liebesroman, Hildesheim 1984 (collection of articles). * G. Giangrande, On the Origins of the Greek Romance. The Birth of a Literary Form, Eranos 60, 1962, 132–159. * T. Hägg, The Novel in Antiquity, Oxford 1983. * R. Helm, Der antike Roman, Göttingen 2nd ed. 1956. * H. Hofmann, ed., Latin Fiction, London 1997. * N. Holzberg, The Ancient Novel. An Introduction, London 1995. * K. Kerényi, Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Betrachtung (1927), Darmstadt 3rd ed. 1973. * H. Kuch, Gattungstheoretische Überlegungen zum antiken Roman, Philologus 129, 1985, 3–19. * H. Kuch, ed., Der antike Roman, Berlin 1989. * H. Kuch, Zur Gattungsgeschichte und Gattungstheorie des antiken Romans, Eikasmos 3, 1992, 223–233. * R. Merkelbach, Roman und Mysterium in der Antike, München 1962. * C. W. Müller, Der griechische Roman, in: E. Vogt, ed., Griechische Literatur (= Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. 2), Wiesbaden 1981, 377–412. * L. Pepe, Per una storia della narrativa latina, Napoli 2nd ed. 1967 (corr. and augm.). * B. E. Perry, The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins, Berkeley 1967. * E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer (1876), Darmstadt 5th ed. 1974 * G. Schmeling, ed., The Novel in the Ancient World, Leiden 1996. * E. Schwartz, Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman, Berlin (1896) 2nd ed. 1943. * P. G. Walsh, The Roman Novel. The *Satyricon* of Petronius and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, Cambridge 1970. * F. Wehrli, Einheit und Vorgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Romanliteratur, MH 22, 1965, 133–154. * O. Weinreich, Der griechische Liebesroman, Zürich 1962.

PETRONIUS

Life and Dates

The portrait of Petronius as drawn by Tacitus[1] (*ann.* 16. 18) is in harmony with the atmosphere of the novel: a master of *savoir vivre*,

[1] Petronius in Tacitus: E. Marmorale 1948, 53–63 (with bibl.): his identification with the author of the *Satyrica* became the rule since J. J. Scaliger (1571).

knowing how to enjoy life in a sophisticated way, he was at Nero's court the greatest authority in matters of taste. Nevertheless, he was energetic as a consul and governor. Finally, he was suspected of conspiracy; when compelled to commit suicide, he did not resort to the consolations of philosophy, but joked with his friends, rewarding or punishing his subjects. He did not flatter the mighties of the world, and in the end eased his conscience by a detailed list of transgressions—not his, but those of the emperor. It is true that Tacitus does not mention his writings, but neither does he those of Seneca (*ann.* 15. 60–63). It fits into the portrait of his character that he smashed a precious dipper made of fluorite, lest Nero should get it (Plin. *nat.* 37. 20). If Petronius reproached extravagant Nero with 'petty and niggardly spirit' (Plut. *mor.* 60 e), we may believe the author of the novel capable of such irony. Less reliable are conclusions based on psychology of the subconscious: from passages like 26. 4–5 and 140. 11 it does not follow that the author was a voyeur, all the more so as it has been proved that in the relevant texts there is no question of voyeurism.[1] Nevertheless the term 'voyeur' has enjoyed a triumphant progress in Petronian studies; it is referred—not particularly in good taste—to the the spectator's role of the artist.—The first name Titus (against the manuscripts of Tacitus) is supported by parallel evidence; if *Arbiter*, obviously, was only an epithet,[2] not an official cognomen, efforts to identify him with other known Petronii are not without prospect.[3]

External evidence, of course, has to be examined on the text. Does it date from the 1st, the 2nd, or the 3rd century? To some, the homage to 'Augustus' (60. 7) seems to belong to the Augustan era;[4] others ascribe the novel to the period of Domitian.[5] Even Niebuhr, who (discussing this so-called 'Petronian question') advocated a late date (2nd–3rd century) found followers.[6]

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[1] Correct C. Gill, The Sexual Episodes in the Satyricon, CPh 68, 1973, 172–185 (against J. P. Sullivan).

[2] A. Collignon 1892, 335.

[3] For Petronius' date: G. Bagnani 1954; K. F. C. Rose 1971; M. S. Smith, *Cena* (commentary) 1975, 213–214; W. Eck, ZPE 42, 1981, 227–256, esp. 227–230 quotes a new document affixing to the consulate of P. Petronius Niger the date of July 62; as for the social background: J. Bodel 1984.

[4] G. C. Giardina, *Augusto patri patriae feliciter* (Petronio 60. 7), Maia 24, 1972, 67–68.

[5] G. Puzis 1966 (bibl.).

[6] E. Marmorale 1948, 315–323: after A.D. 180; id., Storia della letteratura latina, Napoli, 8th ed. 1954, 261 (A.D. 248).

To be sure, considerations of economic[1] history, if nothing else, suggest a date under Claudius: the freedman appears as a parvenu, even as wealth incarnate. Only in the 1st century A.D. is a *nouveau riche* of such social extraction, as depicted by Petronius, a striking novelty, worthy of literary attention. Similarly, Molière would describe the *bourgeois gentilhomme* at a moment when this social phenomenon was fresh enough to be attractive; the same is true of Arthur Landsberger's *Raffke* of 1924. Trimalchio made a fortune by selling Campanian wine; as early as in the second half of the 1st century this would no longer have been possible to such an extent, given the competition of Gaul and Spain in this branch, not to speak of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. As ship-owners, Trimalchio and Lichas are free entrepreneurs; in the 2nd century there were stricter forms of official control in this domain. The economy of *latifundia* (48. 3; 77. 3) is a favorite theme of contemporary authors;[2] the huge hosts of slaves mentioned in Petronius (53. 2) tell in favor of the 1st century as well, at the end of which they would be replaced, to a large extent, by the more profitable smallholders. Likewise, the master's power over life and death of his slaves (taken for granted in Petronius 53. 3) is indicative of the period before Hadrian (Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 18. 7); the right to expose slaves to wild animals in the arena (implied elsewhere: 45. 8) reflects the situation before the *lex Petronia de servis* which probably dates from 61. Did the author of the novel propose this law? In fact, his attitude to the slave problem[3] is humane.

Moreover, there appear several literary themes typical of the 1st century A.D.: the decline of oratory (1–5), earlier deplored by Seneca the Elder and later by Quintilian and Tacitus; further, the criticism of the misuse of speech in scholastic declamation (closely following the great Augustan orator Cassius Severus: Sen. *contr.* 3 *praef.*); and, last but not least, the problem of the 'sublime' style (2. 6; 4. 3), handled by the anonymous Περὶ ὕψους (usually assigned to the 1st

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[1] H. C. Schnur, The Economic background of the Satyricon, Latomus 18, 1959, 790–799; as for the character of the *nouveau riche*: C. Stöcker 1969, 62–64; Aristot. *rhet.* 2. 16; Lucian, *hist. conscr.* 20; G. Schmeling, Trimalchio's Menu and Wine List, CPh 65, 1970, 248–251; B. Baldwin, Trimalchio's Corinthian Plate, CPh 68, 1973, 46–47; doubts concerning economic realism in: R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge 2nd ed. 1982, 238–248.

[2] Sen. *epist.* 87. 7; 89. 20; 90. 39; cf. Plin. *nat.* 18. 4. 19–21; Colum. 1 *praef.* 12–13; 1. 1. 18–20; 1. 7. 3.

[3] 71. 1; cf. Sen. *dial.* 7 (= *vit. beat.*). 24. 3; *benef.* 3. 18. 2; 3. 22. 3.

century A.D.) in a somewhat different way but with the same moral and esthetic severity. Like Petronius, he does not separate poetry from eloquence; in accordance with the tastes of the Neronian epoch he holds *ingenium* in high esteem.[1] The numerous parallels with Seneca[2] (though often commonplace) and, above all, the detailed criticism of Lucan (118), which makes sense only if directed against a young contemporary, bear the stamp of that epoch. The same is true for historical and biographical allusions to the eras of Claudius and Nero[3] which, though not always cogent, are too numerous to be a matter of chance; it was misleading, however, to identify the *Satyrica* as a kind of *roman à clé* with the list of Nero's transgressions mentioned by Tacitus. No less typical of the epoch is the dominant role of the sexual god Priapus, to whom, in the same century, the *Carmina Priapea*, paid homage.

Consequently it is a reasonable guess that the action of the novel is roughly laid in the reign of Claudius (perhaps after Tiberius' reforms following the financial crisis of 33) and that the *Satyrica* was written in the sixties, not earlier than Lucan had published his first three books.[4]

Survey of the Work

The part of the work known to us to some degree includes, as far as we know, parts of books 14–16; hence, what we have is only a small portion of the original text.[5] The fragmentary state of preservation does not allow a complete reconstruction of the plot; but, since the scenes of action change frequently and each episode is relatively self-contained, this loss is perhaps less disturbing than it would be in a differently structured work.[6] For us there is a kaleidoscopic succession of shifting situations.

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[1] The then fashionable catchword (cf. NORDEN, Kunstprosa 2, 892) is also found in Petron. 2. 4; 83. 9.

[2] A. COLLIGNON 1892, 291–303; K. F. C. ROSE 1971, 69–74; E. CIZEK, L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques, Leiden 1972, 408–409; J. P. SULLIVAN 1968, 465–466.

[3] G. BOISSIER, L'opposition sous les Césars, Paris 1875, chapter 5; K. F. C. ROSE 1971, 75–86; P. G. WALSH 1970, 244–247.

[4] K. F. C. ROSE 1971, 60–68; 87–94 (for A.D. 64–65). The effort to deny any reference to Lucan is no more than a theoretical experiment: P. A. GEORGE, Petronius and Lucan *De Bello Civili*, CQ 68, 1974, 119–133.

[5] M. BROŻEK 1968; H. VAN THIEL 1971, 21–24 (bibl.).

[6] T. SINKO, De famis et libidinis in fabula Petroniana momento, Eos 36, 1935, 385–412; V. CIAFFI, Struttura del *Satyricon*, Torino 1955; H. VAN THIEL 1971, 26–65 (bibl.).

1–11: In a small Greek town of Campania (Puteoli?)[1] the student Encolpius (the narrator of the novel) and Agamemnon, a teacher of rhetoric, discuss problems of rhetoric and education. Then Encolpius loses his way in search for his companion Ascyltus. He asks a greengrocer: 'Mother, do you know where I live?' 'Of course', she replies and leads him to a brothel. He flees and happens to meet the long-desired Ascyltus, but soon he begins to squabble with him over young Giton.

12–15: On the market the friends exchange stolen property for stolen property.

16–26. 6: In their lodging, nymphomaniac Quartilla[2] surprises them. To punish them for having disturbed previously the mysteries of Priapus she orders them off to extremely fatiguing orgies.

26. 7–78: On the third day they seize the opportunity of attending a banquet given by nouveau-riche Trimalchio, a freedman, together with Agamemnon. The description of this feast occupies a considerable part of the preserved text. It ends in a mock burial of the host.[3]

79–82: Soon, however, jealousy breaks up afresh between Ascyltus and Encolpius. Giton is compelled to make his choice and decides in favor of Ascyltus. Poor abandoned Encolpius shuts himself up in his room for three days.[4] Then, he goes out into the road, armed to the teeth, to murder his rival; actually, however, to be disarmed by a soldier—to his own relief.

83–99: In a gallery of paintings Encolpius meets Eumolpus, a decadent poet who tells him many things: his love-story with a pupil in Pergamon, a highly moral philippic against the decadence of the art of painting, and a poem on the fall of Troy, the recitation of which the listeners bring to a stop by a shower of stones. Encolpius invites the poet to dinner under the condition that he should *not* recite any verse that day—an ironic reversal of the habit of rewarding rhapsodes and story-tellers with a meal. In the meantime Encolpius discovers his beloved Giton in the baths and carries him away to his accommodation. Yet by the dinner, Eumolpus begins to court Giton and, contrary to the agreement, to speak in verse. Encolpius reminds him of his promise; Giton, however, sides with the poet. For fear of a conflict Giton runs away, followed by Eumolpus who locks the door from outside. Poor Encolpius is about to hang himself, when the both enter anew to act, on their part, a scene of suicide: Giton to this end uses a

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[1] A. Daviault, La destination d'Encolpe et la structure du *Satiricon*. Conjectures, CEA 15, 1983, 29–46; F. Sbordone, Contributo epigrafico e onomastico alla questione petroniana, in: La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio—Studi e prospettive, Atti del Convegno internazionale, 11–15 novembre 1979, Napoli 1982, 255–264; cf. also J. Bodel 1984.

[2] A. Aragosta, Petronio: L'episodio di Quartilla (*Satyr.* 16–26. 6), Bologna 1988.

[3] Seneca (*epist.* 12. 8) reports a similar story of a certain Pacuvius.

[4] H. van Thiel 1971, 37 places 81. 1–2 only after 82. 6 (less convincing psychologically).

(blunt) razor (94). At this moment, the host appears with whom the poet engages in a mêlée, while Encolpius takes his chance and shuts himself up with Giton. In search for the latter, Ascyltus enters the room, without finding the boy who hides under the bed. Eumolpus, Encolpius, and Giton are reconciled and set out for a voyage together.

100–115: Overhearing a conversation, Encolpius understands that he is on the ship of his former enemy, Lichas of Tarentum. Eumolpus disguises him and Giton as convicts; a passenger observes them. Lichas and Tryphaena, his companion, who had been in love with Giton for a long time, dream at the same time that the latter and Encolpius are on board. The informant betrays them, and they are punished. Tryphaena and her servants recognize Giton's voice, whereas Lichas in his turn identifies Encolpius by a physical distinguishing mark. There follows a scene of trial with two highly finished pleas of Eumolpus framing a harsh retort of Lichas. Soon, however, the adversaries come to grips and, as in an epic or in a book of history, a battle scene is followed by a truce and a treaty. Eumolpus embellishes the peace celebrations by reciting two poetic dirges in honor of Giton's hair and telling the story of the widow of Ephesus (111–112). Meanwhile a storm breaks out, which sweeps the captain from board. While Tryphaena hides herself in the life boat, Encolpius and Giton embrace each other waiting for death by drowning. Plundering fishermen become their life-savers; at the last moment Eumolpus is discovered in the cabin writing poetry, and is indignant at being disturbed. The next day Lichas' corpse is washed ashore, and his enemies are pleased indeed (cf. *libenter*) to bury him—not without an edifying rhetorical meditation of Encolpius.

116–141: The friends are told by a manager of an estate that the nearby city of Croton is populated with legacy-hunters. Thereupon Eumolpus pretends to be a childless rich man while the two others figure as his slaves. While walking to the town the poet discourses upon historical epic (118) and recites 295 lines on the civil war (119–124). The swindlers have an easy life; a distinguished lady called Circe[1] falls in love with Encolpius the 'slave'; and Priapus' wrath plays a mean trick on him (or is it Circe's[2] emasculating magic?). To restore his virility he undergoes rather tiresome cures with several witches; true help, however, like in the Odyssey, comes from Mercury (140. 12). Eumolpus is much happier in love: a noble lady, from motives of self-interest, personally brings her two adolescent children to his home (140). At the end of the preserved text Eumolpus bequeathes

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[1] A reconstruction of this passage: H. van Thiel 1971, 51–61.

[2] K. Müller, W. Ehlers, edition 439; W. B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme, Oxford 1954; B. Paetz, Kirke und Odysseus—Überlieferung und Deutung von Homer bis Calderón, Berlin 1970; F. M. Fröhlke 1977, 17–36 (bibl.); D. Blickmann, The Romance of Encolpius and Circe, A&R n.s. 33, 1988, 7–16.

his properties to the legacy-hunters under the condition that they eat his corpse.

Further fragments which do not fit into the context known to us were preserved partly owing to grammatical peculiarities, partly for their poetic merits. There are many points that remain unclear: what is Encolpius' relationship to Massilia?[1] Do expressions like 'murderer' or 'gladiator' allude to previous events or are they only terms of abuse?[2] We know too little about Doris, the love of Encolpius' life (126. 18); this very motif does not allow us to reduce the entire novel to the homosexual relationship to Giton. It would be too narrow an interpretation to use the latter as a psychoanalytical explanation of Encolpius' impotence with Circe or to postulate (by way of a reconstruction of literary history) that the homosexual relationship is a parody of bridal love in the Greek novel.

Sources, Models, und Genres

The generic character of the work is open to multiple interpretations.[3] As it is a narrative of (mostly erotic) adventures of everyday people it may justly be called a 'novel', although this term does not have classical roots and the genre, though existing in classical antiquity, was not based on an explicit theory. Still, we have a description of the genre by Macrobius: *argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus vel multum se Arbiter exercuit vel Apuleium nonnumquam lusisse miramur*, 'the narratives replete with imaginary doings of lovers in which Petronius Arbiter so freely indulged and with which Apuleius, astonishingly, sometimes amused himself' (*somn.* 1. 2. 8). For him, Petronius is the typical representative of novel as Menander is of comedy. The subjects of novels as well as of Menandrean comedies are invented by their authors (quite unlike the mythical or historical plots of epic and tragedy). *Fictis casibus*: within Latin literature, Petronius is the typical representative of 'fiction', today surely the most influential literary genre. If only for this reason he deserves our attention. Petronius' work is comparable to comedy for its erotic subject matter, its fictional plot, and its exclusive use of indirect character portrayal (the latter being a feature distinguishing Petronius from many modern

[1] Cichorius, Studien 438–442; against: R. Waltz, Le lieu et la scène dans le *Satiricon*, RPh 36, 1912, 209–212.

[2] D. D. Mulroy, Petronius 81. 3, CPh 65, 1970, 254–256.

[3] G. Schmeling, The *Satyricon*. Forms in Search of a Genre, CB 47, 1971, 49–53; multiplicity of genres is not identical with lack of orientation: rightly F. M. Fröhlke 1977, 131 against F. I. Zeitlin 1971, 645.

novels). No less instructive is the parallel with Apuleius drawn by Macrobius. Apuleius calls the genre 'Milesian Tales', expressly emphasizing his intention to entertain the reader (though belying it by his religious finale). For Macrobius, likewise, novels have the function *tantum conciliandae aurium voluptatis*, 'merely to gratify the ear'.

By Latinizing the *Milesiaca* of Aristides of Miletus (about 100 B.C.), Cornelius Sisenna (d. 67 B.C.) introduced this genre into Roman literature. This favorite reading of the Roman soldiers who died in the battle of Carrhae consisted of short stories of which some Petronian passages convey a lively impression: examples are stories within the story such as the widow of Ephesus (111–112)[1] and the adolescent of Pergamum (85–87) or episodes easily detachable from their contexts like the matron of Croton (140). This genre, which would be revived by Boccaccio in his *Decameron* is focussed on concise, witty, and coherent isolated narratives of more or less timeless character; a framing story can be dispensed with; if used at all, it is an external link establishing some coherence.[2] In Petronius, however, the adventures of the leading characters are of primary importance. Moreover, the strictly functional structure of the short stories sets a limit to realistic detail. Accordingly, there is a contrast between the concise and brilliant style of the inserted stories and the colorfulness of the main narrative. As a result, the closeness of the *Satyrica* to the *Milesiae*[3] is an undeniable fact and an important partial truth, but does not suffice to explain the work as a whole, all the more as we do not know if Sisenna blended prose and verse and inserted his short stories into a continuous principal plot.

There is no perfect parallel to Petronius' work; however, the recently discovered fragments of a Greek *Novel of Iolaus*[4] offer significant remains

[1] E. Grisebach, Die Wanderung der Novelle Von der treulosen Witwe durch die Weltliteratur, Berlin 1886, 2nd ed. 1889; O. Pecere, Petronio. La novella della matrona di Efeso, Padova 1975; C. W. Müller, Die Witwe von Ephesos. Petrons Novelle und die *Milesiaka* des Aristeides, A&A 26, 1980, 103–121; F. Bömer, Die Witwe von Ephesus, Petron 111, 1 ff. und die 877. von *Tausendundeiner Nacht*, Gymnasium 93, 1986, 138–140; L. Cicu, La matrona di Efeso di Petronio, SIFC 79, 1986, 249–271.

[2] M. Brożek, 1968, 66 postulates a continuous narrative for Sisenna since there are no headings (of the Varronian type) and since Sisenna's work was subdivided into books. But, perhaps, Sisenna's stories were too short and too numerous to be quoted otherwise than by books.

[3] Norden, LG 89–90.

[4] P. Parsons, A Greek *Satyricon*?, BICS 18, 1971, 53–68; R. Merkelbach, Aufforderung zur Beichte, ZPE 11, 1973, 81–100.

of a partly obscene text mingling prose and verse. The serious Greek love novels—to be clearly distinguished from the *Milesiaca*—of course possessed a continuous plot. Petronius shows that he has command of the narrative techniques developed there, as is particularly evinced in stirring or sentimental scenes like the attempted suicide (94) or the lovers' readiness to die together in the sea (114. 8–12). Yet, with our Roman author, sublimity takes a ridiculous turn; a somewhat overstrained earnestness is replaced with humor and 'realism'. Virtuous love proved true by hard trials gives way to rather outspoken licentiousness. Encolpius' attachment to Giton is not immediately comparable to the firm and exclusive erotic and marital relationships of Greek novels; the differences are so considerable that not even a parody is plausible.[1] On the other hand, we mentioned that Encolpius was seriously in love with a woman from whom he was separated; here, however, where the closeness to Greek love novels is felt most strongly, our tradition fails us.

Our novelist is no less familiar with more sublime forms of narrative—epic and history—than he is with tragedy (cf. 80. 3). His parodies of battles (108–109; 134–136) find parallels in novels, history, and epic. The greater the discrepancy of level in style or content, the more effective is the parody: Ascyltus when assaulting young Giton says: *Si Lucretia es, Tarquinium invenisti*, 'if you are a Lucretia, you have found your Tarquin' (9. 5); the *Odyssey* (97. 4–5; 132) and the *Aeneid*[2] are omnipresent, though without pedantry.[3] The wrath of Poseidon or of Juno is replaced with the anger of Priapus,[4] although this motif is not to be sought behind each event (no more than in the *Odyssey*).[5] Just as Ulysses is recognized by his scar, Encolpius is by the shape of a male member (105. 9–10); with the latter he elsewhere engages in a fruitless conversation like Aeneas had done with the dead Dido (132. 11). For all its travesty, this is also an indirect declaration of love to the great authors and certainly evidence of a deeply rooted trust in their indestructibility. Both familiar in form and unfamiliar in content, allusions to sublime literature have a function resembling that of some inserted poems: they enhance the illusion of the dreamy

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[1] A different view in R. Heinze 1899.

[2] 39. 3; 111. 12; 112. 2.

[3] M. H. McDermott, The *Satyricon* as a Parody of the *Odyssey* and Greek Romance, LCM 8, 1983, 82–85.

[4] Reservations in B. Baldwin, *Ira Priapi*, CPh 68, 1973, 294–296.

[5] Kroll, Studien 224.

actor Encolpius to the point of dispersing it. What is more: the archetypal characters and scenes from epic, tragedy, and history help to raise the narrated events to the level of general validity; given the triviality of the subject matter, this is one of the most important artistic functions. In his *Ulysses*, Joyce would systematically exploit the method used incidentally by Petronius: conjuring up great models to emphasize the artificial and 'theatrical' character of his narrative and to relate transitory actions to an immovable background.

The literature on *symposia*[1] furnishes an important structural pattern for the *Cena*: this is true not only for *peripeteiai* like the accident in 54 (cf. Hor. *sat.* 2. 8) or the entry of a late unbidden guest (cf. Plat. *symp.* 212 D–213 A) but also for the intellectual pretensions of the genre (*oportet et inter cenam philologiam nosse*, 'one must not forget one's classical culture even at dinner', 39. 3), which reveal Trimalchio's ignorance (cf. his remarks on astrology, mythology, history, literature, his deplorable verse and the vulgar stories within the story). Many of these passages (and others like 128. 7) become even more vivid when read against the background of Plato's *Symposium*—though we should exclude any intention of mocking Plato. Petronius' *Cena* is, as it were, an anti-*symposium*.

There are also parodies of ritual: witness the marriage of children, the 'revelation' of Oenothea (134. 12) with its reminiscences of aretalogies, and Encolpius' prayer to Priapus.[2] We will come back to the literary function of religious formulas in unreligious epochs.

The title *Satyricon*[3] (scil. *libri*, hence, the nominative is *Satyrica*) means

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[1] J. MARTIN, Symposion. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Form, Paderborn 1931; J. RÉVAY, Horaz und Petron, CPh 17, 1922, 202–212; L. R. SHERO, The Cena in Roman Satire, CPh 18, 1923, 126–143; A. CAMERON, Petronius and Plato, CQ 63, 1969, 367–370; R. DIMUNDO, Da Socrate a Eumolpo. Degradazione dei personaggi e delle funzioni nella novella del fanciullo di Pergamo, MD 10–11, 1983, 255–265; cf. also G. SOMMARIVA, Eumolpo, un Socrate epicureo nel *Satyricon*, ASNP 14, 1984, 25–58.

[2] O. WEINREICH, Gebet und Wunder, in: Genethliakon W. SCHMID, Stuttgart 1929, 169–464, esp. 396–397; H. KLEINKNECHT, Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike, Stuttgart 1937, 190; R. MERKELBACH, Roman und Mysterium in der Antike, München 1962, 128, n. 2; 80, n. 2; J.-P. CÈBE, La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvénal, Paris 1966, 280–282; O. RAITH, Unschuldsbeteuerung und Sündenbekenntnis im Gebet des Enkolp an Priap (Petron 133. 3), StudClas 13, 1971, 109–125.

[3] Of course, a Greek genitive plural. *Satiricon* (which is the reading of the oldest manuscript B, defended by E. MARMORALE 1948, 30–31) would be a hybrid ('macaronic') form; KROLL (Studien 224, n. 46) refers the title to the 'varied content'.

'picaresque stories'. Apart from the fragments of the *Novel of Iolaus*, Petronius is, for us, the first representative of a humorous and realistic novel on society and manners. Possible Greek parallels like the 'ass novel' *Lucius* are much less concerned with the details of daily life than is Petronius. A comparable genre, satire, was created in Rome.

Petronius reveals the limits of so-called 'realism' in antiquity. One borderline was not transcended by the ancients: unlike the figures in Balzac's novels, for instance, characters depicted realistically were not supposed to arouse tragic compassion. Comedy and satire (genres admitting of humor and irony) had accepted everyday life and average persons (or below average) as subjects of literature. There had also been samples of uneducated speech in literary texts: in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and *Lysistrate* the people of Megara and Sparta use their respective dialects, and the women in Theocritus' 15th *Idyll* speak 'broad' and homely Doric; neither of these authors, however, went as far as Petronius. He himself repeatedly refers to an even lower level of texts: the mime (e.g. 19. 1; 117. 4). Part of the repertoire of this genre is, for example, a genteel lady's love for a slave (e.g. 126. 5–11) with its typical mixture of sex and power; the same is true of allusions to processes of digestion (47. 2; 102. 10; 117. 12). More than elsewhere, however, we should beware of mechanistic theories concerning Petronius' sources: his main stimulus may have been the observation of life, though individual features were taken from love elegy (as in the Circe story) or epigram (109 on bald heads).

At best, the mime supplied categories for a stylized representation of events, and even this only within the margin left by the difference between dramatic and narrative literature. Did Petronius shape material congenial to the mime into the form of a novel? Even this statement has to be qualified. Strictly speaking, the form adopted by Petronius is not quite usual for a novel: it is a mixture of prose and verse. Yet such elements are found in some older Greek novels: in Chariton (1st or 2nd century); Xenophon of Ephesus (probably 2nd century); for the rest, this fact speaks in favor of a date before the second Greek sophistic movement.

Above all, inserted poems are a characteristic of the Menippean Satire, which had been assimilated by Varro (d. 27 B.C.) into Latin literature. He had combined Ennian *satura* with the dialogues of Menippus the Cynic of Gadara. We do not know if he had already mingled prose and verse, but this form enjoys large popularity in

many regions (cf. the *Pañcatantra,* an Indian collection of fairy-tales). In fact, there are many connections between Varro and Petronius:[1] both use popular expressions, both insert passages written in the manner of certain poets and parody epic and tragic style; as far as content is concerned, this is true of the identification of the vagrant with Ulysses (cf. Varro's *Sesculixes,* 'One and a half Ulysses'). Menippean Satire is the right place for different genres to meet.

Here Petronius doubtless adheres to a Roman tradition; but he differs from Varro in three respects: first, the *Menippeae* were no long and continuous novel; second, their typical feature had been the use of unreal and fantastic plots as means of social criticism (examples are a trip to the moon or a man's awakening from a sleep of one hundred years), whereas Petronius strives throughout for a plausible (if adventurous) plot, discarding (unlike the so-called travel fabulists) all miraculous and fanciful elements. Third, Petronius (in contradistinction to Varro) mostly shrinks from overtly passing moral verdicts. Finally, he is not concerned with interesting his public in philosophy and scholarship.

With Roman satire,[2] Petronius, on the one hand, has many themes in common—such as the nouveau riche's banquet (cf. Hor. *sat.* 2. 8), or legacy-hunting (cf. Hor. *sat.* 2. 5).[3] On the other hand, he deviates from it: in fact, satire, according to Hegel, needs 'solid principles'.[4] Unlike Roman satirists, Petronius almost never expressly criticizes the facts he describes and avoids philosophical moralizing.

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[1] P. G. Walsh 1970, 19–24; R. Astbury, the editor of Varro (Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta, Lipsiae 1985), argues strenuously that the *Satyrica* is not Varronian Menippean satire (Petronius, P. Oxy 3010, and Menippean Satire, CPh 72, 1977, 22–31).

[2] In favor of a satirical intention: E. Cocchia, La satira e la parodia nel *Satyricon* di Petronio Arbitro, Napoli 1897, repr. 1982; E. Marmorale 1948, 27; N. Holzberg 1986, 73–86; 134 (bibl.); in favor of mere entertainment: J. P. Sullivan 1968; P. G. Walsh 1970; balanced A. Collignon 1892, 14; on the combination of immorality and satire: G. Sandy, Satire in the *Satyricon,* AJPh 90, 1969, 293–303; cf. also J. P. Sullivan, Satire and Realism in Petronius, in: J. P. Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature 2, Satire, London 1963, 73–92.

[3] On this: M. T. Rodríguez, La presenza di Orazio nella *Cena Trimalchionis,* AAPel 57, 1981, 267–280; on his models in general: R. Beck, The *Satyricon,* Satire, Narrator, and Antecedents, MH 39, 1982, 206–214.

[4] *Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik,* 2. 2. 3. 3 c (= *Jubiläumsausgabe,* ed. H. Glockner, vol. 13, Stuttgart, 4th ed. 1964, 118).

Literary Technique

Petronius' character portrayal follows the traditions of Roman satire as well as of Greek theory (from the sophists to Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Philodemus).[1] Moreover he is aware of the practice of New Comedy[2] and historiography. Frequently, however, he draws on real life. He prefers indirect to direct portrayal. Instead of giving a long-winded presentation of his characters, he has them in the manner of comedy manifest themselves by their actions or, in the way of historiography, by speeches. Thus, his characters reveal themselves or we see them through the eyes of their partners.

The most complex problem is posed by the figure of the narrator, Encolpius, who is speaking in the first person. His character is an intriguing mixture of naïve adherence to his own illusions and of an intellectual's superiority. It is tempting to ascribe the illusion to Encolpius the participant in the action and the intellectual aloofness mainly to Encolpius the narrator who, thanks to his knowledge of the plot, holds an edge over his former ego.[3] The complexity of Encolpius' personality is enhanced by the fact that he reacts to a great variety of diverse circumstances, in different ways. As the unity of the novel is essentially based on the figure of the narrator,[4] it is an urgent question whether this unity is merely superficial. To put it differently: is the fickle and metamorphic character of Encolpius only a mechanical product of the variety of scenes and actions? Or is it, rather, the intention of Petronius to demonstrate graphically, by means of the greatest possible variety of vicissitudes, how consistent he is in his inconsistency? The real achievement of Petronius is essentially linked to his invention of this unique character—a significant discovery of Richard Heinze[5] which, however, the great scholar himself strangely attenuated by terming Encolpius an 'average scoundrel'. Encolpius is a powerless intellectual, reacting rather than acting, a modern variety

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[1] H. D. Rankin, Some Comments on Petronius' Portrayal of Character, Eranos 69, 1970, 123–147; cf. also O. Raith 1963, esp. 20–27.

[2] E.g. D. Gagliardi, Petronio e Plauto (in margine a *sat.* 130. 1–6), MD 6, 1981, 189–192.

[3] R. Beck, Some Observations on the Narrative Technique of Petronius, Phoenix 27, 1973, 42–61. On the author's ficticious inspiration: G. Schmeling, The Authority of the Author. From Muse to Aesthetics, MCSN 3, 1981, 369–377.

[4] G. Schmeling 1994–1995.

[5] R. Heinze 1899, 506, n. 1.

of the 'suffering hero' of many a fairy tale,[1] also comparable to Ulysses, though without his unconditioned determination to return home. In principle, he is free from the bourgeois slavery of hunting for wealth and status, though with some bad conscience: *quam male est extra legem viventibus: quicquid meruerunt, semper exspectant*, 'the outlaw has a hard life; he must always expect to get what he deserves' (125. 4). In spite of his lack of moral prejudice he is not a cynical dandy. He is extremely receptive, not having lost a child's capabilities of marveling—and loving; as he is given to indulge in dreams, disappointments are inevitable. Many a poetic interlude and many an allusion to lofty literary genres gives exalted expression to his illusions about himself or others; once his dream ended in a dull awakening, prose comes into its own again.

Although the entire novel is focused on this figure, the others are not reduced to mere stereotypes or caricatures. Trimalchio, for instance, did not spring from a determined chapter of a handbook on characters in the wake of Theophrastus, nor are his features standardized; it is a sophisticated study, combining contradictory qualities into a live unity, which Petronius sets before our eyes not without an artist's complacency. Inscriptions of freedmen, both by their language and their content, prove that this portrait was painted from life.[2] Trimalchio's circle is a clearly defined and solid social network; consequently, Trimalchio deems himself at the center of the world; in fact, he is the central figure of the microcosm of the *Cena*. That epoch was, indeed, the heyday of people like Trimalchio. Was there really nothing but hate of the milieu of freedmen at the bottom of this gallery of brilliant individual portraits—up to a naturalistic rendering of individual peculiarities of pronunciation?

Nor are the intellectuals depicted according to pattern. Take Eumolpus: an attractive mixture of absent-mindedness and calculation, a poet's ignorance of the world and an artful dodger's knowledge of human nature, enthusiasm and charlatanism, he is both a mad poet and hypocrisy incarnate, a quality he had revealed already in the story of the youth of Pergamum.[3] He unites the functions of

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[1] V. Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, transl. by L. Scott, 2nd ed., rev. and ed. with a pref. by L. A. Wagner, Austin, Texas 1968, 50.

[2] E. Dobroiu, Pour une édition du *Satiricon*, StudClas 10, 1968, 159–170, especially on 43. 6; CIL 6. 2. pp. 994–995.

[3] R. Dimundo, La novella del fanciullo di Pergamo. Strutture narrative e tecnica del racconto, AFLB 25–26, 1982–1983, 133–178; cf. id., La novella dell'Efebo di Pergamo. Struttura del racconto, MCSN 4, 1986, 83–94.

'helper'[1] and 'rival'. In his lack of illusions he is closer to the type of *picaro* than Encolpius is.[2] Not inferior is the histrionic talent of pretty-faced Giton, who acts as *femme fatale* and with a female's cunning outwits his lover Encolpius. There are two sides to the rhetor Agamemnon as well: he teaches to despise the banquets of the rich, while gladly cadging their invitations.

While the two male protagonists, Encolpius and Giton, do not give a particularly manly performance, the women, except for Fortunata and Scintilla, are not wanting in aggressiveness, even in matters of sex. As Trimalchio may be called a symbol of his epoch, so may the emancipated women and servile men of the novel. The reader is reminded of the petticoat government at the court of Claudius. Ironically, in the end, Eumolpus, fool and poet, is the only one able to play the part of a free man.

Descriptions of objects are not an aim in itself. Often behind the 'realism' of Petronius there are lurking literary clichés, such as those of books on symposia and the ancients' habit of showing everyday life prevalently in humorous distortion. Nevertheless our author takes an interest in reality (as Roman landscape painters do not disdain to observe nature);[3] above all, he wants to portray people, and doing so he succeeds in drawing sketches recalling Roman portrait-heads. The fact that he included descriptions of pictures into his narrative (83; 89) does not compel us to date the composition of the novel in the period of the second sophistic movement; evidently, such descriptive passages had existed much earlier.[4] They are referring to determined persons and situations: the discrepancy between claim and reality appears graphically from the 'composition' of Trimalchio's murals: '*Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the gladiatorial game of Laenas' (29. 9). The paintings looked at by Encolpius are thematically related to his unhappy love for Giton, an interpretation given by the narrator himself (83. 4–6). Mythological elements help build up illusions; Petronius' view of their function is not much different from Martial's (10. 4) and Juvenal's (1. 1–14). Religion[5] had paled into magic or literature.

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[1] Cf. F. Wehrli 1965, esp. 138; on Eumolpus F. M. Fröhlke 1977, 61–110, esp. 104–106; R. Beck 1979.

[2] F. I. Zeitlin 1971; G. Schmeling 1994.

[3] H. Herter, Bacchus am Vesuv, RhM 100, 1957, 101–114.

[4] On the history of descriptions in literature: P. Friedländer, Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius, Leipzig 1912; on descriptions in Petronius: F. M. Fröhlke 1977, 71–85.

[5] M. Grondona, La religione e la superstizione nella *Cena Trimalchionis*, Bruxelles

Elements of folklore—proverbs, sayings, customs, ghost stories—add to the attractiveness of the work.[1]

The technique of stories within the story is as old as that of first-person-narrative. They are found in epic, dialogue, and travel novel: Antonius Diogenes in his *Marvels Beyond Thule* made use of the framing technique.[2] Interpolated narratives are frequently used to embellish banquets (61–63; 111–112) or to while away long walks (118–124). Petronius establishes relationships between the main action and the story within the story; thus, the inserted narratives serve to characterize the speaker: as early as in his story of the Pergamene adolescent, Eumolpus introduces himself as a hypocrite; at the same time the content is meant to console the love-sick Encolpius. The popular stories on lycanthropy and *striges* are indicative of the modest intellectual level of the speakers.

Artful composition of longer narrative units can be studied e.g. in the voyage episode: there is unity of scene of action, and the plot is divided into distinct sections. A long, overarching context holds the reader in suspense up to the scene of reconciliation; after this, there is a sequence of separate scenes. Petronius strives for variety even in his narrative technique.[3]

The subtle quality of his narrative art is evinced in some details of the *Cena*: The entry of the funeral sculptor Habinnas and the broad development of the death motif (71. 3–72. 3; 78. 5) prepare the end of the feast; the continuous theme of the transience of life is broached from the very beginning: telling symbols are the trumpet-player and—almost surprising in antiquity—the clock.

Examples of rhetorical skill are Encolpius' declamation when faced with the body of Lichas and Eumolpus' speeches in the defence of his protégés. Those who deem such rhetoric chilly may consider the lively interest of 'sport fans' with which the Roman public fol-

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1980; T. Pinna, Magia e religione nella *Cena Trimalchionis*, Studi di filosofia e di storia della cultura, pubbl. dall'Istituto di filosofia della Fac. di lett. dell'Univ. di Cagliari 1978, 449–500.

[1] H. Jacobson, A Note on Petronius, *sat.* 31. 2, CPh 66, 1971, 183–186; M. Hadas, Oriental Elements in Petronius, AJPh 50, 1929, 378–385; J. B. Bauer, Semitisches bei Petron, in: FS R. Muth, Innsbruck 1983, 17–23; elements of fairy-tale in Petronius: C. Stöcker 1969, 77–88.

[2] G. N. Sandy, Petronius and the Tradition of the Interpolated Narrative, TAPhA 101, 1970, 463–476 (bibl.); on the fantastic element: S. Romm, The Edge of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction, Princeton 1992.

[3] F. M. Fröhlke 1977, 37–60.

lowed each detail of argument and phrasing. For his century Petronius used rhetoric rather sparingly and limited it to passages where it was functional.

Language and Style

In his use of language and style Petronius makes subtle distinctions. The highest level is poetic, the lowest vulgar. With their vulgar Latin tinge, the conversations of the half-educated freedmen are an El Dorado for linguists;[1] here, typical features of the Romance languages can be observed in nascent state: examples are the decrease of the neuter gender (*vinus* and *fatus* for *vinum* and *fatum*) or the decline of the deponent verbs. Yet we should not shut our eyes to the fact that even these passages are shaped artistically. They are not 'tape-recordings' from which the dialect of a definite town or social stratum can be reconstructed but an artful choice and 'collage' of 'vulgar' expressions; Petronius may have heard them when accompanying Nero on his nocturnal incognito trips through Rome (Suet. *Nero* 26. 2). Incidentally, these passages are not sufficient reason for assigning the *Satyrica* a late date, since the noted linguistic peculiarities are less chronological than sociological evidence.

A contrasting linguistic level is the cultivated language of the upper classes. The narrator speaks pure Latin and uses the proper words. The unobtrusive elegance (*elegantia*) of upper class speech dominates the whole work. Petronius' narrative prose combines an objectivity reminiscent of Caesar—and even of medical authors—with an urbane grace. There is no awkwardness in its clarity and its lightness is never vague.

The plurality of linguistic levels is exploited artistically to produce ironical effects: at the transition from poetry to prose there is a clash between illusion and reality; the change from vulgar to urbane speech reveals the contrast between different levels of culture. Whoever misses obtrusive moralizing may discover in Petronius' style a clue to his intellectual honesty and his self-discipline as an author.

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[1] A. Marbach, Wortbildung, Wortwahl und Wortbedeutung als Mittel der Characterzeichnung bei Petron, diss. Gießen 1931; J. Feix, Wortstellung und Satzbau in Petrons Roman, diss. Breslau 1933, publ. 1934; A. Stefenelli, Die Volkssprache im Werk des Petron im Hinblick auf die romanischen Sprachen, Wien 1962; von Albrecht, Prose 125–135; H. Petersmann 1977 (fundamental); juridic Latin in Petronius: A. Collignon 1892, 354 (with n. 1); B. Boyce, The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*, Leiden 1991.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Therefore, we may take Petronius at his word when he speaks of seriously studying the classics for many years (esp. Homer, Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace), of the *grandis et . . . pudica oratio*, 'the great and incorrupt style' (2. 6) and of the *nova simplicitas*,[1] 'fresh simplicity'. The latter principle of not mincing one's words extends to both aesthetics and ethics: *sermonis puri non tristis gratia ridet*, 'a cheerful grace laughs through pure speech' (132. 15).

Yet it would be premature to label him as a 'classicist'; the Augustan rhetor Cassius Severus (Sen. *contr.* 3 *praef.*) who had used almost the same words had been the recognized leader of the 'moderns' (while sincerely admiring Cicero). Petronius appreciates *ingenium* (2. 4), not industry alone. He need not adhere to the tastes of one party or another; he simply has taste.

Is there a contradiction between his use of vulgar expressions and his theoretical advice to avoid them? The latter (118. 4), however, refers to epic, not novel. The fact that the 'dirge' for Lichas (115. 12–19) is crowded with aphorisms, shows that Petronius, for once, was tempted to try his hand at the fashionable modern style. Appropriateness is the supreme law for him. The parts written in *sermo urbanus* observe the principles of prose rhythm, whereas the vulgar passages do not.[2] In a polymorphous work each episode requires its own style; as James Joyce writes in a letter, 'each adventure (that is, every hour, every organ, every art being interconnected and interrelated in the structural scheme of the whole) should not only condition but even create its own technique'.[3] This is ever the main incentive for the writer. The unity of the work does not rest on mechanical devices or techniques which may change but on the author's 'handwriting'. His sense of *purum* and *proprium* stands its ground

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[1] Different interpretations of *simplicitas* in E. Marmorale 1948, chapter IV; A. M. Ferrero, La *simplicitas* nell'età giulio-claudia, AAT 114, 1980, 127–154; on Petronius' poetics: F. M. Fröhlke 1977 passim; M. Coccia, *Novae simplicitatis opus* (Petronio 132. 15. 2), Studi di poesia latina in onore di A. Traglia, Storia e lett., Raccolta di studi e testi 141/142, Roma 1979, 789–799; K. Heldmann, Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst, München 1982, 244–246; A. Barbieri, Poetica Petroniana, *sat.* 132. 15, Quad. della RCCM 16, Roma 1983, 1–68.

[2] K. Müller, edition, 4th ed., 449–470.

[3] To Carlo Linati, September 21, 1920 (in Italian), in: Letters of James Joyce, ed. by Stuart Gilbert, London 1957, p. 147.

in any style. *Simplicitas* is the opposite of meaningless multiplication, self-deceit, and hypocrisy denounced by Petronius. Like Horace, the great humorist, Petronius is adverse to dogmatic assertions: *nihil est hominum inepta persuasione falsius nec ficta severitate ineptius*, 'there is nothing more insincere than people's absurd persuasions, or more absurd than their sham morality' (132. 16). Assigning important statements to uncreditable persons does not necessarily imply a disclaimer. Did not Shakespeare's fools pronounce deep truths? And in Petronius there is not a single serious character. He thus had no choice.

No less important is the principle of urbane literary style called understatement. After his poetic interludes the author occasionally casts discredit on himself: stones are thrown on Eumolpus after his recitation. Depreciation of oneself is a Socratic and Cynic component of the genre of Menippean satire. We should not take such remarks at face value (no more than, for example, the pretended 'lack of file' typical of the genre of epistolography). The writer's ironical attitude to himself can be pushed rather far. Petronius, for instance, mocks his own slapdash motivation of the two friends' embarkation by having Eumolpus say (107. 2): 'Any passenger, before setting out on a journey, informs himself about the trustworthiness of the captain.' Were scholars always prepared to capture such undertones? Nevertheless, the *Bellum civile* is not intended to show how a bad poet would have treated this subject but to evince the exigencies of the genre. It is a sketch that might serve as a working model.

He uses epic as a test-case (118–124), for it is the genre of poetry most fraught with conventions. Lucan's unconventional poem had hurt Petronius' keen sense of style and provoked him to compete with it.[1] The figure of Eumolpus might be suspected to give more clues—serious or ludicrous—to Petronius' poetics.[2]

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[1] F. I. ZEITLIN, Romanus Petronius. A Study of the *Troiae Halosis* and the *Bellum Civile*, Latomus 30, 1971, 56–82; P. A. GEORGE, Petronius and Lucan *De Bello Civili*, CQ 68, 1974, 119–133; E. BURCK, Das *Bellum civile* Petrons, in: E. BURCK, ed., Das römische Epos, Darmstadt 1979, 200–207; P. GRIMAL, Le *Bellum civile* de Pétrone dans ses rapports avec la *Pharsale*, in: J. M. CROISILLE, P. M. FAUCHÈRE, eds., Neronia 1977. Actes du 2e colloque de la Société int. des études néroniennes, Clermont-Ferrand 1982, 117–124; J. P. SULLIVAN, Petronius' *Bellum civile* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*. A Political Reconsideration, in: Neronia (s. above), 151–155; A. C. HUTCHINSON, Petronius and Lucan, LCM 7, 1982, 46–47; A. LA PENNA 1985.

[2] F. M. FRÖHLKE 1977, 61–110; R. BECK 1979.

Ideas II

Petronius' worldly wisdom may be akin to that of Epicurus, but we should not pin him down to a determined school, for in the face of death he rejected philosophical comfort and his utterances on Epicurus evince no more than the current misunderstanding of hedonism (132. 15).[1]

Although Petronius is, strictly speaking, neither a philosopher nor a satirist, it would be misleading to deny his work an intellectual focus. As a sober observer, he lived in an epoch of exuberance and ecstasy, which in all domains tried to exceed human limits. Nero's Golden House, which filled an entire urban district, was a symbol of that period. The financial rise of freedmen, not always matched by intellectual development, gave occasion to a judicious author to make his observations: even the choicest treats, if absurdly multiplied, would only produce disgust and an emotional vacuum (significantly, at the end of the banquet 78. 5 *ibat res ad summam nauseam*, 'the thing was becoming perfectly sickening'). The same is true of sex, another crucial theme of the novel; in all variations, Petronius illustrates the dilemma resulting from excessive supply and man's incapacity[2] of enjoying it. The third vital function is the use of language: on the one hand, there is the scholastic routine of rhetoric with its inherent insincerity (1–5),[3] on the other, the artless but no less empty chatter of the freedmen. Extremes meet when the gossip reproaches the rhetor: *videris mihi, Agamemnon, dicere: 'quid iste argutat molestus?' quia tu, qui potes loquere, non loquis*, 'now, Agamemnon, you look as if you were saying 'what is this bore chattering for?' Only because you have the gift of tongues and do not speak' (46. 1). The uneducated draw the long bow, the educated are silent or declaim—but who does *say* anything? The same applies to religion: there is a boom on the one hand: you meet gods everywhere, easier than human beings (17. 5), which evidently must be sought with Diogenes' lantern. On the other hand, you can get everything for money: gods as well as geese (137. 5).

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[1] Exaggerated: O. Raith 1963; correct C. J. Castner, Prosopography of Roman Epicureans from the 2nd Century B.C. to the 2nd Century A.D., Frankfurt 1988, 104.

[2] For the theme of impotence: *Odyss.* 10. 301; 341; Epigrams of Philodemus in the *Anthologia Palatina*; Ov. *am.* 3. 7; Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* 8. 49–50; B. Kytzler, in: Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, 3, Frankfurt 1974, 302.

[3] W. Kissel, Petrons Kritik an der Rhetorik (*sat.* 1–5), RhM 121, 1978, 311–328.

Nobody cares for Jupiter (44. 17). Magic, to which religion has been reduced, is good, at best, for restoring your impaired sexual potence (135. 3; 136. 3; 137. 5).

No doubt, Petronius' work belongs rather to the 'diagnosing' than to the 'healing' type of literature. Nevertheless, in one field at least, Petronius does not abstain from expressing a personal opinion. It is the proper domain of the *arbiter elegantiae*: good taste in art and literature. Satire, since Lucilius, had not been averse to literary criticism; Petronius (4–5) expressly refers to Lucilius, although tone and meter are rather reminiscent of Persius. His public[1] might have encouraged him to engage in such reflections and to extend them to the pictorial arts. They were a small group of fortunate—nay: endangered—people closely connected with the imperial court and thinking highly of Petronius' judgment in matters of taste. There has been much discussion to what degree he shares the opinions expressed by his characters in this domain. Petronius' own behavior as a writer and the leading ideas mentioned above might pave the way for a correct assessment.

Transmission[2]

None of our witnesses contains the entire text known to us (141 chapters according to the numbering introduced by Burmann). The first class (O = short excerpts) contains excerpts from the texts preceding and following the *Cena* (of the latter, there is only chapter 55). The second group (L = long excerpts) comprises everything except the *Cena* (of the latter, there are only extracts from chapters 27–37. 5 as well as chapter 55 and seven aphorisms from the *Cena*). The third class, only represented by the manuscript H (Parisinus Latinus 7989, formerly Traguriensis, 15th century), exhibits the complete text of the *Cena*. A fourth strand of the tradition, consisting of medieval anthologies or florilegia (φ), preserves maxims, verse, and prose passages like the story of the widow of Ephesus. Despite arbitrary changes of the wording the florilegia are not entirely worthless.

According to K. Müller, the O-class bifurcates: on the one hand, there is the best manuscript B (Bernensis 357, 9th century), some pages of which are found in the Leidensis Vossianus Lat. Q. 30; B is identical with the

[1] On this: D. M. Levin, To Whom Did the Ancient Novelists Address Themselves?, RSC 25, 1977, 18–29.

[2] K. Müller, edition (T), Stutgardiae 1995; I. C. Giardina, R. C. Melloni, edition, Torino 1995; M. D. Reeve 1983.

Autissiodurensis, from which P. Pithou communicated a certain amount of readings. On the other hand, there are all other manuscripts.

The L-class is a conglomeration of excerpts of different provenance;[1] it was made in the late 13th century,[2] and its witnesses are of even later date: the chief source is called L; moreover, there are a—later—O-text and a florilegium (φ).

The florilegia (φ) have their origin in a common archetype, a big anthology of Latin classics composed in France. According to B. L. Ullman[3] φ dates from the 12th century; for Petronius, however, it was based on a good source that was older.

In passages where we can compare L with H or O, the text of L usually is less reliable; where L is our sole witness, the text, therefore, has no solid basis.

H, Λ, and O are independently traced back to a single incomplete copy, ω, whereas φ and L depend on Λ. In addition, L had used φ and a late representative of the O-class.[4]

The authenticity of the poems and poetic fragments first published by Scaliger and Binetus is no longer doubted.

Influence

Which aspects of Petronius have been influential?[5] What remains to be discovered in Petronius? The metrician Terentianus Maurus (GL 6, 399), whose date is not precisely known, was the first to cite Petronius. His interest in Petronius' verse[6] would find followers in

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[1] H. van Thiel 1971.

[2] K. Müller, 4th edition (TTrN), Zürich and Darmstadt 1995, 429.

[3] Petronius in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*, CPh 25, 1930, 11–21.

[4] K. Müller, editions, following M. Reeve; s. now W. Richardson, Reading and Variant in Petronius: Studies in the French Humanists and their Manuscript Sources, Toronto 1993.

[5] In late antiquity Petronius was read by Sidonius Apollinaris, Macrobius, Johannes Lydus, and (surprisingly) even by Jerome. On Petronius' influence: A. Collignon, Pétrone au moyen-âge et dans la littérature française, Paris 1893; id., Pétrone en France, Paris 1903; W. Kroll 1937, 1212–1213; A. Rini, Petronius in Italy from the 13th Century to the Present Time, New York 1937; J. K. Schönberger, Petronius bei Cervantes, PhW 62, 1942, 211–213; G. Bagnani 1954, 83–85 (on Pope); G. Puzis 1966 (on Russian literature); C. Stöcker 1969, 86–88 (on T. S. Eliot, H. Kasack, D. G. Rossetti); P. G. Walsh 1970, 224–243 (on the picaresque novel); H. D. Rankin, Notes on the Comparison of Petronius with Three Moderns, ActAnt 18, 1970, 197–213 (on Proust, Joyce, and Fitzgerald); J. H. Stuckey, Petronius in Restoration England, Classical News and Views of the Classical Association of Canada 15, 1971, 1–17; R. Guerrini, Petronio e Céline (ovvero 'La Denigrazione del Reale'), RIL 107, 1973, 380–392; G. L. Schmeling, D. R. Rebmann, T. S. Eliot and Petronius, CLS 12, 1975, 393–410; D. Gagliardi, Petronio e il romanzo moderno, Firenze 1993.

[6] H. Stubbe, Die Verseinlagen im Petron, Leipzig 1933.

the Middle Ages. This perspective allows us to discover an aspect of Petronius not sufficiently discussed hitherto. His poems comprise, apart from epic panels, almost all types of epigrams[1] and neighboring genres. Petronius proves to be a master of chiseled minor forms: from moral *sententiae* (the author of which, like Montaigne, instead of moralizing, savors each moment to the full while serenely enjoying intellectual superiority) up to a lyric love epigram, which is justly classed with the best love poems of world literature (79. 8). Like Heinrich Heine, Petronius is one of the rare talents, in whom emotion and irony enhance, not destroy each other.

Less adequate were the principles of other excerptors, who were hunting for grammatical or erotic rarities. Their activity, too, left scars in the text (and in the reputation) of Petronius. Both aspects were felicitously combined in Justus Lipsius' memorable bonmot calling Petronius *auctor purissimae impuritatis*, 'author of the purest impurity'.

In the Middle Ages Petronius is known to John of Salisbury (d. 1180) and to the school of Chartres; however the amount of text available to them was not larger than ours.[2]

Similar social and literary conditions favored the genesis of the *Satyrica* in Rome and the rebirth of the picaresque novel in Spain; moreover, there are genetic connections between ancient and modern picaresque novel, although the leading role was played by Apuleius, the *Apollonius rex Tyri*, and the Greek.

In France, Petronius found copyists, humanistic readers, learned editors, fanciful forgers[3] who completed the lacunae and literary imitators like Mathurin Régnier (d. 1613) in his *Satires* (cf. Petron. 127–128)[4] and R. de Bussy-Rabutin (d. 1693) in his *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (cf. Petronius' plot). John Barclay (d. 1621), a Scotsman brought up in France, chose (as a precaution) the Latin language for his *Euphormionis Satyricon* (1603–1607).[5] Leibniz the philosopher (d. 1716) described in a letter of February 25, 1702 a high-spirited carnival

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[1] On the epigrams found in the *Anthologia Latina*: Schanz-Hosius, LG 2, 4th edition, 515–516.

[2] On 'more Petronius' in England and Ireland: M. Colker, New Light on the Use of Transmission of Petronius, Manuscripta 36, 1992, 200–209.

[3] F. Nodot, Paris 1691 and 1693; s. W. Stolz, Petrons *Satyricon* und F. Nodot, Wiesbaden 1987; behind the name Lallemandus (Fragmentum Petronii ex bibliotheca Sancti Galli . . ., sine loco 1800, there is a Spaniard: Joseph Marchena.

[4] Highet, Class. Trad. 651, n. 25.

[5] English translation: P. Turner 1954; German by G. Waltz, Heidelberg 1902.

performance of Trimalchio's banquet at the court of Hannover.[1] Similar shows took place under the regent of Louis XV and at the court of Frederick the Great.

The circle of Petronius' readers seems to be somewhat exclusive; this is partly owing to the fact that the fragments were discovered only gradually and translated even later: only in 1694 did the the *Cena Trimalchionis* appear in English. Furthermore, for a long time, moral prejudice was an obstacle to an unbiased study of the *Satyrica* as a work of art. Even a poet like Wilhelm Heinse[2] (d. 1803) publicly disclaimed his own translation of Petronius (1773), and Henry Fielding (d. 1754), an author comparable with Petronius in many respects, speaks of the 'unjustly celebrated Petronius' whose wit could not measure up to Saint Paul's (Covent Garden Journal 3. 3. 1754). The rise of bourgeois culture encouraged prejudice even more. Conservative dramatists felt obliged to present Petronius in their Nero-plays as the embodiment of villainy.

The list of distinguished minds attracted to Petronius is impressive: Leibniz was followed by Voltaire, Lessing, Balzac, Flaubert, T. S. Eliot. Denmark's eminent author Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754) declared: 'Of Latin writers, I deem Petronius Arbiter the greatest master; for it seems that he was perfect in every respect.'[3] Goethe perspicaciously observed Petronius' artistic use of the theme of death in the *Cena*.[4] In the fragment of a novel, Alexander Pushkin (d. 1837) gave what is perhaps the finest assessment of Petronius: 'His judgments usually were prompt and pertinent. Indifference to everything freed him from bias; as he was honest to himself he had a keen eye. Life was unable to present him with anything new; he had known all enjoyments; his feelings were dormant, deadened by boredom; yet,

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[1] R. Herzog recently discovered the following manuscript of the philosopher: *Trimalcion moderne, composé l'an 1702 pour le carneval d'Hanovre*, cf. also: R. Herzog, Fest, Terror und Tod in Petrons *Satyrica*, in: W. Haug, R. Warning, eds., Das Fest (= Poetik und Hermeneutik, vol. 14), München 1989, 120–150.

[2] S. now W. Hübner, Die Petronübersetzung Wilhelm Heinses. Quellenkritisch bearbeiteter Neudruck der Erstausgabe mit kritisch-exegetischem Kommentar, 2 vols., Frankfurt, Bern 1987.

[3] Herrn L. Freyherrn von Holberg (sic) eigene Lebens-Beschreybung in einigen Briefen . . ., Copenhagen 2nd ed. 1754, 325–326; the Latin (!) original in: A. Kragelund, ed., L. Holbergs Tre Levnedsbreve, vol. 2, København 1965, 436.

[4] Grumach 1, 392–393 = K. von Holtei, in: Gespräche mit Goethe, ed. by F. von Biedermann, Leipzig 2nd ed. 1910, vol. 4, 418; F. von Müller, Unterhaltungen mit Goethe, crit. ed. by E. Grumach, Weimar 1956, 182 (February 16, 1830).

his mind had preserved an astounding freshness. He loved the play of ideas as well as the harmony of words. He liked to listen to philosophical reflections and wrote his own verse—no worse than Catullus'.[1] Other Russian poets were experts of Petronius as well: Maikov, Bryussov, and Blok.

Nietzsche (d. 1900)—unwittingly?— took up Fielding's comparison of Petronius and Saint Paul and gave it the opposite meaning; he was the harbinger of a new affinity to Petronius. He felt him to be '*tutto festo*—immortally healthy, immortally serene and a fine specimen'. With his keen sense of style he captured the 'intellectual superiority of his swift pace'. For him, Petronius, 'the master of *presto*', ranged with Machiavel and Aristophanes.[2]

In his novel *Quo Vadis* (1896), Henryk Sienkiewicz (d. 1916), the Polish Nobel prize winner, made Petronius a leading figure. With the fin de siècle an epoch began which might be called a new *aetas Petroniana.* However, readers were not always able to disengage themselves completely from an interest in the mere subject matter. While previously immorality had been condemned it now conversely became an object of a certain cult (cf. Céline's satanism). In terms of literary art Petronius influenced one of the precursors of modern literature, J. K. Huysmans (d. 1907), whose *A Rebours* (1884) influenced Joyce (d. 1941). The latter's *Ulysses* exhibits structural affinities to the *Satyrica.* Joyce's friend, Oliver St. John Gogarty, wrote a poem on Petronius.[3] *Trimalchio at West Egg* was initially meant to be the title of Scott Fitzgerald's (d. 1940) novel *The Great Gatsby* (publ. 1925). As it had done in the early Modern Age, Petronius' influence extended beyond literature: Hermann Reutter composed an opera *Die Witwe von Ephesus* (1954). Manfred Henninger illustrated the novel with designs in black crayon (1962 ff.). F. Fellini's[4] film of 1969, an independent work of art, gave the *Satyrica* an unexpected popularity.[5]

Petronius' quick perspicacity, his artistic integrity, his superior mocking at empty talk, excessive supply of attractions, and ideological self-deception, and the grace of his supreme intellect might be understood today, since many old taboos are gone. Moreover, it might

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[1] Works, vol. 6, Moscow 2nd ed. 1957, 610–614.

[2] Works, ed. by K. Schlechta 2, 1210; 3, 527; 2, 594.

[3] The Collected Poems, London 1951, 195.

[4] A. Sütterlin, Petronius Arbiter und F. Fellini, Frankfurt 1996.

[5] Volker Ebersbach's Petronian novel *Der Schatten eines Satyrs* (Berlin 2nd ed. 1989) also deserves mention.

be high time to read the *Satyrica* finally as a novel. The modern novel, which G. Lukács called the genre of 'transcendental homelessness' offers many motives for a critical comparison. The influence of Petronius, in some regards the most modern of classical authors, is perhaps still in its early stages.

Editions: FRANCISCUS PUTEOLANUS, Mediolani 1482 (only the, 'short excerpts' O). * Jean DE TOURNES (Tornaesius) and Denis LEBEY DE BATILLY, Lugduni (Lyon) 1575 (first edition of the L Text). * Patavii 1664 (first edition of the Cena Trimalchionis). ** P. BURMANN (TC), Amstelaedami 1743, repr. 1974. * F. BÜCHELER, Berolini 1862 (ed. mai.), 6th ed. 1922 (with add. by G. HERAEUS). * E. T. SAGE (TN), New York 1929, 2nd ed. 1969. * Konrad MÜLLER and W. EHLERS (T, TrN), München 1965, 4th ed. 1995, epilogue by N. HOLZBERG. * M. HESELTINE, rev. by E. H. WARMINGTON (TTr), London (1913) 1969. * O. SCHÖNBERGER (TTr), Berlin 1992. * Konr. MÜLLER (T), Stuttgardiae 1995. * I. C. GIARDINA, R. CUCCIOLI MELLONI (T), Torino 1995.* G. L. SCHMELING, J. P. SULLIVAN (C), announced. * *Cena*: L. FRIEDLÄNDER (C), Leipzig 1891, 2nd ed. 1906, repr. 1960. * A. MAIURI (TC), Napoli 1945. * M. S. SMITH, Oxford 1975 (TC). * *Verse passages*: H. STUBBE (C), Leipzig 1933. * E. COURTNEY (TC), Atlanta 1991. * *Bellum civile*: F. T. BALDWIN, New York 1911. * G. GUIDO (C), Bologna 1976. ** *Lexicon, concordance*: J. SEGEBADE and E. LOMMATZSCH, Lexicon Petronianum, Leipzig 1898, repr. 1962. * M. KORN, S. REITZER, Concordantia Petroniana, Hildesheim 1986. ** *Bibl.*: G. L. SCHMELING, J. H. STUCKEY, A Bibliography of Petronius, Leiden 1977. * M. S. SMITH, A Bibliography of Petronius (1945–1982), ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1624–1665. * N. HOLZBERG, Epilogue to the ed. by K. MÜLLER, W. EHLERS, 4th ed. 1995, s. above. * Important: the Petronian Society Newsletter, publ. regularly by G. L. SCHMELING (The University of Florida, Gainesville).

J. ADAMIETZ, Zum literarischen Charakter von Petrons *Satyrica*, RhM n.s. 130, 1987, 329–346. * G. BAGNANI, Arbiter of Elegance—A Study of the Life and the Works of C. Petronius, Toronto 1954. * A. BARCHIESI, Tracce di narrativa greca e romanzo latino, in: Semiotica della novella latina, Roma 1986, 219–236. * R. BECK, Eumolpus poeta, Eumolpus fabulator: A Study of Characterization in the *Satyricon*, Phoenix 33, 1979, 239–253. * R. BECK, The *Satyricon*: Satire, Narration and Antecedents, MH 39, 1982, 206–214. * J. BODEL, Freedmen in the *Satyricon* of Petronius, diss. Univ. of Michigan 1984. * M. BROŻEK, De Petronii *Satyricon* librorum numero ac natura, ACD 4, 1968, 65–67. * A. CAMERON, Myth and Meaning in Petronius: Some Modern Comparisons, Latomus 29, 1970, 397–425. * M. COCCIA, Le interpolazioni in Petronio, Roma 1973. * M. COFFEY, Roman Satire, London 1976, 178–203. * A. COLLIGNON, Etude sur Pétrone. La critique littéraire,

l'imitation et la parodie dans le Satiricon, Paris 1892. * E. Courtney, Parody and Literary Allusion in Menippean Satire, Philologus 106, 1962, 86–100. * S. Döpp, 'Leben und Tod' in Petrons *Satyrica*, in: G. Binder, B. Effe, eds., Tod und Jenseits im Altertum, Trier 1991, 144–166. * J. C. Dumont, Le décor de Trimalcion, MEFR(A) 102, 1990, 959–981. * P. Fedeli, Petronio: Crotone o il mondo alla rovescia, Aufidus 1, 1987, 3–34. * F. M. Fröhlke, Petron. Struktur und Wirklichkeit, Frankfurt 1977. * G. Gigante, Stile nuovo ed etica anticonvenzionale in Petronio, Vichiana 9, 1980, 61–78. * T. Hägg, The Novel in Antiquity, Oxford 1983. * R. Heinze, Petron und der griechische Roman, Hermes 34, 1899, 494–519. * N. Holzberg, Der antike Roman, München 1986 (English ed.: London 1995). * N. Horsfall, The Uses of Literacy and the *Cena Trimalchionis*, G&R 36, 1989, 74–89; 194–209. * J. Hosner, Studien zur lateinisch-romanischen Sprachentwicklung am Beispiel der gesprochenen Partien der Cena Trimalchionis, diss. Bochum 1984. * F. M. Jones, The Narrator and the Narrative of the *Satyricon*, Latomus 46, 1987, 810–819. * F. M. Jones, Realism in Petronius, in: H. Hofmann, ed., Groningen colloquia on the Novel, vol. 4, Groningen 1991, 105–120. * A. La Penna, Il *Bellum civile* di Petronio e il proemio delle *Historiae* di Sallustio, RFIC 113, 1985, 170–173. * E. Marmorale, La questione petroniana, Bari 1948. * R. Martin, Le roman de Pétrone et la théorie du roman, Neronia 1977, 125–138. * C. Panayotakis, Theatrum Arbitri. Theatrical Elements in the *Satyrica* of Petronius, Leiden 1995. * P. J. Parsons, A Greek, '*Satyricon*'?, BICS 18, 1971, 53–68. * L. Pepe, Studi Petroniani, Napoli 1957. * L. Pepe, ed., Semiotica della novella latina. Atti del seminario interdisciplinare 'La novella latina', Roma 1986 (containing several contributions on Petronius). * L. Pepe, 'Petronio', in: L. Pepe, *Sermo Milesius*, Perugia 1987 (with bibl.). * B. E. Perry, The Ancient Romances, Berkeley 1967, 186–210. * H. Petersmann, Petrons urbane Prosa, Wien 1977. * H. Petersmann, Umwelt, Sprachsituation und Stilschichten in Petrons *Satyrica*, ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1687–1705. * H. Petersmann, Petrons *Satyrica*, in: J. Adamietz, ed., Die römische Satire, Darmstadt 1986, 383–426. * G. Puzis, Voprosy rimskogo romana *Satiricon*, AAntHung 14, 1966, 371–386 (bibl.). * O. Raith, Petronius—ein Epikureer, Nürnberg 1963. * H. D. Rankin, Petronius the Artist, Den Haag 1971. * E. Ratti, L'età di Nerone e la storia di Roma nell'opera di Petronio, Bologna 1978. * E. Ratti, Petronio e Nerone. Difficoltà e necessità dell'allusionismo nell'interpretazione del *Satyricon*, in: Neronia 1977. Actes du 2e colloque de la Société int. des études néroniennes, Clermont-Ferrand 1977, publ. 1982, 145–150. * M. D. Reeve, Petronius, in: L. D. Reynolds, ed., Texts and Transmission, Oxford 1983, 295–300. * H. Roemer, Ausdrucks- und Darstellungstendenzen in den urbanen Erzählungspartien von Petrons *Satyricon*, diss. Göttingen 1961. * K. F. C. Rose, The Date and Author of the *Satyricon*, Leiden 1971. * P. A. Rosenmeyer, The Unexpected Guests: Patterns of *Xenia* in Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices*

and Petronius' *Satyricon*, CQ 41, 1991, 403–413. * G. L. SCHMELING, The *Satyricon*: The Sense of an Ending, RhM 134, 1991, 352–377. * G. L. SCHMELING, *Quid attinet veritatem per interpretem quaerere? Interpretes* and the *Satyricon*, Ramus 23, 1994, 144–168. * G. SCHMELING, *Confessor Gloriosus*: a Role of Encolpius in the *Satyrica*, WJA 20, 1994–1995, 207–224. * G. SCHMELING, The *Satyrica* of Petronius, in: G. SCHMELING, ed., The Novel in the Ancient World, Leiden 1996 (forthcoming). * P. SOVERINI, Il problema delle teorie retoriche e poetiche di Petronio, ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1706–1779. * N. W. SLATER, Reading Petronius, Baltimore 1990 (reader-response). * C. STÖCKER, Humor bei Petron, diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1969. * J. P. SULLIVAN, The *Satyricon* of Petronius. A Literary Study, London 1968. * J. P. SULLIVAN, Petronius' *Satyricon* and its Neronian Context, ANRW 2, 32, 3, 1985, 1666–1686. * H. van Thiel, Petron—Überlieferung und Rekonstruktion, Leiden 1971. * P. Veyne, Le 'Je' dans le *Satyricon*, REL 42, 1964, 301–324. * P. G. WALSH, The Roman Novel. The *Satyricon* of Petronius and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, Cambridge 1970, repr. 1995. * P. G. WALSH, Petronius and Apuleius, in: B. L. HIJMANS and R. T. VAN DER PAARDT, eds., Aspects of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Groningen 1978, 17–24. * F. WEHRLI, Einheit und Vorgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Romanliteratur, MH 22, 1965, 133–154; repr. in: F.W., Theorie und Humanitas, Zürich 1972, 242–266. * F. I. ZEITLIN, Petronius as Paradox: Anarchy and Artistic Integrity, TAPhA 102, 1971, 631–684.

E. TECHNICAL AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORS

TECHNICAL AUTHORS OF EARLY EMPIRE

For practical reasons, technical and educational authors are treated together here. General information on this subject is found above pp. 564–582. Seneca the Elder, Quintilian, and Pliny the Elder are discussed in separate chapters.

Medicine

Celsus

A. Cornelius Celsus,[1] probably a member of the aristocracy, had enjoyed a complete and generous education. He wrote his encyclopedia supposedly under Tiberius.

His work embraced agriculture, medicine, warfare, rhetoric, philosophy, and law (Quint. *inst.* 12. 11. 24). The medical part in 8 books is the only to have been preserved.

The structure of the work follows the division of the medical discipline: dietetics (books 1–4), pharmaceutics (books 5–6), and surgery (books 7–8). Dietetics in its turn falls into parts, one for the healthy (book 1), the other for the sick (books 2–4). General information (*commune*) is placed before special information (*proprium*): consequently, general dietetics (books 1 and 2) are followed by dietetics for single parts of the body (books 3 and 4); similarly, general pharmaceutics (book 5) range before the application of remedies to individual parts of the body (book 6), and surgery (book 7) precedes orthopedy (book 8). Within single parts referring to the human body the subject matter is arranged *a capite ad calcem* 'from head to toe'.

Among his sources are found the Corpus Hippocraticum, Asclepiades of Bithynia, Heraclides of Tarentum, Erasistratus, Philoxenus, Meges of Sidon, and Varro. It looks as if Celsus, when writing his

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[1] *Editions* and *bibl.*: cf. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 577–578; W. G. Spencer (TTr), 3 vols., London 1935–1938; s. Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch 86–98; 173–181.

systematic textbook, found no corresponding model of similar scope, but had to resort to Greek monographs.[1] Therefore he must have worked rather independently.

His literary technique is evinced in prefaces (1 *pr.* 1–11 to the entire work; 1 *pr.* 12–75 to the first section: on dietetics) and in inserted transitional phrases and announcements of ensuing themes (e.g. 2. 9; 5 *pr.* 3) which emphasize the structure of the work (even though it is self-explanatory).[2]

Celsus' use of language and style is precise and civilized; he never lapses into idle talk. Celsus is the classic of technical authors. While not impairing perspicuity, he avoids monotony and doctrinary awkwardness. There is variety of expression and of sentence structure. The lack of ostentatious rhetoric is gratifying.

In the conflict between theorists (rationalists) who searched for the causes of diseases, and empiricists who were satisfied with empirical knowledge of the effects of remedies, he proves to be a moderate theoretician. Though himself no more than a layman interested in medicine, he writes with technical precision. As the first significant medical writer in the Latin-speaking west he has an important function.

The lost parts of his work were very influential as well: the agricultural parts were studied by Columella and Pliny, the rhetorical ones by Quintilian.

Beginning with the editio princeps of 1478 his medical work was frequently published and gained great authority as a textbook. Celsus was regarded as *Cicero medicorum.* His prooemium is the first history of medicine. Celsus is an early and reliable witness of Hellenistic medicine and, more generally, a source of information on many ailments and the methods of treatment used in antiquity.

Scribonius Largus

Scribonius Largus was active as a physician under Claudius. His collection of recipes is arranged, in its main part, according to the principle *a capite ad calcem* 'from head to toe'. Scribonius relies on medication rather than on diet and holds experience in high esteem. In his preface the Roman tinge of medical ethics is attractive.[3]

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[1] Fuhrmann, ibid., esp. 180–181.

[2] On difficulties in the first prooemium helpful Fuhrmann ibid. 86–88.

[3] *Editions* and *bibl.* (esp. K. Deichgräber 1950) s. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 577–578.

Agriculture

Columella[1]

L. Junius Moderatus Columella from Gades was a contemporary of Seneca. He possessed properties in Italy.

His work on agriculture comprises 12 books: *1* General remarks; *2* agriculture; *3–5* viniculture and cultivation of trees; *6–9* raising of animals; *10* horticulture (in hexameters). As a supplement there follows a prose treatise on horticulture preceded by a description of the duties of the *vilicus* (*11*) and of the *vilica* (*12*).

In our tradition, after the 2nd book a *Liber de arboribus* was erroneously inserted; it is the second part of a different—and probably earlier—work of the same author.

Columella names his predecessors: Cato, Varro, and Virgil; in the last two books he also uses Cicero's translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. His main source is the encyclopedia of Celsus, but he also relies on his own experience, a fact he duly emphasizes. Language and style are refined throughout; precision dominates in the factual parts, eloquence in the prefaces. Like Cato the Elder, Columella is deeply convinced of the moral value of agriculture. He knows, however, that this belief is not quite up to date any more.

Geography

It is true that Pliny (below pp. 575–576), had access to Agrippa's map and used its information concerning distances, but on the whole he adhered to the old pattern of *periplus*. In spite of his own experience—e.g. in Germany—he stuck to the perspective of his Hellenistic models. An earlier work was Pomponius Mela's[2] *De chorographia*, the first Latin book on geography; it was written under Claudius. After a prooemium and a general geographic introduction it contains a periegetic survey often resembling a *periplus*. The sources used for the west and the north are later than those used for the east. Mela enlivens his work with digressions on mythology, history, ethnography, and natural history and adorns it with jewels from Greek

[1] Very good M. Fuhrmann, KlP q.v. (bibl.); s. also our bibl., above pp. 572–573.

[2] *Editions*: Mediolani 1471; C. Frick, Lipsiae 1880, repr. 1935; H. Philipp (TrC), 2 vols., Leipzig 1912; G. Ranstrand (T, Index), Göteborg 1971; P. Parroni (TC), Roma 1984; A. Silberman (TTrN), Paris 1988 (bibl.); *Concordance*: C. Guzmán, M. E. Pérez, Hildesheim 1989.

and Roman literature. His style is rhetorical and employs rhythmic clausulae. Mela was possibly read by Pliny the Elder, certainly by Solinus, Einhart, Heiric of Auxerre (Vat. Lat. 4929), and Boccaccio. Petrarca ascertained his diffusion in the Renaissance.

Philology[1]

Philology received fresh impetus.

Asconius Pedianus

Q. Asconius Pedianus (about 9 B.C.–A.D. 76) presumably originated from Patavium.

Five of his learned commentaries on Cicero's speeches have come down to us (*Pis.*, *Scaur.*, *Mil.*, *Cornel.*, and *in toga cand.*). The last two are precious instruments for the reconstruction of lost texts of Cicero. For his explanations of facts, Asconius draws on reliable sources (e.g. *Acta populi Romani*); his writings, therefore, are precious historical evidence. The fact that Asconius wrote his commentaries as a companion to Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes is proof of an increasing self-confidence of Roman literature and literary criticism.[2]

Probus

M. Valerius Probus[3] from Berytus (Beirut) lived in the second half of the 1st century A.D. As a professional soldier he tried in vain to obtain the position of an officer; he definitely turned to literature when a middle-aged wealthy man; he gained a remarkable reputation.

The school he had attended in his home city followed an obsolete syllabus. Therefore he brought to Rome a considerable knowledge of Republican authors who had meanwhile fallen into oblivion in

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[1] Grammarians of the era of Tiberius: Julius Modestus (a freedman of Hyginus) and Pomponius Marcellus; Caesius Bassus dedicated his De metris to Nero (GL 6. 243 Keil; GRF 127 Mazzarino), a treatise deriving all meters from the dactylic hexameter and the iambic trimeter (Varro).

[2] The commentaries on *div. Caecil.* and *Verr, 1* and *2* (up to § 33) are spurious. Lost works: *Contra obtrectatores Vergilii; Vita Sallustii; Symposion; Editions* and *bibl.*: s. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 576–577.

[3] Very good P. L. Schmidt, KlP q.v. (bibl.); cf. also our bibl. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 576–577.

the capital. He thus prepared the ground for the archaists of the 2nd century.

Probus did not publish a great deal. His monographs on problems of detail are mostly lost.[1] His personal copies of republican authors (Terence, Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, probably also Plautus and Sallust) were based on his own collations and contained his interpunctions[2] as well as critical and exegetic notes. However, we should not speak of critical editions in the strict sense of the word.

The attention he paid to anomaly in linguistic usage distinguished him from the classicists of the Flavian epoch and pointed to the future.

It is an ascertained fact that he influenced the Scholia on Virgil and Terence, but it is hardly possible to trace back to him any of the transmitted recensions of classical authors.

Numerous works falsely attributed to him testify to his fame in late antiquity and during the Middle Ages.[3]

Rhetoric

Rutilius Lupus

P. Rutilius Lupus was one of the rhetors[4] of the 1st century A.D. who were used by Quintilian. He Latinized the work on rhetorical figures of Cicero's teacher Gorgias (1st century B.C.). His translations of the examples adduced from Attic orators are elegant; unfortunately, his definitions lack terminological exactitude.

Quintilian will be discussed in his own chapter.

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[1] Preserved works: *De notis iuris* (on abbreviations in documents). Lost works: *Epistula ad Marcellum* (on prosody); *De genetivo Graeco; De temporum conexione*; his legacy containing observations on early Latin linguistic usage is quoted as *De inaequalitate consuetudinis*; he is also said to have written a *Commentarius* on Caesar's secret code.

[2] R. W. Müller, Rhetorische und syntaktische Interpunktion, diss. Tübingen 1964.

[3] *Catholica* (by Plotius Sacerdos); *De nomine; Instituta artium* (morphology: Africa, 4th century), commentaries on Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, on the *Vita of Virgil* and on Persius (of the latter, the Vita is preserved). Among the works dating from the Middle Ages there is the *Appendix Probi*.

[4] Schanz-Hosius, LG 2, 1935, 741–745.

Other Disciplines

Frontinus[1]

S. Julius Frontinus was *praetor urbanus* in A.D. 70 and held his third consulate in 100. His authorship extended to three domains:

His works on the art of war include three books on stratagems (*Strategemata*) drawn from history and arranged according to their applicability (before, during, after battles, and during sieges). A 4th book described military exploits (*Strategica*),[2] grouped according to virtues (e.g. *disciplina, continentia, iustitia, constantia*). These four books are related to works on *exempla*. His earlier handbook *De re militari* is lost (Frontin. *strat.* 1 *praef.*; Veg. *mil.* 1. 8; 2. 3).

Furthermore, Frontinus is the oldest preserved Latin writer on the art of surveying. We have extracts of his relevant and perfectly competent treatise, written under Domitian.

Finally, Frontinus as *curator aquarum* (A.D. 97) wrote the valuable *Commentarius de aquis urbis Romae*, which was initially designed to serve his own instruction.

Further Surveyors

Under Trajan, the following authors wrote on the art of surveying: Hyginus (to be distinguished from his Augustan namesake), Balbus, and Siculus Flaccus. M. Junius Nipsus is thought to have lived in the 2nd century as well.

Bibl.: s. Roman Technical Authors, above pp. 571–582.

SENECA THE ELDER

Life and Dates

L. Annaeus Seneca the Elder was welcomed into a wealthy and distinguished family of Roman knights (Tac. *ann.* 14. 53). He was

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[1] Editions and bibl. s. Roman Technical Authors, above pp. 572–575; 581–582 (surveying, architecture, art of war).

[2] The authenticity of book 4 (which had been doubted by many scholars) was proved by G. Bendz, Die Echtheit des vierten Buches der Frontinischen *Strategemata*, diss. Lund 1938.

born in Cordoba some time around 55 B.C. and spent his life partly in Rome, partly in Spain, where he owned land. Although he was neither a teacher of rhetoric nor an advocate, he regularly attended public declamations of the rhetors, as a gentleman amateur. His works convey a lively idea of these experiences. His wife Helvia, a cultured lady, was supposedly of Spanish origin as well. They had three sons. The oldest, Novatus, later named Junius Gallio by adoption, was a proconsul in Achaia, where he met Saint Paul (*Acts* 18. 12) and refused to be his judge. The two younger sons were Seneca the Philosopher and Mela, the father of the poet Lucan. Seneca the Elder wrote his works under Caligula (37–41), since he quotes Cremutius Cordus, the historian, whose works had been forbidden under Tiberius and published only under Caligula.[1] Seneca did not live to see his second son banished by Claudius (Sen. *Helv.* 2. 4).

Survey of Works

Seneca's *History of the Civil Wars* is lost.[2] It was written in all probability under Gaius Caesar, whose reign initially afforded new freedom to historians. It should not be denied that Seneca did publish his work.

His principal work *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae divisiones colores*, written by an aging Seneca for his sons, consists of ten books of *Controversiae* and one of *Suasoriae*.

At first glance, the work is meant to give an impression of randomness; but Seneca does observe a certain order. The *Controversiae* treat 74 themes in ten books. To each theme the author first quotes the *sententiae*, which show how individual rhetors viewed the pros and cons of each case. Then Seneca under the title of *divisio* explains how the individual rhetors divided a given cause into different *quaestiones*. The third section (*colores*) gives evidence of the art of how to shed unexpected light on different cases and eventually throw dust into the listeners' eyes by embellishing the weak issues of the case. This reflects a change of meaning: *color* initially denoted a 'general stylistic coloring', now it gained a more individual shade.[3]

The seven *Suasoriae* form a book of their own, which may be divided into two parts (1–5; 6–7). Given their less complex subject matter, we find merely

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[1] He also mentions (*suas.* 2. 22) the death of Scaurus Mamercus (A.D. 34).

[2] Sen. (phil.) *vita patr.*, ed. Gu. (= W.) Studemund, pp. xxxi–xxxii, in: O. Rossbach, De Senecae philosophi recensione et emendatione ... Praemissae sunt Senecae librorum *Quomodo amicitia continenda sit* et *De vita patris* reliquiae, ed. Gu. (= W.) Studemund, Breslauer phil. Abh. 2, 3, 1888; on the *Historiae*: L. A. Sussman 1978, 137–152.

[3] Usually, *colores* are employed in the *argumentatio*, but they also appear in the *narratio*.

sententiae and *divisio*, no *colores*. In classrooms the *Suasoriae* were treated before the *Controversiae*; Seneca, however, favored the reverse order for his books, as is evinced from *contr.* 2. 4. 8., although this passage is no proof that the *Suasoriae* were written later than the *Controversiae*.[1]

Sources, Models, and Genres

If Seneca is to be believed, his memory is his sole source (*contr.* 1 *praef.* 2–5). No doubt his capacities in this domain are quite extraordinary; nevertheless, his text reveals that he relied on written sources as well.[2]

Seneca knew published speeches of Cassius Severus, Votienus Montanus, and Scaurus. Declamations by Cestius, Montanus, Scaurus, and Menestratus existed in manuscript form. Junius Otho had written a work on declamations. Gorgias' (1st century B.C.) work on figures of speech might be the source of Seneca's quotations from Greek orators who never had been in Rome. Moreover, there may have been written notes (*commentarii*) of rhetors (notwithstanding *contr.* 1 *praef.* 11) and students; Seneca is liable to have relied on his own notes at least for the speeches of his teacher Marullus. Seneca can scarcely have heard or remembered hearing Calvus, who died no later than 47 B.C.; did he rely on reports of Pollio?

The fact that Seneca is able to compare a written speech with its oral version which he had heard (*contr.* 9. 5. 15–16) nevertheless presupposes an unfailing memory, for which there are even modern parallels—suffice it to mention the mnemonic power of musicians.[3]

Seneca is well-read in other genres of literature as well. Owing to him we know, for example, precious longer fragments of Albinovanus Pedo and Cornelius Severus, of Asinius Pollio and Livy, and even—from the rich store-house of his memory—a tidbit of prose composed by Ovid when a student.

Scholastic declamation which, on his own showing, came into

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[1] The idea that the two parts of the *Suasoriae* (1–5; 6–7) were meant to be appended to books 2 and 4 of the *Controversiae* (J. Fairweather 1984), is hypothetical.

[2] L. A. Sussman 1978, 79 in accordance with C. W. Lockyer.

[3] Examples from antiquity are Latro (Sen. *contr.* 1 *praef.* 18–19), Themistocles, Mithridates, Crassus, Hortensius; cf. also F. A. Yates, The Art of Memory, London 1966; A. R. Luria, The Mind of a Mnemonist. A Little Book about a Vast Memory, London 1969.

fashion during his lifetime had much earlier roots. However, those rudimentary exercises required less fanciful subject-matter and less theatrical action since, initially, they were not intended for public performance. School exercises on *definite* court-cases were known as early as Demetrius of Phaleron (4th century B.C.). The practice of elaborating a *general* theme (*theseis*) as an exercise is traced even further back: to the sophists. In Cicero's early textbook *De inventione* and in the anonymous *Rhetoric to Herennius* there are hints concerning declamatory exercises on forensic and political themes; Cicero himself practiced declamation both in Greek and Latin (Suet. *gramm.* 25. 3). In the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*[1] he treated general themes (*theseis*). In 49 he remembered different *theseis* which were appropriate to his desperate situation and used them to comfort himself (Cic. *Att.* 9. 4. 1). Perhaps it was Cicero's merit to have introduced a philosophical type of exercises into rhetoric. Seneca (*contr.* 1. 4. 7) seems to intimate that Cicero treated even *special* themes of *declamatio*, but he informs us elsewhere that exercises in his day were different (*contr.* 1 *praef.* 12). Once, in Seneca's early years, Blandus had added luster to Latin schools of rhetoric, the former *progymnasmata* (to which had been added translations from Greek) gave way to *suasoriae* and *controversiae*.[2]

The former were thought to be easier; they conveyed some political advice in the form of a λόγος προτρεπτικός or ἀποτρεπτικός and resembled the *thesis*. They also could contain descriptions. The *controversiae* discussed the pros and cons of legal cases, ficticious or taken from real life.

The increasing importance and independence of scholastic declamation were indirectly linked to the political change which no longer allowed significant political speeches. After the judicial reform of Pompeius even pleas for the defence lost relevance in general. Nevertheless even after the battle of Actium there were important lawsuits and even some political debates.

Declamation helped young Romans develop their inventive power, their linguistic potential, and their sense of style. Although the flaws of declamation were well-known, rhetorical education as a whole was never called in question.

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[1] M. V. Ronnick, Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, Frankfurt 1991.

[2] The terms *declamare*, *controversia*, and *suasoria* were developed in the second half of the 1st century B.C.

Yet, declamation more and more became a new form of entertainment for an educated society. The stages of development were probably these: teachers declaimed at school for their students (*contr.* 3 *praef.* 16; 7 *praef.* 1); so did orators at home for their friends (4 *praef.* 2; 10 *praef.* 3. 4). Some teachers gave their lessons publicly (3 *praef.* 10), others only occasionally invited listeners (3 *praef.* 1), e.g. the parents of their students (Pers. 3. 44–47; Quint. *inst.* 2. 7. 1; 10. 5. 21). Finally, soirées were introduced, where declaimers competed with each other in the presence of colleagues and guests.

Literary Technique

Seneca's prefaces to his books[1] show that he wants to write more than a mere compendium. Each preface is focused on the portrait of an important orator, which is enlivened by anecdotes (the same orator will be given due attention in the body of the book).[2] Moreover, the books are connected by means of transitions. In the *Suasoriae* Seneca tries to give even more coherence to the book as a unit; in the 1st book of the *Controversiae* the unifying link is a *syncrisis* contradistinguishing declamation from loftier genres, or certain declaimers from eminent authors.

All prefaces have epistolary form—in such explicitness this is an exception within Roman writings on rhetoric. Seneca applies the patterns of *prooemium* (reminiscent of historiography) but he gives them a personal touch. The *praefationes* are linked to each other by elements they have in common: the address to his sons, the reference to *imitatio* as a goal, and the use of positive and negative examples; the last preface thematically hearkens back to the first one (significant is the mention of Seneca's early years). Thus, Seneca rounds off his work.

To turn to details: Seneca devotes almost half of his space to *sententiae*, a subject in which his sons are especially interested. *Divisio* is treated most succinctly; here, the author is pleased to intersperse his text with short comments.

The *colores*, finally, occupy one third of the work. Numerous citations

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[1] We do not have the prefaces to *contr.* 5; 6; 8 and to *suas.*; *contr.* 9 *praef.* is incomplete.

[2] L. A. Sussman 1978, 46–51; Arellius Fuscus, who is prominent in the *Suasoriae*, was possibly introduced in the lost preface.

and anecdotes make these sections especially attractive to the reader. The *colores* are absent from the *Suasoriae*; instead, the *divisiones* are discussed more fully. *Descriptiones* are added without a separate heading.

Being a 'descriptive' critic, Seneca also plays a part in the history of biography.

Language and Style

Language and style of the *praefationes* are correct and unobtrusive, but the impression they give is relaxed and personal (a distinguishing mark of good style: it is as if we could see the author at work. His respect for Cicero (*contr.* 10 *praef.* 7) does not prevent him from resorting to 'modern' stylistic means such as poetic vocabulary, pointed expressions, antitheses and at times even the emotional grandiloquence of declamation (*contr.* 10 *praef.* 6).[1] As Seneca avoids all that might look violent and forced, the effect of his style is not unfavorable. It was from Seneca that later authors like Ben Jonson learnt the secret of giving their writings a 'personal touch'. His subtle use of vocabulary shows especially in literary criticism, which is our next issue.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae* are essentially works of literary criticism. Moreover there is a historical view of oratory: Seneca describes the change that oratory underwent during his lifetime. The passages he selects document the decline, which he is the first to diagnose.

Seneca's own standards are basically Ciceronian. An important principle is *imitatio* (*contr.* 1 *praef.* 6), but, as a literary critic, he is generous and undoctrinal. Wherever he meets a talent he is ready to acknowledge it. He tries to eschew schematic labeling. Labienus, for him, is *homo mentis quam linguae amarioris*, 'a man who had a sharper mind than tongue' (*contr.* 4 *praef.* 2). He calls Sparsus *hominem inter scholasticos sanum, inter sanos scholasticum* meaning that 'among the schoolmen he ranked as sane, though among the sane he ranked as a schoolman' (*contr.* 1. 7. 15). As a literary critic Seneca is inspired by Cicero's *Brutus*, but he tries even more to characterize each orator

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[1] NORDEN, Kunstprosa 1, 300.

individually. He prefers vivid and graphic epithets: *lascivus, inaequaliter, facundus, decenter, culte, mordax, nasutus, praedulcis, vigor orationis.* In the case of Pollio and Haterius he applies the method of *synkrisis.*

The preface to the 3rd book discusses the gulf between forensic speech and scholastic declamation. The famous orator Cassius Severus deplores the alteration of standards. Far from overestimating declamation, Seneca the Elder in the *Suasoriae* tries to draw the attention of his sons to more significant literary genres, as is shown from his quotations from epic and historiography (cf. also *suas.* 6. 16).

Owing to his rare discernment in assessing the individual qualities of authors, Seneca was called the 'Horace of Augustan prose criticism'.[1]

Ideas II

Seneca traces the decline of oratory back to three causes: first, corruption of morals; second, the fact that political and forensic activity is not rewarded by a political influence worth striving for (he is aware therefore, that the political change is the true reason); third, there is a quasi 'biological' mechanism: the development has gone beyond its culminating point. This pattern of thought is akin to the 'allegory of ages' ascribed to a Seneca by Lactantius (*inst.* 7. 15. 14–16); perhaps he has our author[2] in mind, who was also an historian. The allegory of ages does not presuppose philosophical depth; it perfectly suits a Roman empiricist.

A Roman *pater familias* of the good old type (Sen. *Helv.* 17. 3; *epist.* 108. 22), Seneca seems to be averse to philosophy. He objects, however, less to philosophy as such than to patterns of behavior which might shock society (like vegetarianism). He appreciates the Elder Cato's practical wisdom (*contr.* 1 *praef.* 9) and even speaks of Stoic philosophy as *tam sanctis fortibusque praeceptis*, 'such chaste and rigorous precepts' (*contr.* 2 *praef.* 1). His Roman realism, combined with a sense of humor, contributed to his psychological insight and to his subtle portrayal of characters; the almost complete loss of his historical work is to be deplored.

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[1] S. F. Bonner 1949, 148.

[2] L. A. Sussman 1978, 141; a different view e.g. in M. Griffin 1972, 1–9 (according to Griffin, the allegory of ages is too philosophical for the rhetor averse to speculation; the context is redolent of a moral *exemplum*; not cogent). Perhaps the discussion is irrelevant, and Lactantius mixed up Annaeus Seneca with Annaeus (Annius) Florus.

Politically the Annaei in all probability sympathized initially with the Pompeians (cf. Seneca's liking for Labienus, *contr.* 10 *praef.* 4–5). Yet, there must have been close connections with the Caesarians through Asinius Pollio, who in 43 lived in Corduba. Moreover Seneca was related by marriage to C. Galerius, the influencial governor of Egypt, and was an acquaintance of the noble Vinicii. Although Seneca lived in the hardest period of the Republic and in the happiest of the Principate, his verdict on the Principate is not enthusiastic. He admired Cicero at a moment when this was not particularly opportune. On the one hand he discerned the political reasons for the decay of oratory and criticized the burning of books; on the other his family was quickly promoted under the Emperors. The discrepancy is reminiscent of Tacitus.

Transmission

There are two totally different traditions:

1. The first group attests to an unabridged text of the *Controversiae* (*books 1, 2, 7, 9,* and *10,* including the prefaces to *7, 9,* and *10*) and *Suasoriae.* The most important manuscripts are the Antverpiensis 411 (A; 10th century), the Bruxellensis 9594 (B; 9th century), and the Vaticanus Latinus 3872 (V; 10th century). In the archetype of the three manuscripts the *Suasoriae* were placed before the *Controversiae,* according to the curriculum of the schools of rhetoric. V contains many conjectures and interpolations; therefore, we often have to give preference to A and B, which are traced to a common hyparchetype. The younger manuscripts depend on V. The beginning of the *Suasoriae* and the prefaces to *contr. 5, 6,* and *8* are completely lost.

2. The other strand of tradition consists of the excerpts (E) from the *Controversiae.* They had been made early (roughly in the 4th century) for class use. The most important of about 90 manuscripts is the Montepessulanus (Montpellier, Univ., Section de Médecine) 126 (M; 10th century). Where we are in a position to compare both traditions, we realize that the epitomator not only abridged but also modified his text, by trying, for instance, to give its rhythm more fluency.

In the *Controversiae* we have to rely on the excerpts especially for the parts lacking in ABV: *books 3–6* and *8,* as well as the prefaces to *books 1–4,*[1] which fortunately survived unshortened.

There are about 30 manuscrips contaning medieval commentaries on the excerpts; they are less relevant to textual criticism than to the history of Seneca's influence.

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[1] Here, the prefaces to *7* and *10* are contained as well.

Influence

Seneca the Elder was the first to criticize the fashion of declamation and the decline of oratory; many authors of the Neronian and the Flavian epoch would follow in his footsteps. His Ciceronian standards paved the way for Quintilian. Even Seneca the philosopher, despite his adherence to a 'modern' style, in his literary judgments would side sometimes with his father.

The *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae* find followers in the imperial declaimer Calpurnius Flaccus[1] and in the *Declamationes* ascribed to Quintilian.[2] The fact that the *Controversiae* were epitomized early, testifies to the schoolmen's lively interest in this text. Seneca for us represents the practice of declamation, the educational role of which remained unchallenged for a long time. Anonymously, such exercises influenced a great variety of fields of ancient literature: not only, as might be expected, the novel, but also Roman law, with which there was some interaction.[3] Church Fathers like Tertullian and Augustine were familiar with *declamatio*; an author as late as Ennodius (d. 521), before renouncing the world, would write exemplary declamations for his students.

In the 9th century, to which we are indebted for the manuscript basis of our tradition, Walahfrid Strabo (d. 849), after a long time, was the first to distinguish the two Senecas from each other.[4]

Seneca was quoted in *florilegia*, and scholars like Gerbert of Aurillac (d. 1003), Gilbert de la Poirée (d. 1154) and, of course, John of Salisbury (d. 1180) were familiar with his works. Nicolaus de Treveth (end of the 13th century) wrote a commentary on the excerpts.

The fanciful subjects of *Controversiae* afforded pabulum to novel writers. For example, the story of a girl who in a brothel remains a virgin is found in the Elder Seneca and in the *Historia Apollonii regis*

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[1] Ed. Pithou (together with Ps.-Quintilian), Paris 1580; P. Burmann (together with Ps.-Quintilian), Leiden 1720; G. Lehnert, Lipsiae 1903; L. A. Sussman (TTrC), Leiden 1994.

[2] L. A. Sussman, The Major *Declamations* Ascribed to Quintilian. A Translation, Frankfurt 1987.

[3] J. Stroux 1949. Suffice it to mention the doctrine of *status* and polarities like *ius—aequitas; verba—voluntas*. The 'unreality' of the laws presupposed in the *declamationes* has been over-emphasized.

[4] In the Modern Age this distinction is usually attributed to Raphael of Volterra (d. 1522) and Justus Lipsius (d. 1606), but already the 1490 edition of Seneca seems to distinguish Lucius (the philosopher) from 'Marcus' (the 'rhetor').

Tyri (which dates from late antiquity). Further traces appear in the medieval collection of short stories called *Gesta Romanorum*, in Boccaccio's (d. 1375) *Decameron* and in Leonardo Bruni (d. 1444; *Antioco e Stratonica*).

Erasmus (d. 1536) published an interpolated text of our author (in the Froben Seneca, Basel 1529) and energetically advocated the reintroduction of declamatory exercises; even Milton (d. 1674) would have to go through them. The first (French) translation was written by Mathieu de Chaluet (Paris 1604). Madeleine de Scudéry (d. 1701) drew on *contr.* 1. 6 for her *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa.* Ben Jonson (d. 1637) in his *Discoveries* (sec. 64) both wittily and literally transferred Seneca's literary portrait of Haterius (*contr.* 4 *praef.* 6–11) to Shakespeare, and that of Cassius Severus (*contr.* 3 *praef.* 1–4) to Bacon (sec. 71).[1] What seems to be the most vivid autobiographical passage of the same work (sec. 56) discusses the devastating influence of old age on memory and is equally taken from Seneca (*contr.* 1 *praef.* 2–5).

Seneca the Elder is one of our most important sources for schools of rhetoric, declamation, and mnemonics. His work, neglected for a long time, is a precious key to late Augustan prose. Moreover it gives us interesting glimpses into the Princeps' political measures against literature. Seneca's personal style, its natural ease—reminiscent of Emperor Claudius, but more refined—and his subtle art of character portrayal strike a new note in Latin literature, unobtrusive but unmistakable.

Editions: The excerpts (*liber declamationum Senecae*) first published in: L. Annaei Senecae opera, Neapoli, Matth. Moravus 1475. * The fuller text (M. Annaei Senecae *Declamationum libri X, Suasoriarum et Controversiarum libri VI*) in: L. Annaei Senecae opera, Venetiis, Bern. De Coris 1490. * A. Kiessling, Lipsiae 1872, repr. 1967. * H. J. Müller, Wien 1887. * H. Bornecque (TTrN), 2 vols., Paris 1902, 2nd ed. 1932 (corr.). * M. Winterbottom (good TTrN), 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1974. * L. Håkanson, Lipsiae 1989. * *suas.*: W. A. Edward (TTrC), Cambridge 1928. ** *Ind. in*: M. Annaei Senecae rhetoris opera quae extant. Integris N. Fabri, A. Schotti, J. F. Gronovii ... commentariis illustrata et praeterea indice accuratissimo aucta. Accedunt J. Schultingii ... notae et emendationes, vol. 3, Amstelodami 1672. At the end of the volume: rerum et verborum ... index locupletissimus

[1] B. Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. by M. Castelain, Paris 1906; see now B. Jonson, ed. by C. H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, vol. 8. *The Poems, The Prose Works*, Oxford 2nd ed. 1954, lines 647–668; 479–507.

(28 pages in three columns). ** *Bibl.*: J. E. G. WHITEHORNE, The Elder Seneca. A Review of Past Work, Prudentia 1, 1969, 14–27. * J. FAIRWEATHER 1984, s. below. * L. A. SUSSMAN, The Elder Seneca and Declamation Since 1900. A Bibliography, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 557–577.

H. BARDON, Le vocabulaire de la critique littéraire chez Sénèque le Rhéteur, Paris 1940. * H. BARDON, Mécanisme et stéréotypie dans le style de Sénèque le Rhéteur, AC 12, 1943, 5–24. * S. F. BONNER, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire, Liverpool 1949, repr. 1969. * H. BORNECQUE, Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père, Lille 1902, repr. 1967. * M. CERATTI, La grammatica di Seneca il retore, Torino 1908. * E. FANTHAM, Imitation and Decline. Rhetorical Theory and Practice in the First Century after Christ, CPh 73, 1978, 102–116. * J. FAIRWEATHER, Seneca the Elder, Cambridge 1981. * J. FAIRWEATHER, The Elder Seneca and Declamation, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 514–556. * M. GRIFFIN, The Elder Seneca and Spain, JRS 62, 1972, 1–19. * R. HÄUSSLER, Neues zum spätrömischen Lebensaltervergleich, in: J. HARMATTA, ed., Actes du VIIe Congrès de la FIEC, vol. 2, Budapest 1983, 183–191. * T. JANSON, Latin Prose Prefaces, Studies in Literary Conventions, Stockholm 1964. * E. M. JENKINSON, Further Studies in the Curriculum of the Roman Schools of Rhetoric in the Republican Period, SO 31, 1955, 122–130. * W. KROLL, Melete (*declamatio*), RE 15, 1932, 496–500; Rhetorik, RE suppl. 7, 1913, 1039–1138. * F. LANFRANCHI, Il diritto nei retori romani, Milano 1938. * C. W. LOCKYER, Jr., The Fiction of Memory and the Use of Written Sources: Convention and Practice in Seneca the Elder and Other Authors, diss. Princeton 1971 (DA 32, 3, 1971, 1491 A.). * O. ROSSBACH, L. Annaeus Seneca (Annaeus 16), RE 1, 1894, 2237–2240 and suppl. 1, 1903, 84–85. * P. L. SCHMIDT, Die Anfänge der institutionellen Rhetorik in Rom. Zur Vorgeschichte der augusteischen Rhetorenschulen, in: E. LEFÈVRE (ed.), Monumentum Chiloniense. Studien zur augusteischen Zeit. FS E. BURCK, Amsterdam 1975, 183–216. * D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, More on Seneca the Elder, Philologus 137, 1993, 38–52. * J. STROUX, Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik, Potsdam 1949. * L. A. SUSSMAN, The Elder Seneca, Leiden 1978.

QUINTILIAN

M. Fabius Quintilianus from Calagurris in Spain studied in Rome, where his father was active as a rhetor. Among his teachers were the famous grammarian Remmius Palaemon and the orator Domitius Afer. He returned to his homeland and, in 68, followed Galba, governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, back to Rome. There he would teach for twenty years as the first professor of rhetoric paid by the state. His reputation was so great that he obtained even the consular deco-

rations. In his private life, he was not spared heavy blows: he lost his nineteen-year-old consort and his two sons (6 *prooem.*). After his retirement from teaching Domitian made him tutor of the grandsons of his sister Domitilla. This position explains the praise he lavished on the tyrant.[1] He died about 96.[2]

We do not have the treatise *De causis corruptae eloquentiae* (which was not identical with the Tacitean *Dialogus*, cf. 6 *prooem.* 3); a speech which he later repented having published is also lost.[3] The *Declamationes*[4] are spurious. Preserved is his masterpiece, the *Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, written during his retirement. He dedicated it to Vitorius Marcellus[5] (1 *Prooem.* 6); it was destined for his son Geta. The final redaction took somewhat more than two years. His editor Tryphon prompted the author to accelerate the publication (about 94).[6]

Survey of the Work

The 12 books[7] consist altogether of 115 thematic units. The parts are well-proportioned and in accord with each other. The organization of a huge bulk of material is a typically Roman achievement.

The 1st book discusses elementary instruction and the importance of grammar, music and other liberal arts for the orator. The 2nd is an introduction to rhetoric. Books 3–7 treat of *inventio* and *dispositio* (how to find and arrange material). Books 8–11 are on *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (mnemonics), and *actio* (delivery). Book 12[8] deals with the orator and the speech.

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[1] 4 *prooem.* 3–5; 10. 1. 91–92; 3. 7. 9.

[2] The letters of Pliny the Younger, who perhaps studied with him (2. 14; 6. 6) are likely to have been written after his death.

[3] Moreover there had been a course of rhetoric, published against the author's will (3. 6. 68; 1 *prooem.* 7).

[4] Bibl. in L. A. Sussman's translation, Frankfurt 1987; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, More on Pseudo-Quintilian's Longer Declamations, HSPh 88, 1984, 113–137. The 19 major declamations cannot be genuine for linguistic reasons; Firmicus Maternus would use them in the 4th century. The minor declamations (1st–2nd century) are lingusitically unobjectionable and were deemed genuine e.g. by P. Aerodius and Constantin Ritter.

[5] O. I. Salomies, Quintilian and Vitorius Marcellus, Arctos 16, 1982, 153–158.

[6] In favor of a publication not later than 94: B. Zucchelli, Sulla data di pubblicazione dell'*Institutio oratoria* di Quintiliano, in: Filologia e forme letterarie, FS F. Della Corte, 4, Urbino 1987, 47–60; in favor of 97–98: W. C. McDermott and A. E. Orentzel, Quintilian and Domitian, Athenaeum 67, 1979, 9–26.

[7] The following books have prefaces: 1; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 12.

[8] C. J. Classen, Der Aufbau des 12. Buches der *Institutio oratoria* Quintilians, MH 22, 1965, 181–190.

Book 10[1] deserves special mention, being a kind of literary history for the incipient orator.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Quintilian thoroughly studied all available books on rhetoric. We can hope to find out his sources by examining the entire tradition. Fortunately, Quintilian's interest is not limited to handbooks; he duly recognizes the important works. Cicero[2] is authoritative not only in matters of style but also for Quintilian's educational ideal. Apart from written books we must take into account the author's own experience (e.g. 6. 2. 25).

Although Quintilian shows less first-hand knowledge of Greek authors than of Latin ones, he gives Greek a place of honor in early education (1. 1. 12), discusses Greek literature at some length (10. 1. 46–84), and even quotes Plato in the original (2. 15. 27–28).

Literary Technique

Quintilian deliberately dissociates his work from ordinary compendia and tries to combine the seriousness of technical literature with the beauty of a book written for the large public. It is true that Quintilian (in contradistinction to Cicero's *De oratore*) rejects the form of dialogue, but within the limits of scholarly prose he strives for brilliance (3. 1. 3), graphical vividness, and emotional appeal (cf. 6. 2. 32): to convey his ideal of naturalness, he uses the simile of a normally-built body (2. 5. 11). Another simile illustrates several degrees of instruction: birds first distribute the food which they have collected in their bills among their nestlings; then they teach them how to fly, themselves leading the way; finally they leave them to themselves. A slimming treatment illuminates how to give up turgid style (2. 10. 6). There is even an exquisite musical parallel: the orator should master all genres of speeches like a singing-teacher all registers of his voice (2. 8. 15).[3] To explain that the orator, to move others, must be moved

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[1] B. Schneider, Die Stellung des 10. Buches im Gesamtplan der *Institutio oratoria* des Quintilian, WS n.s. 17, 1983, 109–125.

[2] Cf. 1. 6. 18; 5. 13. 52; 10. 1. 112.

[3] Cf. also 12, *praef.* 2–4 (ship); 2. 4. 7 (bronze-casting); 12. 10. 3–9 (art history), cf. further F. Ahlheid, Analoga ontleend aan de athletiek bij Quintilianus, in: Apophoreta, FS A. D. Leeman, Amsterdam 1977, 3–10.

himself, Quintilian reminds us that water, fire, and colors impart their own qualities to neighboring objects (6. 2. 28); his personal confession ('I have frequently been so much moved', *frequenter motus sum*, ibid. 36) fits perfectly into his argument.

Some of his prefaces[1] go beyond the conventional *topoi* by talking about Quintilian's personal life (books 1, 4, 6, and 12). Quintilian is a master of literary portrayal. Like Seneca the Elder he knows how to give a personal touch to his message. Certain passages are especially lively such as those on the education of children (book 1), the duties of teachers (book 2), and the importance of reading certain authors for the future orator (10. 1).

Language and Style[2]

A clear and objective style is especially adequate to the character of a textbook. Quintilian does not avoid technical terms but uses them correctly. There is no excessive use of metaphors and his word order is, in the main, functional.

Nevertheless, our author knows how to impart some brilliance to his inflexible material;[3] parataxis can be replaced with complex periods, and prose rhythm extends even to purely technical passages. Change of mode serves *variatio*: Quintilian gives his advice not only by means of hortative subjunctive or gerundive: even the future may act as a mild imperative (e.g. 10. 1. 58; 3. 18). Stylistic ornaments are used, though with discretion.[4] Wherever justified by the content, the objective diction of the textbook yields to a rhetorical style, as in the discussion of emotions (6. 2. 2–7) and in polemic contexts.

Despite his classicism Quintilian conforms to the fashion of his day in using, for instance, adjectives as substantives.[5] An admirer of

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[1] The first preface rivals that of Cicero's *Orator*: T. JANSON, Latin Prose Prefaces. Studies in Literary Conventions, Stockholm 1964, 50–59; the complex introduction to book 8 is held together by the theme of *labor*: F. AHLHEID 1983.

[2] S. esp. E. ZUNDEL, Lehrstil und rhetorischer Stil in Quintilians *Institutio oratoria*, Frankfurt 1981.

[3] *Admiscere temptavimus aliquid nitoris* 3. 1. 3.

[4] Anaphora (e.g. 10. 1. 55; 99; 115), chiasmus (10. 5. 14 alitur—renovatur), zeugma (5. 10. 121).

[5] He is not entirely blind to the qualities of his contemporaries: *Sunt enim summa hodie, quibus inlustratur forum, ingenia* (*inst.* 10. 1. 122); P. HIRT, Über die Substantivierung des Adjectivums bei Quintilian, Progr. Berlin 1890.

Cicero,[1] though less in letter than in spirit, he does not limit himself to the actual vocabulary[2] of the great orator but emulates his great variety of tones and his sense of appropriateness.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In his use of grammar Quintilian follows the usage of the educated (*usus*) and mocks the pedantry of the champions of analogy.[3] He draws an illuminating comparison between the stylistic potential of Greek and that of Latin (12. 10. 27–38). In his view ethic and aesthetic discipline are linked to each other (2. 5. 11–12). Beginners should avoid both archaism and modernism,[4] especially the fashionable pointed style (12. 10. 73–76), although, at a more advanced stage, archaic and modern books may be studied (2. 5. 21–23). The severity of Quintilian's literary taste shows from his urging his students to give much care to style, but without falling into an idolatry of form (*inst.* 8 *praef.*).[5] *Movere* and *delectare* must not become impediments to *docere*; you should write, therefore, *candide atque simpliciter* (*inst.* 12. 11. 8). Quintilian, by his striving for clarity (*perspicuitas*), set lasting standards for orators and teachers. Yet his so-called classicism is free from narrowness: we should attempt to attain the quality of the Greek models; no style is the only true one, even the *optimi auctores* were mortals; it is up to us to find an equal poise between *ingenium* and *ars* as well as between form and content. Quintilian, therefore, is far from singling out an individual epoch as a universal model. Hence, the so-called literary history found in the tenth book of the *Institutio* (book 10) is not historical in the most literal sense of the word. Greek and Roman literature are juxtaposed on equal terms. Unlike Greek

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[1] *Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit* (*inst.* 10. 1. 112).

[2] Abundant evidence in W. Peterson, Commentary on Book 10, Oxford 1891, repr. 1967, xxxix–lxvii.

[3] A. Alberte, Cicerón y Quintiliano ante los principios analogistas y anomalistas, Minerva 1, 1987, 117–127.

[4] On his surly verdict on Seneca's 'modern' style: T. Gelzer, Quintilians Urteil über Seneca. Eine rhetorische Studie, MH 27, 1970, 212–223; G. Ballaira, Il giudizio di Quintiliano sullo stile di Seneca (*inst.* 10. 1. 129 s.), GB 9, 1980, 173–180; K. Heldmann 1980; it is typical that Quintilian lavishes especial praise on Terence (10. 1. 99), not on Plautus (against archaism 2. 5. 21).

[5] F. Ahlheid 1983.

theorists who tend to neglect Hellenism, Quintilian gives a comprehensive survey of archaic, classical, and Hellenistic Greek literature without dissecting it into periods. To our Roman's mind, great literature in its entirety is a live presence. Valid achievements are possible at any time and in any genre.

Ideas II

These are some principles of Quintilian's educational concept: his ideal is the perfect orator who should be a good man. Language and speech are his specific medium. Besides language and rhetoric, which take pride of place, other subjects are part of the curriculum (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία). In Quintilian's as in Cicero's view (cf. the *De oratore*) a future orator should possess a solid general education (1. 10. 2–4), since it lends him a hidden power and is felt even if the orator does not show it off (ibid. 7; cf. Cic. *de orat.* 1. 72–73). Music[1] is the first of the *artes* to be discussed; it teaches how to move becomingly, how to give one's speech a graceful rhythm, and how to read poetic texts correctly. Mathematical disciplines convey some formal training (1. 10. 34 *acui ingenia*); they help the orator especially to find a good line of argument; the same is true of dialectics, discussed by Quintilian within the framework of philosophy, not that of the *artes* (12. 2. 10–14). There is as yet no established system of *artes liberales* in Quintilian.[2]

Quintilian emphasizes the ethical orientation of education; rhetoric has to serve pedagogy. Unlike the sophists, Quintilian pursues a moral aim: by studying rhetoric, the student should develop *virtus*. We should talk about virtue and teach it. Philosophical books are

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[1] U. Müller, Zur musikalischen Terminologie der antiken Rhetorik. Ausdrücke für Stimmanlage und Stimmgebrauch bei Quintilian, *inst.* 11. 3, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 26, 1969, 29–48; 105–124; M. von Albrecht, Musik und Rhetorik bei Goethe und Quintilian, in: M. von Albrecht, W. Schubert, eds., Musik in Antike und Neuzeit, Frankfurt 1987, 31–50; G. Wille, Quintilian, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by F. Blume, Kassel sine anno, s.v. Quintilian, Sp. 1818–1820.

[2] At the age of seven, the student learnt reading, writing, and arithmetic with the *ludi magister*. At fourteen, he read poets and historians with the *grammaticus*. Music and geometry were secondary subjects; sport, religion, and politics were not taught. From his fifteenth year onward, he studied with the *rhetor* (*controversiae, suasoriae*, and philosophy), and listened to speeches of famous orators and to advice given by great jurists.

part of the orator's equipment. Yet, on the whole, compared to rhetoric, philosophy is less important in Quintilian than it had been in Cicero: *philosophia simulari potest, eloquentia non potest*, 'philosophy may be counterfeited, but eloquence never' (*inst.* 12. 3. 12).

Education has to begin early. Especially in its first years a child should be surrounded with good examples both of speech and morals. The greatest responsibility rests with the parents; they have to provide the early education and by their example prevent spoiling and corruption. Early instruction should combine intellectual and emotional development including voluntary movements and play instinct. Greek is learnt before Latin.

School is preferable to private lessons since staying in a group facilitates learning: it is easier to imitate fellow students than the teacher, and the latter is better motivated by a large audience.

A teacher has to meet stringent requirements: he has to be a father and a friend. Above all he has to develop the right attitude towards his students and maintain self-control. When criticising others he should beware of offending them. A teacher should get into the spirit of his function and accordingly transform himself. His demeanor must bear the stamp of sincerity; as emotion is the mother of eloquence he should first of all be moved himself and graphically imagine the ideas he wants to convey to others. An educator is not a dealer.

A student has his own dignity which must not be impaired. Corporal punishment was then in common use; Quintilian rejects it as a personal injury (1. 3. 14–17). More effective is praise; the same is true of love for the teacher, which should be gradually supplanted, however, by love for the subject matter. To make learning a success, there must be mutual *pietas* and *concordia* between teacher and student (2. 9). Quintilian agrees with the Theodoreans in deeming precepts not universally valid; according to circumstances they have to be changed and even revoked; what is important is to recognize individual aptitudes and foster them correspondingly (2. 8): the divergent tendencies of talents should be balanced by the teacher to avoid narrowness. Faults should be corrected according to the student's capabilities in order to keep hope alive. Method is conditioned by the structure of the subject matter. Variation in the form of the didactic dialogue is necessary; the same is true for breaks. It is an aim of pedagogy to have the students find out things by themselves and to render the teacher dispensable (2. 5. 13).

Quintilian recommends that the youth learn by heart good texts—not their own products—in order to enrich their vocabulary and style (2. 7. 1–4). Adults should prepare their speeches written, even 'carved' into shape (12. 9. 16). A new domain discovered by Quintilian is the tactics of dicussion.[1] The doctrine of the orator, his moral attitude, and his duties (book 12) are treated more fully than they are in Cicero.

Transmission[2]

Only a few of the numerous manuscripts are old; they complement each other:

1st group (A): Ambrosianus E 153 sup. (A; 9th century),

2nd group (B): Bernensis 351 (Bn; 9th century), the older parts of the Bambergensis (Bg; 10th century); Parisinus Nostradamensis 18 527 (N; 10th century),

3rd group (C): the later manuscripts (15th century), including the more recent parts of the Bambergensis.

The Ambrosianus and the Bernensis have equal claim to authority. Only where they disagree or are lacking (they have lacunas) should we consider the younger manuscripts (C), the evidence of which has to be judged with skepticism. This is true even of the Parisinus Lat. 7 723 (P; 15th century) which had been highly rated by RADERMACHER.

Influence

Quintilian's beneficial influence is clearly felt in Pliny's *Letters*, the Tacitean *Dialogus* and probably also in the matter-of-fact style of Suetonius. At first the *Institutio* did not meet with the response it deserved, for Fronto and his followers turned to archaism. Teachers of rhetoric like Fortunatianus and Julius Victor—heavily exploited our author (Julius Victor, therefore, for us, is as good as a manuscript of Quintilian). Hilary, in his *De trinitate*, extended his imitation of Quintilian even to the number of books. Jerome, Rufinus, and

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[1] On *altercatio* 6. 4. 1: Do not stick obstinately to points in which you have been confuted! Divert your opponent, surprise him, let him overshoot the mark! Presence of mind counts more than anything else (12. 5).

[2] M. WINTERBOTTOM, edition, *praef.*; M. WINTERBOTTOM, Fifteenth Century Manuscripts of Quintilian, CQ n.s. 17, 1967, 339–369; C. E. MURGIA, A Problem in the Transmission of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, CPh 75, 1980, 312–320.

Cassiodorus mentioned our author. His educational ideal of universal knowledge (an ideal which is ultimately Ciceronian) might have influenced Martianus Capella and even Augustine.

The manuscripts known in the Middle Ages, especially in France, were mostly in lacunose condition. Lupus of Ferrières[1] (d. after 862) had Quintilian copied, among other authors. In 10th–11th century Germany, a complete copy of Quintilian was available, though even there most readers were satisfied with anthologies; the full text would be rediscovered by Poggio in St. Gall in 1415/1416.[2]

Quintilian influenced literary critics and teachers above all from the 15th to the 17th century. Petrarch (d. 1374) had written a letter to Quintilian; Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457) classed him higher than Cicero,[3] Filelfo (d. 1481) libeled his Latin as 'Hispanic'.[4] Quintilian's pertinent verdicts on certain authors would have a history of their own.[5] He shaped the taste and formed the syllabus and set his stamp on the theory of all arts, including music.[6] Erasmus thoroughly studied Quintilian, Luther preferred him to almost all authors, Melanchthon recommended him for studying. For modern Europe Quintilian was a guide to independent thought and speech. The baroque age ushered in what may be called a revival of Quintilian; in his footsteps, for example, J. Matth. Meyfart (d. 1642) wrote the first important book on rhetoric in German (Coburg 1634). Quintilian's system was taught in classrooms[7] up to the end of the 18th century—partly in abridged editions (e.g. C. Rollin, Paris 1715). J. S. Bach, who as a teacher of Latin was a colleague of J. M. Gesner (d. 1761), an expert

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[1] P. Lehmann, Die *Institutio oratoria* des Quintilianus im Mittelalter, Philologus 89, 1934, 349–383, esp. 354–359.

[2] O. Seel 1977, 259–265.

[3] M. Wegner, Altertumskunde, München 1951, 30; on Quintilian's influence s. now: C. J. Classen, Quintilian and the Revival of Learning in Italy, HumLov 43, 1994, 77–98.

[4] G. Voigt, Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, Berlin 1893, 1, 3rd ed., 464.

[5] F. Quadlbauer, *Livi lactea ubertas*. Bemerkungen zu einer quintilianischen Formel und ihrer Nachwirkung, in: E. Lefèvre, E. Olshausen, eds., Livius. Werk und Rezeption, FS E. Burck, München 1983, 347–366.

[6] J. Krämer, Zur Frühgeschichte der musikalischen Rhetorik: Joachim Burmeister, IJM 2, 1993, 101–112.

[7] Baroque classroom teaching of rhetoric is reflected in a manuscript discovered by the author of the present book. It will be first published by: T. Feigenbutz, A. Reichensperger, Barockrhetorik und Jesuitenpädagogik. Vulcano's *Sagata Pallas* (TTrC), 2 vols., Tübingen 1996.

on Quintilian, paid an exceptional homage to Quintilian in his *Musical Offering*.[1] Goethe, when a student, put down 19 excerpts from books 1, 2, and 10 of Quintilian's *Institutio* (in his *Ephemerides* 1770–1771).[2] Quintilian's disappearance from the syllabus of Jesuit Colleges contributed to the waning of his influence. Another factor was the contempt for rhetoric which came into vogue with the rise of romanticism.

Mommsen (RG 5, 70) deemed the *Institutio* 'one of the most eminent works we possess from Roman antiquity'. In the 20th century Luciano Albini (Pope John Paul I) addressed an epistle to Quintilian, wishing that his methods and messages should not sink into oblivion.[3]

Editions: Phil. de Liguamine (publisher), with a letter of Io. Ant. Campanus, Romae 1470. * Io. Andreas (Bishop of Aleria), Romae 1470. * G. L. Spalding (TC), 4 vols., Lipsiae 1798–1816, vol. 5: suppl. vol. (on textual problems) by C. T. Zumptius, Lipsiae 1829, vol. 6: s. Lexicon. * C. Halm, Lipsiae 1868–1869. * L. Radermacher, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1907, 3rd ed. 1959, rev. V. Buchheit. * H. E. Butler (TTr), 4 vols., London 1921–1922. * M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., Oxford 1970. * J. Cousin (TTr), 7 vols. (complete), Paris 1975–1980. * H. Rahn (TTr), 2 vols., Darmstadt 1972; 2nd ed. 1988 (rev.). * *Book 1*: F. H. Colson (TC), Cambridge 1924. * *Book 3*: J. Adamietz (TC), München 1966. * *Book 6, ch. 3* (*De risu*): G. Monaco, Palermo 1967. * *Book 8*: G. A. Kennedy, diss. Harvard 1954. * *Book 10*: E. Bonnell (TC), Berlin 6th ed. 1912. * W. Peterson (TC), Oxford 1891, repr. 1967. * *Book 11. 3. 84–124*: U. Maier-Eichhorn (C), s. below. * *Book 12*: R. G. Austin (TC), Oxford 1948; corr. 2nd ed. 1965. ** Ps.-Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores*: G. Lehnert, Lipsiae 1905. * L. Håkanson, Stutgardiae 1982. * L. A. Sussman (Tr), Frankfurt 1987. * *minores*: C. Ritter, Lipsiae 1884. * M. Winterbottom (TC), Berlin 1984. * D. R. Shackleton Bailey (T, ind.), Stutgardiae 1989. ** *Lexicon*: E. Bonnell, Lipsiae 1834 (suppl. vol. to G. L. Spalding's edition). * E. Zundel, Clavis Quintilianea, Quintilians Institutio oratoria aufgeschlüsselt nach rhetorischen Begriffen, Darmstadt 1989. ** *Bibl.*: J. Adamietz, Quintilians *Institutio oratoria*, ANRW 32, 4, Berlin 1986, 2226–2271, bibl. 2266–2271. * L. Håkanson, Die quintilianischen Deklamationen in der neueren Forschung, ANRW 32, 4, 1986, 2272–2306, bibl. 2301–2306.

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[1] U. Kirkendale, Bach und Quintilian. Die *Institutio oratoria* als Modell des *Musikalischen Opfers*, in: M. v. Albrecht, W. Schubert, eds., Musik in Antike und Neuzeit, Frankfurt 1987, 85–107.

[2] O. Seel 1977, 288–313; later, Goethe's judgment on Quintilian would become negative (Conte, LG 517).

[3] von Albrecht, Rom 317–318, n. 86.

J. Adamietz, *s. Bibl.* * F. Ahlheid, Quintilian. The Preface to Book VIII and Comparable Passages in the *Institutio oratoria*, Amsterdam 1983. * B. Appel, Das Bildungs- und Erziehungsideal Quintilians nach der *Institutio oratoria*, diss. München 1914. * K. Barwick, Remmius Palaemon und die römische *ars grammatica*, Philologus suppl. 15, 2, Leipzig 1922. * E. Bolaffi, La critica filosofica e letteraria in Quintiliano, Latomus 15, 1956, 532–543. * J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, London 1931. * M. L. Clarke, Quintilian on Education, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Silver Latin II: Empire and Aftermath, London 1975, 98–118. * J. Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 2 vols., Paris 1936, repr. (unchanged, with add.) 1967. * J. Cousin, Recherches sur Quintilien. Manuscrits et éditions, Paris 1975. * M. J. Dewar, Mollifying Quintilian, Hermes 122, 1994, 122–125. * J. Dingel, Scholastica materia. Untersuchungen zu den *Declamationes minores* und der *Institutio oratoria* Quintilians, Berlin 1988. * E. Fantham, Quintilian on Performance: Traditional and Personal Elements in *Institutio*, Phoenix 36, 1982, 243–263. * K. Heldmann, Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst, München 1982. * K. Heldmann, Dekadenz und literarischer Fortschritt bei Quintilian und bei Tacitus, Poetica 12, 1980, 1–23. * J. H. Henderson, Quintilian and the *Progymnasmata*, A&A 37, 1991, 82–99. * L. Håkanson, Textkritische Studien zu den größeren pseudoquintilianischen *Deklamationen*, Lund 1974. * G. Kennedy, Quintilian, New York 1969. * J. Kopperschmidt, Quintilian *De argumentis*. Oder: Versuch einer argumentationstheoretischen Rekonstruktion der antiken Rhetorik, in: Rhetorik. Ein internationales Jahrbuch 2, 1981, 59–74. * W. Kroll, Rhetorik, RE suppl. 7, 1940, 1039–1138. * F. Kühnert, Quintilians Erörterung über den Witz (*inst.* 6. 3), Philologus 106, 1962, 29–59; 305–314. * Kühnert, Bildung und Redekunst. * U. Maier-Eichhorn, Die Gestikulation in Quintilians Rhetorik, Frankfurt 1989. * O. Seel, Quintilian oder die Kunst des Redens und Schweigens, Stuttgart 1977. * F. R. Varwig, Der rhetorische Naturbegriff bei Quintilian. Studien zu einem Argumentationstopos in der rhetorischen Bildung der Antike, Heidelberg 1976. * M. Winterbottom, Quintilian and the *vir bonus*, JRS 54, 1964, 90–97. * M. Winterbottom, Quintilian and Rhetoric, in: T. A. Dorey, ed., Silver Latin II: Empire and Aftermath, London 1975, 79–97. * M. Winterbottom, Problems in Quintilian, London 1970. * G. Wöhrle, *Actio*. Das fünfte *officium* des antiken Redners, Gymnasium 97, 1990, 31–46, esp. 43–45.

PLINY THE ELDER

Life and Dates

C. Plinius Secundus from Novum Comum[1] was a native of the Transpadana as had been Catullus (*nat. praef.* 1). From Plin. *epist.* 3. 5. 7 we may conclude that he was born in A.D. 23–24. He came to Rome at an early age and joined the general and tragedian P. Pomponius Secundus, whose biography he would write later on. Military service in the cavalry brought him to Germany. He practised for some time as an advocate (Plin. *epist.* 3. 7). During the second half of Nero's reign he seems to have deliberately abstained from public service. Later, Vespasian almost daily entrusted him with official duties (Plin. *epist.* 3. 5. 9). He served as an imperial governor in Spain and elsewhere (Plin. *epist.* 3. 5. 17). He must have seen Gaul (*nat.* 2. 150) and Africa (*nat.* 7. 36). As a prefect of the Roman fleet he was stationed at Misenum when the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 cost him his life (Plin. *epist.* 6. 16). During the catastrophe he gave proof of scientific interest, personal courage, and selflessness.

At any spare moment which his official duties left him he restlessly devoted himself to scholarship. He had books read to him and was permanently accompanied by a shorthand writer. His nephew inherited a collection of excerpts on 160 scrolls written on both sides and in the minutest hand (Plin. *epist.* 3. 5. 17).

Survey of Works

The following works are lost: *De iaculatione equestri*; *De vita Pomponi Secundi*; *Bellorum Germaniae libri XX*[2] (quoted by Tacitus *ann.* 1. 69. 3); *Studiosus* (three books on the study of oratory; deemed 'pedantic' by Quintilian, *inst.* 11. 3. 143); *Dubii sermonis libri VIII* (s. below Ideas I: Reflections on Literature); *A fine Aufidii Bassi libri XXXI* (an historical work crammed with facts, inimical to Nero and favoring the Flavians; it was published posthumously by his nephew).

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[1] Suet. *frg.* p. 92 Reifferscheid. His nephew gives us important information on his biography (*epist.* 3. 5; 5. 8; 6. 16; and 6. 20); R. Copony, *Fortes Fortuna iuvat.* Fiktion und Realität im ersten Vesuv-Brief des jüngeren Plinius (6. 16), GB 14, 1987, 215–228.

[2] K. Sallmann, Der Traum des Historikers: Zu den *Bella Germaniae* des Plinius und zur julisch-claudischen Geschichtsschreibung, ANRW 2, 32, 1, 1984, 578–601.

The *Natural History* in 37 books has come down to us. It is preceded by a dedicatory epistle to Titus, Vespasian's son and co-regent, from the time of his 6th consulate (77 or 78).

Survey of the *Natural History* (according to books)

1 Dedication to Titus; general table of contents and sources; *2* cosmology; *3–6* geography; *7* anthropology; *8–11* zoology; *12–19* botanics; *20–27* medical botanics; *28–32* medical zoology; *33–37* mineralogy (and its artistic use). Cosmology and geography form a block, as do anthropology and zoology; therefore, the whole is an annular composition formed by four groups of five and two groups of eight books:[1] inanimate matter (*2–6* and *33–37*); men and animals (*7–11* and *28–32*); plants (*12–19* and *20–27*).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Unlike most classical authors, who are reticent or vague about their sources, Pliny in his 1st book gives us lists of authors for each of the following books. In principle authors are adduced in the same order as they appear in the text; exceptions may be owing to later additions made by Pliny.

Pliny names over 400 authors, of which 146 are Roman. As he says in his preface he excerpted 100 selected authors. Supposedly, Pliny first established a stock of basic information from relatively few and mostly Latin authors such as Varro and then gradually enriched it with excerpts from other sources. Simplistic hypotheses concerning Pliny's sources should be treated with mistrust, for Pliny declares: *auctorum neminem unum sequar, sed ut quemque verissimum in quaque parte arbitrabor*, 'I shall not follow any single authority, but such as I shall judge most reliable in their several departments' (3. 1).

Possible sources for cosmology (book 2) are Posidonius, Fabianus (also Nigidius Figulus), Nechepso-Petosiris, Epigenes, and Thrasyllus.

Pliny's geography (books 3–6) perhaps adheres to the pattern of the geographical books of Varro's *Antiquitates*, completing them from Augustus' censor's lists (*formulae*) and the map of Agrippa, whose conscientiousness is praised by Pliny (3. 17). In his chapters on Germany he could make use of his own experience. Additional information came from Nepos (who is heavily blamed for his credulity: 5. 4), Licinius Mucianus (for Armenia), and Statius Sebosus (especially for Africa). Greek sources are Juba, Isidore of Charax, and some learned treatise on islands and their changes of names.

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[1] F. Römer 1983.

For anthropology (book 7) Varro is the principal source, enriched, among others, from collections of *exempla* and Trogus (as a mediator of Aristotelian material) and Juba (who, in this case, is absent from the index).

The books on zoology (8–11) rely on material from Aristotle and Theophrastus found in Trogus; moreover, Juba furnished information on African and oriental animals. Notes from Varro, Mucianus, Fenestella, and others complete the mosaic.

Botanical lore (books 12–19) is drawn from Theophrastus and agricultural authors, especially Varro and Celsus. Parallels with Dioscorides point to Sextius Niger. Some scientific and botanical material not found in Theophrastus is traced to unknown sources.

The botanical part of medicine (books 20–27) mostly comes from Sextius Niger (as is evinced by the permanent closeness to Dioscorides) and from Bassus. Nor does Pliny ignore Theophrastus, Antonius Castor (his teacher of botanics), Celsus, and others. Varro, who furnished much material, is not always named.

The medical use of animal substances (books 28–32), a real treasury of classical superstition—is discussed mainly after Xenocrates, Anaxilaus, and Varro (occasionally after Verrius Flaccus). The sections on salt as a remedy (31. 96–105) are based on a serious Greek source. Pliny's authorities on mineralogy (books 33–37) probably were Xenocrates, Archilaus, Juba, Theophrastus, and Varro. Pasiteles was one of Pliny's sources for art history.

Pliny's work is not a textbook; today it would be called an encyclopedia addressed to the educated general reader.[1] In this regard Varro is Pliny's most important model. This genre is not held in great esteem nowadays, since encyclopedias tend to appear at the ends of periods interested in scholarship; Pliny, however, as a true successor of Varro, has a high opinion of his task, as we shall see later.

Literary Technique

If Pliny is to be believed, his *Natural History* is not primarily intended to be a work of literature; he wants it to be useful.[2] Yet it is much more than a mere *commentarius*: the author is fully aware of his

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[1] N. P. Howe 1985.
[2] G. A. Seeck 1985.

readership; in fact his work repeatedly, especially during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, held primary importance, not only as a collection of information but also as a complete description of man's environment written in good Latin.

The overall structure is symmetrical (s. Survey of Works). The fact that animals are discussed before plants, while vegetable remedies range before animal ones is not a fault, therefore, but a consequence of the basic concept.

The modern reader may be astonished to find in a *Natural History* so much space given to man's artistic and scholarly activities. At every step Pliny tries to establish a link between nature and man. This reflects on his literary technique: he tries to enliven his lists of facts by interspersing them with anecdotes, paradoxes, and, above all, moral considerations,[1] which allow the reader not only to understand the described objects but also to relate to them personally. Such passages reveal the author's didactic abilities.

The introductions to the books are elaborated with special care. The preface to the entire work is a letter to Titus. As anyone would have expected, this epistle is crammed with facts and quotations, though anything but stupid or haphazard. It conveys a typical impression of Pliny as an author. With rhetorical skill, he first depreciates his own work, then enhances his addressee who, finally, imparts some of his own dignity to the *Naturalis historia*.[2]

Even as a writer on natural history, Pliny remains a Roman and a moralist. At the same time he wishes to amaze his readers and indulges in paradox statements. As might be expected from a Latin, he is no less eager to teach than to please. Nevertheless there are many varieties of style in the *Naturalis historia* ranging from dry enumeration to passionate diatribe.

Language and Style

Pliny's language[3] contains many technical terms, most of them Greek. He apologizes to his readers for using them; as he does for treating

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[1] A. Locher, The Structure of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, in: R. French, F. Greenaway, eds., 1986, 20–29.

[2] T. Köves-Zulauf, Die Vorrede der plinianischen *Naturgeschichte*, WS 86, n.s. 7, 1973, 134–184.

[3] J. Miller, Der Stil des älteren Plinius, Innsbruck 1883; P. V. Cova, R. Gazich, G. E. Manzoni, G. Melzani, Studi sulla lingua di Plinio il Vecchio, Milano 1986;

certain subject matters which are anything but sublime (*quarundam rerum humilitas*, 'the down-to-earth character of some of my subjects' 14. 7; *aut rusticis vocabulis aut externis*, 'terms either rustic or foreign', *nat. praef.* 13). His striving for conciseness entails, for example, ellipsis (omission of words), employment of the neuter forms of adjectives as nouns, and a free use of participles. Dry lists alternate with ornate passages in a rhetorical vein. Here we find features typical of Silver Latin: antithesis, exclamation, and artificial word order. It is true that Columella's and Celsus' Latin is more classical and more fluent; nevertheless it is Pliny's achievement to have mastered in Latin the entire range of scientific knowledge of his time.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Pliny pretends to write for the *humile vulgus*, farmers, artisans, and *studiorum otiosi* (*nat. praef.* 6), he does so, however, in the context of a flattering address to Titus. He calls his *Naturalis historia* books *levioris operae*, 'works of a lighter nature' (*nat. praef.* 12), for they neither give free space to *ingenium* nor allow of rhetorical adornment. Instead, they require rustic and barbaric words. He quotes Lucilius who did not wish to be read by the most learned people (*nat. praef.* 7). All these are formulas of modesty. Pliny seems to play, as it were, 'a game of hide-and-seek between technical literature and *belles-lettres*'.[1] Basically, he wants to write a work meeting literary standards: he was the first to venture upon a comprehensive description of nature and man in Latin. We may believe him that he wants to serve the large public and the common weal. The form of his work meets the readers' demands: Pliny has a high opinion of the task of writing Latin prose; being a Roman, he actually prefers prose to poetry.[2]

In his lost eight books *Dubii sermonis*, Pliny (like Varro) recognized the importance of the live linguistic usage as opposed to analogy. In contradistinction to the classicizing tastes of Remmius Palaemon he does not abstain from quoting early Latin authors. His reflections on euphony are a rare feature.

P. V. Cova, La lingua di Plinio il Vecchio. Studi e problemi, BStudLat 16, 1986, 47–54.

[1] G. A. Seeck 1985, 431.

[2] N. P. Howe 1985.

Ideas II

In an excursus on divinity and providence (2. 14–27) Pliny rejects polytheism and understands God as a process between human beings and almost defines him in terms of function: *Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem et haec ad aeternam gloriam via*, 'for mortal to aid mortal—this is God; and this is the road to eternal glory' (2. 18).[1] This is how Pliny describes the ancient Roman attitude, and this is his motivation of the apotheosis of emperors. Such ideas are immediately juxtaposed to the Epicurean dogma saying that gods do not care about mortal affairs (2. 20), a statement to be revoked later (2. 26), after an excursus on the belief in fate and fortune. Finally, God appears as *naturae potentia* (2. 27). Correspondingly, 'nature, mother of all creation' (*parens rerum omnium natura*) is addressed and hailed like a godhead (37. 205). She plays the role of providence (15. 7; 9. 20; 22. 16–17); Pliny's view is anthropocentric: it is for man's sake that sympathy and antipathy reign in nature (20. 1).

The equation of world, nature, and God is Stoic (2 *pr.*). Pliny also alludes to the Stoic doctrine of universal conflagration (7. 73). Like the Stoics, he approves of suicide (2. 27; 156; 28. 9). The passages on the smallness of the earth (2. 174) with their reprobation of human vanity may ultimately be traced to Posidonius. Like the Stoics, Pliny does not draw radical conclusions from his theoretical abrogation of polytheism: myth, popular religion, and state religion remain unchallenged.

Other ideas deviate from Stoic optimism: is nature perhaps no more than a stepmother (cf. 7. 1)? The lot of man is deplorable (25. 23), although he is able to improve it by acquiring knowledge of nature. The progress of civilization is harmful because it implies alienation from nature (33. 3; 36. 3). In innumerable instances Pliny proves to be a moralist in the ancient Roman vein, scourging moral decline and glorifying the old times. Such sermons reminiscent of satire depend on Cynic popular philosophy. Sometimes Pliny strikes almost prophetic notes: he does not shrink from condemning war (34. 138), an idea which would not have crossed the mind of a Roman of the good old type. And he regrets the decline of scholarship under the *pax Romana* (2. 117–118; 14. 1–6).

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[1] Cf. also *nat. praef.* 3 (to Titus): *nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunae amplitudo, nisi ut prodesse tantundem posses et velles.* Pliny declares that the wish to be useful was the motive of his literary activity (*praef.* 16).

Nevertheless, he labels astronomical research as *furor* (2. 3; cf. 87). Unlike Seneca, who in the preface of his *Naturales quaestiones* praises pure knowledge, Pliny is not a philosopher. With many of his contemporaries he shares an excessive respect for book-learning and authorities. Just because they had been transmitted, he feels obliged to transmit even things he does not believe (2. 85; 30. 137). Correspondingly, he confuses the rationalism of mathematical cosmology with the mysticism of astrology. However, we are indebted to him for some remains of the 'heliodynamic' doctrine (supposedly originating from Chaldaea): the sun influences the movement of the planets; the latter interact (which is true even of their colors); they produce winds, whereas comets send lightnings. There are 72 constellations.[1] Contrary to the principles of modern natural science, Pliny does not consider nature on its own but in its relationship to man and practical life.

Transmission

There are roughly 200 manuscripts. They fall into two groups: the best of the so-called *vetustiores* are the codex Moneus rescriptus (5th century: *nat.* 11. 6–15. 77 with lacunae), the Leidensis Vossianus fol. n. 4 (9th century: *nat.* 2. 196–6. 51 with lacunae), and the Bambergensis (9th century: *nat.* 32–37). Moreover, the text of the *vetustiores* has survived in fragments from late antiquity (5th–6th century), in medieval excerpts (e.g. in the Parisinus Salmasianus 10 318, about 800) and in the guise of corrections and additions found in manuscripts of the other class.[2]

The so-called *recentiores* are traced to a single archetype; there, the passage 4. 67–5. 34 had been inserted into 2. 187. The main representative of this group is a rather old manuscript, the parts of which are scattered over three countries: Vaticanus 3861, Parisinus 6796, Leidensis Vossianus fol. n. 61. Many codices derive from the Parisinus 6795 (9th–10th century). The so-called *recentiores* tradition has turned out to be older than expected but no better.[3]

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[1] 'Plinian' astronomy would see a late revival in central Europe: B. S. Eastwood, Plinian Astronomy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, in: R. French, F. Greenaway, eds., 1986, 197–251.

[2] B. J. Campbell, Two Manuscripts of the Elder Pliny, AJPh 57, 1936, 113–123 (on the Cheltenhamensis).

[3] J. Desanges, Le manuscrit (CH) et la classe des 'recentiores' de l'*Histoire Naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, Latomus 25, 1966, 508–525; J. Desanges, Note complémentaire sur trois manuscrits 'recentiores' de l'*Histoire Naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, ibid. 895–899; H. Walter, Studien zur Handschriftengeschichte der *Naturalis historia* des Älteren Plinius. Ein Erfahrungsbericht, in: Forschungsbericht der Universität Mannheim

Influence[1]

Pliny the historian influenced Tacitus; Pliny the teacher of rhetoric, Quintilian. The authority enjoyed by the *Natural History* can hardly be overrated. Gellius, Apuleius, and Tertullian are our first witnesses. Gargilius Martialis (3rd century) and C. Julius Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, mid-3rd century) excerpted Pliny; in the 4th century the so-called *Medicina Plinii* and the versified *Liber medicinalis* of Q. Serenus relied on him. Martianus Capella and Isidore learnt from Pliny. At the beginning of the 8th century Bede possessed a good manuscript of Pliny; his classical education was based on Pliny and Virgil. Alcuin and Dungal quoted Pliny as a source on astronomy.[2] The *Northumbrian Encyclopedia*, written in an Anglo-Saxon monastery, was a collection of astronomical information for computists and contained extracts from Pliny. Dicuil (9th century) drew on Pliny for his *De mensura orbis terrae*. Robert of Cricklade (12th century) made an extract entitled *Defloratio*[3] for King Henry II. Not surprisingly, Pliny also figures among Chaucer's sources.

During the Renaissance Pliny found wide acceptance: there were 15 incunables (including three Italian translations), followed by no fewer than 43 editions in the 16th century. The rediscovery of classical authors went hand in hand with a creative discovery of the real world. Here Pliny had a double function: he furnished both factual information and good Latin terms. With the Renaissance, therefore, the *Natural History* became a textbook and gave rise to commentaries. Moreover, Pliny proved to be helpful to archeologists; his evidence, for instance, made possible the identification of the group of Laocoon excavated in January, 1506 (*nat.* 36. 37).[4] Although the authoritative book on medicinal herbs was written by Dioscorides, not by Pliny, he also influenced the terminology of botanics (and anatomy).

It was with the philhellenists that the modern depreciation of Pliny

1978–1982, Mannheim 1983, 227–239; L. D. Reynolds, Texts and Transmission, Oxford 1983, 307–316 (convincing); G. Ballaira, Plinio il Vecchio, in: Dizionario degli Scrittori Greci e Latini 1988, 1709–1726, esp. 1724.

[1] C. G. Nauert, C.Plinius Secundus. Fortuna, in: F. E. Cranz, P. O. Kristeller, eds., Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, vol. 4, Washington 1980, 297–422.

[2] Conte, LG 502; however, Dungal used an intermediate source, s. Manitius, LG 1, 373.

[3] The profit for the text of Pliny is slight: L. D. Reynolds ibid. 313–314.

[4] B. Andreae, Laokoon und die Gründung Roms, Mainz 1988, 33.

began. N. Leoniceni (*De Plinii et plurium aliorum in medicina erroribus*, 1492) caviled at Pliny's not being a Greek: compared with Theophrastus he had neither philosophical thought nor scientific method (which should proceed from sense perception), and compared with Dioscorides he had no knowledge of medicine.

His theory of astronomy, which had enjoyed great authority in the early Middle Ages, was increasingly challenged during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Nevertheless it was on Pliny that Melanchthon (d. 1560) based his Wittenberg lectures on natural philosophy—less to spite Aristotle than in recognition of Pliny's vividness and perspicuity. Perhaps also for his anthropocentric belief in providence?

An abridged French version by Pierre de Changy appeared in 1542, an English one by 'I.A.' in 1566. In all probability it was from the latter that Shakespeare's knowledge of natural history derives—the same may be true of the travel stories Othello[1] tells Desdemona. Rabelais (d. 1553), too, drew on Pliny, and Montaigne (d. 1592) quoted some of his moral aphorisms.

Shelley's (d. 1851) atheism began at school, owing to Lucretius and Pliny's abstract of an Epicurean doctrine in his chapter on gods.[2]

Long before the general waning of the glory of Latin authors in the 19th century, scholars had noticed that Pliny's method is diametrically opposite to that of experimental science. Unlike Aristotle in his zoology and Theophrastus in his botanics Pliny did not search for reasons based on natural philosophy, nor did he collect facts in order to draw scientific conclusions from them. For him, man is the focus of natural history. His frame of mind and his way of thinking were typical of many educated Romans of his day. He is an indispensable source for our knowledge of science, society, and art in classical antiquity.

Editions: Ioan. de Spira, Venetiis 1469. * P. Beroaldus, Parmae 1476. * J. Sillig, Gotha 1851–1855. * D. Detlefsen, Berlin 1866–1882. * L. Ianus, C. Mayhoff, Leipzig 1875–1906. * H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, D. E. Eichholz (TTr), London 1938–1963. * J. Beaujeu, J. Desanges, J. André, J. Filliozat, R. Schilling, A. Ernout, H. Le Bonniec, G. Serbat, E. de Saint-Denis, H. Zehnacker, H. Gallet de Santerre, M. Croisille,

[1] Cf. esp. *Othello* 1. 3. 144; Plin. *nat.* 7. 2. 9–10.
[2] N. I. White, Portrait of Shelley, New York 1945, 22.

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JURIDICAL LITERATURE OF EARLY EMPIRE

Schools of Law

The imperial period is the classical age of Roman law. Among the sources of law, the plebiscites die away, while the *senatusconsulta* gain in importance (during the republican period they had not yet extended to private and penal law; nor had their validity been clearly defined). They were often brought forward by the emperor. Within the limits of the constitution (which nominally was still republican) the emperor had the following additional options: by plebiscite he was entitled (as had been republican magistrates) to enact laws concerning e.g. the rights of citizenship and the constitutions of provinces and cities (*leges datae*). Being a magistrate he was also authorized to formulate and publish generally valid rules (*edicta principis*); add to

this, instructions for officials (*mandata principis*) and letters (*epistulae*) to magistrates, provincial diets and communities, imperial verdicts and, finally, though of slight importance in the 1st century as yet, rescripts to private persons. Only after the end of the epoch considered here were all these new sources of law termed collectively *constitutiones principum* and distinguished from the laws created by other magistrates.

The main activity of the jurists was, as ever, a public presentation of their expert opinions on legal questions, not written works on legal matters. In some families jurisprudence was a tradition.

From the age of Augustus, the emperor granted certain jurists the *ius publice respondendi*; this implied some political control.

Indirectly the emperor began to extend his influence to the instruction of jurists. While during the republican period it was up to the student to choose an eminent jurist to follow, in later times the emperor made available to them *stationes publice docentium ac respondentium* (Gell. 13. 13. 1–4). Yet in the 1st century schools still had a private character.

The leading representatives of the two rivaling schools of jurists in the 1st and 2nd century A.D. are named by Pomponius (1. 2. 2. 47–53): among the Proculians—the eponym is otherwise unknown—there was Cocceius Nerva, a member of the entourage of Tiberius; Nerva was the father of another great jurist and the grandfather of Emperor Nerva. To the same school belonged Celsus *pater* and *filius* and Neratius Priscus, who was said to have been considered by Trajan as his successor. The Sabinian or Cassian school (Plin. *epist.* 7. 24. 8) was represented by Masurius Sabinus from Verona, who became famous as a teacher of law by his work on private law (*Iuris civilis libri III*), which would give rise to commentaries by Pomponius, Ulpian, and Paul.[1] Though of lowly origin, he could act as a jurisconsult, thanks to imperial protection. C. Cassius Longinus (consul A.D. 30) was a great-grandson of Caesar's murderer and a descendant of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, governor of Asia (Suet. *Cal.* 57. 3) and Syria (Tac. *ann.* 12. 11). The activity of Cassius extended to the era of Vespasian. His *Ius civile* (*Dig.* 7. 1. 70; 35. 1. 54; 46. 3. 78) was partly explained by the renowned jurist L. Javolenus[2] Priscus; through

[1] Quoted in the *Digesta* as ex *Sabino* or *ad Sabinum*.

[2] Under Domitian, Javolenus was governor of Numidia, *Germania superior*, Syria, and, later (101/2), of Africa. Moreover, he was *consul suffectus* (A.D. 86; Plin. *epist.* 6. 15. 3; Dig. 40. 2. 5). Javolenus numbered among the Sabinians as previously Caelius Sabinus, then, Alburnius Valens, Tuscianus, and Salvius Julianus (s. below).

him, excerpts came into the *Digesta*. A contemporary of Javolenus was Titius Aristo.

The antagonism of two schools typical of the pre-classical period can scarcely be reduced to clear differences of philosophical doctrine and its details defy interpretation. Yet it shows the evolution of two complementary aspects of classical juridical literature. In the Sabinian school general overviews prevail (*Ius civile*); this school adheres to tradition and is ready to accept, if need be, pragmatic solutions; its scholarly achievement rests on the systematic organization of the domains of law. The Proculians, on the other hand, when treating individual cases, proceeded with strict logic and were less embarrassed by tradition; correspondingly, Proculus already preferred the free form of casuistic literature,[1] which heralded the classical style. Compared to the Augustans, who still had cherished the forms of commentary (Labeo) and monograph (Capito), there is an evident shift of generic preferences.

The prime of classical law, which began at the end of the 1st century, will be discussed in the context of middle and late empire.

Bibl. s. Roman Jurists, above p. 630. Fundamental D. Liebs, forthcoming in: HLL 3, 1.

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FIFTH CHAPTER:

LITERATURE OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

I. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The period from Hadrian to Constantine is characterized in a well-known handbook as 'a period partly of the greatest barrenness'.[1] However, this epoch includes not only respected authors of second rank such as the biographer Suetonius, the antiquarian Gellius, the historian Florus, and the orator Fronto. What is more: we encounter the luminaries of Roman jurisprudence; we discover literary tidbits like the *Pervigilium Veneris*, the *Alcestis Barcinonensis* and even a fine example of world class literature, the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. The remark quoted above becomes entirely incomprehensible when we recall the Christian authors of that time: Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Novatianus, and Lactantius. However, that verdict can probably be explained, partly by a general disdain for so-called 'late' epochs, partly by an ineradicable practice: scholars are accustomed to treat Christian and pagan authors not—as would be sensible—together within their epoch, but to separate them from one another artificially; moreover, one must consider the different traditions of the disciplines interested in Christian Latin authors.

For a long time Church Fathers had been read, quite understandably, from systematic rather than from historical points of view. Readers were often satisfied with listing what a given author had contributed to the theological system and which of his statements were 'right' or 'wrong'; less often, however, would one inquire into the historical situation of the author or about his literary methods.

More productive for literary scholarship was the question: 'How does a given author cite the Bible and how does he understand it?' This approach combines theology and philology; reconstructing the old Latin translations of the Bible used by the Church Fathers is a philological task, and producing a history of interpretation requires both philology and theology. The *Vetus Latina*, a work which grew

[1] Schanz-Hosius, LG, vol. 3, p. v.

out of such research, is an invaluable source for the history of interpretation.

The history of literature poses no less urgent questions to the Patristic texts. For whom are those authors writing? What previous knowledge and what prejudices must they take into account? They address different groups of readers: Catholics, pagans, heretics or Jews. How does the given audience affect the form and content of the works? What new literary genres emerge, and which old ones come to contain a new sense? How is literature distinctly marked by the 'style' of a given epoch? Are there basic concepts shared by both Christians and pagans, and how are they exploited by the authors? Examples would be the monotheism of the philosophers and certain rhetorical patterns of thought and methods of interpretation. Further—and even more important—how do those writers make reference to things pagan? How is Rome's classical literature reflected in their minds? How is it transformed? Which aspects of the Roman character come into play through the encounter with the Judeo-Christian tradition even more distinctly than in previous periods?

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The last epoch of Latin literature which we shall examine here is divided into two main parts: the time from Hadrian (117) to Diocletian (305) and from Constantine to Justinian (565). This division is in harmony with Church history: before and after the victory of Christianity, respectively. It is also practical in the light of *general* history: for in the second half of the period under consideration the mass migration of tribes leads to the downfall of the empire in the West, while the empire in the East is consolidated around Byzantium. Thus, one can call the first half of the given period Middle Empire, the second one Late Roman or Early Byzantine Empire.

Between the 2nd and 4th centuries there occurred a crisis, the gravity of which could easily be compared to that of the Roman civil wars: the catastrophe of the 3rd century. While the civil wars admittedly could not paralyze Latin literature, the trial of the 3rd century very nearly brought it to a standstill. Hence, a decisive break in the history of literature results which is noticeable not merely on a superficial level.

The face of the preceding and following epochs, i.e. of the 2nd

and 4th centuries respectively, is marked in each case by a turning point in the form of an intellectual revolution from above. At the beginning of the 2nd century, Stoic philosophy, which up to this point had been represented by the opposition, was now being recognized and adopted increasingly by the emperors.[1] At the outset of the 4th century an analogous phenomenon occurred with a Christianity of Neo-Platonic orientation. In both instances the change in intellectual fundamentals had decisive consequences for the development of Latin literature.

The epoch from Hadrian to Constantine is the dusk of an old period and the dawn of a new one. In the area of foreign policy the Emperor Hadrian (117–138) effected the final change from expansion to defence. Architecture, too, was transformed, for here began the era of the great frontier fortifications. A trusteeship for a great cultural legacy was set up: libraries were built; academic institutions were founded. Roman 'archaists' looked longingly and affectionately to the past.

The internal political tensions in the relationship between emperor and senate eased with the practice of appointing imperial successors by adoption. The rulers, who through their wisdom and increasingly philosophical stance took the wind out of the sails of the so-called Stoic senatorial opposition, were now fully accepted as *principes* even by the aristocracy; the composition of the senate changed drastically, and its members developed new ideals of conformity. At the same time the incentive for senatorial historiography disappeared from Latin literature, and imperial biography entered in its place.

The great literary desert of the 3rd century—between 235 and 284 we know of hardly any pagan Latin literature—was a consequence of the general insecurity under those emperors who had been career soldiers. In 235 Maximinus, a Thracian who had risen through the military ranks to the top, became a Roman emperor. There followed a half century of unrest that saw 26 Roman emperors, only one of whom died of natural causes. While Rome's foreign enemies were gaining confidence—the Saxons, the Franks, the Alemanni, the Marcomanni, the Goths, and the Sassanids beset the realm—, Illyrians and Orientals vied for the throne. The provenance of the emperors

[1] In addition, skepticism was promoted by Sextus Empiricus in the second half of the 2nd century, and with Apuleius Platonism came to the fore, a school of thought, which had already been represented by Plutarch in the early 2nd century.

reflected the change in the composition of the army. Italic peoples and educated citizens of the provinces were alienated from military service. Since the time of Hadrian troops had been drawn up from rural districts in the provinces; there permanent military camps were established and the profession of arms was handed down from generation to generation. The soldiers, representatives of a hardly cultured rural population from the frontier borderlands, had grown more and more suspicious of the inhabitants of the cities since the time of Septimius Severus and they plundered enemy and Roman settlements indiscriminately; educated officers became rare. The advancement of soldiers to positions in civil service—albeit on a limited scale—lead to a barbarization of the upper classes.

Taxation became more oppressive, and the first to suffer under it were the the tenants and small farmers; tax-evasion through flight, an everyday occurrence at that time, lead to a dearth of workers and to valuable land lying fallow. Countermeasures such as the devaluation of coins and an economy that was government-controlled to the point of binding the peasantry to the soil shook citizens' confidence in the state. Among other consequences of the burden of debt was the development of private landlordship at the cost of both private ownership of small areas of land and of state-owned properties, for the debtors in the agricultural population could do little else but seek 'protection' with a landlord. Further, the very basis of ancient civilization, the polis, was being undermined. The force behind its economic prosperity was waning, for the gratifying ambition of citizens was no longer rewarded and in some cases even punished. Municipal councilmen (*decuriones*), for example, were held personally liable for unpaid taxes in their districts. Consequently, the most competent kept their incomes low artificially in order not to qualify for the position of councilman. The concept of forcing well-to-do citizens to serve in honorary civil service positions for which their personal fortunes were at stake, stifled the spirit of enterprise: it simply did not pay to exert oneself.[1] The economic consequences were thus inevitable: trade and business abated. Rich and poor, city and country sank into ruin. Particularly hard hit by the economic decline was the western half of the empire, the population of which was decreasing rapidly. Italy, whose economy the Romans could never establish on

[1] With the downfall of civic spirit in the cities private patronage fell out of favor.

a firm basis, deteriorated since it now forfeited its privileges which hitherto had provided it with at least a semblance of life; the Romans were paying the penalty for having concerned themselves endlessly with increasing their resources instead of exploiting those available to them.

The radical reforms of Diocletian were a logical response to this situation: The center of empire was transferred to the East; government control of the economy prevailed, and Italy was now on equal footing economically with the rest of the empire. In the East Constantine founded the capital named after him and formed a new senate which in 339 was on a par with its Roman counterpart but soon surpassed it. The same emperor increased the number of senators as well as their prestige. Latin literature revived under Diocletian and Constantine.

The last phase to be considered here is marked by the political division of the two halves of empire and the colonization of the Germans in the West. The Visigoths overran Rome (A.D. 410) and settled in Italy and Spain while the Vandals moved through Spain to North Africa, Sardinia, and Corsica. In 455 they plundered Rome. In Gaul an especially rich literary life developed at the close of antiquity. With Boethius and Cassiodorus, who were influential at the court of Theodoric in Italy, our excursion through Roman literature comes to an end.

CONDITIONS OF THE RISE OF LITERATURE

Cultural Provinces. Since the 2nd century the importance of Rome as a center of power had diminished; the emperors were forced more often to spend their lives on the ever endangered imperial frontier and they were becoming increasingly dependent on their troops. Serious barbarian incursions into northern Italy were already occuring during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180); the imperial collection of cameos was sold in order to finance the wars against the Marcomanni. In addition to admonishing his sons to maintain unity, Septimius Severus advised them above all to enrich the soldiers. After the mid-3rd century Germans in the West streamed over the border (*limes*) and in the East moved towards Athens (A.D. 267); Dacia fell; the Persians, who had been gathering new strength since the twenties, captured Antioch (A.D. 256) and took the emperor Valerian

prisoner (probably as early as 259). Under Aurelian (270–275) it was considered necessary to protect Rome by means of a colossal wall.

The ethnic background of the emperors reflected the growing influence of the provinces and the established landowners who lived in provincial cities. After Spain, which had contributed a number of exemplary rulers in the 2nd century, Africa, by now a Romanized province of a long standing and a considerable economic force in its own right, took its turn by producing Septimius Severus (193–211). Beginning[1] with Fronto and Apuleius, Africa, a stronghold of Latinity, had laid claim to a new leading literary role in the 2nd century, a claim to be justified later by a series of great authors from Tertullian to Augustine.

Thus the voices of the provinces were making themselves heard; under Caracalla all free inhabitants of the empire received the right to Roman citizenship (212). This step made obvious the economic weakness of Italy, which for centuries had been accustomed to monopolize everything of value in the world around it and had never learned to stand on its own feet. Old and new intellectual centers gained in importance. In the West the name of Carthage, where Apuleius made a career, was heard again: Apuleius was probably the first great Latin writer who no longer relied on Rome as his literary forum.

While the provinces were on the ascent and starting to develop their own cultural landscapes, the world's capital faded slowly but irrevocably, becoming a museum of its own great past. With time Italy's privileged economic status also dwindled to the point where—as all other territories—it was subdivided into provinces by Diocletian.

Rulers still held Rome in high esteem and continued to embellish her, but she no longer played a decisive role in the momentous events of history.

In the final phase of antiquity each individual province would lead a rather independent literary life.

Italy. The old capital won new distinction through the ascent of her bishops and the patriotism of her senators. It was in Rome that Hieronymus received the epoch-making task of producing the new Latin Bible. With Rome in his thoughts Rutilius Namatianus created his poem *De reditu*.

[1] Supposedly, Suetonius, too, had been an African.

Rome remained in addition an important center for the preservation of the classical legacy. The senatorial aristocracy devoted itself to this responsibility; among other things it provided a competent audience for authors coming from the eastern provinces like Claudian and Ammianus Marcellinus. Symmachus was a leading figure of the conservative senate. It was indicative of a shift in power that he had been defeated in debate by Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan; for not only did Christianity win the upper hand against paganism, but intellectually and economically bustling northern Italy surpassed Central Italy. Milan had already established itself as the seat of the imperial court since the end of the 3rd century.

Literature in Italy grew silent with the 5th century and the invasions of barbarians.[1] At the beginning of the 6th century two stars, Boethius and Cassiodorus shone forth from the court of Theodoric: the former became a pillar of medieval philosophy, the latter of education. The authoritative Priscian, who was active in Byzantium, maintained ties with Ravenna. Deacon at Milan (and later Bishop of Pavia), Ennodius[2] of Arles (d. 521), combined ancient and Christian themes as well as prose and poetry with the virtuosity of a Gallic rhetor. More interesting than his minor poems and letters in the style of Symmachus or Sidonius were his *Biography of Bishop Epiphanius of Pavia* and his *Panegyric of Theodoric.*

Africa. Africa above all, a blooming province economically and culturally, gained in intellectual and political importance in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Towards the end of the 2nd century, it produced the dynasty of the Severi. Here Latin was cultivated as a mother tongue, and—for a long time no less intensively—Greek, as is confirmed by the bilingualism of Apuleius and Tertullian. Africa sent competent advocates to Rome. Many of the most important Latin ecclesiastical writers came from the region: Tertullian, Minucius, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius and Augustine. Secular authors of scarcely less influence were Apuleius and Martianus Capella. Even under the reign of the Vandals poetic talents cropped up, who mocked the new rulers in Latin epigrams.

Spain. Spain developed earlier than Africa. In the 1st century she presented the Eternal City with great authors and, at the outset of

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[1] Eugippius' *Vita Severini* appeared in Noricum toward the end of the century.

[2] *Edition:* F. Vogel, MGH AA 7, Berolini 1885; *bibl.:* J. Fontaine, RAChr 5, 1962, 398–421.

the 2nd, exemplary emperors. Then it appeared that Spain rested on her laurels for a time.[1] It was not until around 400 that she regained her universal renown with the Emperor Theodosius and the great Christian poet Prudentius.

In Spain, too, Germanic dominion brought a second blossoming—though not until the Arian Visigoths had converted to Catholicism (586). In Toledo, Saragossa and Seville bishops attempted to stop the decline in education by writing treatises on philosophy, grammar, and history. The most distinguished among them was Isidore of Seville[2] (d. 640), a writer of theological and historical works who proved to be one of the greatest compilers with his informative encyclopedia (*Originum sive etymologiarum libri XX*). Though derived from secondary sources, it nevertheless contains irreplaceable information concerning the language, literature and culture of the Romans; it thus maintained its importance beyond the Middle Ages.

Gaul. Gaul, which had been Romanized from Lyons, was a stronghold of cultural life in late antiquity. Its intellectual centers were the schools in Marseille, Arles, Nîmes, Toulouse, Narbonne, Vienne, Poitiers, and above all Bordeaux, the home of the versatile but somewhat superficial poet Ausonius. The inhabitants of Gaul were proud of their cultural level and were prepared to meet its costs; in our chapter on oratory we shall refer to a rhetor's magnanimous

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[1] E. Norden, LG 127, assigns responsibility for intellectual stagnation (indeed a courageous assertion for his time) to the lack of miscegenation in that purely Roman colonial region and to negligible contact with the Greek Orient.

[2] *Editions*: F. Arevalo, 7 vols., Romae 1797–1803 (= PL 81–84); *epist.*: G. B. Ford (Tr), Amsterdam 2nd ed. 1970; *etym.*: W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford 1911, repr. 1985; *etym. book 2*: P. K. Marshall (TC), Paris 1983; *etym. book 9*: M. Reydellet (TTrC), Paris 1984; *etym. book 12*: J. André (TTrC), Paris 1986; *Goth.*: T. Mommsen, MGH AA 11, 2, 267–295; G. Donini, G. B. Ford (Tr), Leiden 1970; *nat.*: J. Fontaine (T, index verborum), Bordeaux 1960; *ort. et obit.*: C. Chaparro Gómez (TTr), Paris 1985; *bibl.*: Altaner, 8th ed. 494–497; *bibl.*: J. Fontaine, Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique. 2 vols., Paris 1959; J. Fontaine, V Chr 14, 1960, 65–101; Isidoriana, Colección de estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el 14 centenario de su nacimiento, Sevilla 1961; H.-J. Diesner, Isidor von Sevilla und seine Zeit, Berlin 1973; H.-J. Diesner, Isidor von Sevilla und das westgotische Spanien, Trier 1978 (= Berlin 1977); K. N. MacFarlane, Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (*orig.* 8. 11), Philadelphia 1980; M. Martina, Isidoro *de poetis* (*orig.* 8. 7), CCC 4, 1983, 299–322; C. Codoñer, La 'etymologia' en Isidoro de Sevilla, in: Symbolae L. Mitxelena septuagenario oblatae, ed. by J. L. Melena, Gasteiz 1985, 275–286; U. Schindel, Zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Etymologiae* Isidors von Sevilla, StudMed, ser. 3, 29, 2, 1988, 587–605.

endowment for the reconstruction of his school (A.D. 298).

At the beginning of the 4th century Trier, as seat of the imperial court, became a second Rome. In addition to school and court, the landed aristocracy, which also frequently produced bishops, strongly supported literature: hence came a man of the world such as Sidonius (d. around 486) and the poet Alcimus Avitus (d. 518). Christianity in Southern France was Greek in character and for that reason contributed to preserve the knowledge of Greek in this region longer than in Africa. Many authors came from the monastery of Lerinum, which had been founded around 410 by the distinguished aristocrat Honoratus: Hilary of Arles (d. 410), Vincent of Lerinum (d. before 450), Eucherius of Lyons (d. around 450), Salvian (d. around 480), Faustus of Riez (d. around 490).

Caesarius of Arles,[1] who strove for a popular style in his sermons, was a rather isolated voice in aristocratic Gaul.

From Aquitania came Sulpicius Severus,[2] the author of the famous *Life of St. Martin.* Written in 403, his *Chronicle* is unique for its factual reliability and clear language (s. below, p. 1383).

Rome lost Gaul in the 5th century. Teutons and Huns saw to it that its destruction was complete; however, in the safety of schools in monasteries and bishoprics and later the schools of the Merovingian court, a cultivated Christian literature blossomed.

The bishop's tiara of Sidonius Apollinaris (d. around 486; s. below, pp. 1313–1314) did not deter him from pursuing literary amusement in the tradition of Ausonius. One may guess that behind these unsubstantial products lay a pedagogic goal, which was to exercise a sense for form and style; indeed, such concepts meant far more to the ancient mind than mere superficial embellishment. Of greater importance was Venantius Fortunatus from Italy (d. around 600 in Poitiers; s. below p. 1315), who was the last master of ancient Latin poetry and an early hymnist of the Church.

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[1] *Editions*: G. MORIN, Maredsous 1937; C. LAMBOT, 2 vols., Turnholti 1953 (= CC 103–104).

[2] *Editions*: C. HALM, CSEL 1, 1866; *bibl.*: ALTANER 231; NORDEN, Kunstprosa 2, 583; A. KAPPELMACHER, RE 2, 4, 1, 1931, 863–871; B. M. PEEBLES (Tr, sel. works), Washington 1970; P. HYLTÉN, Studien zu Sulpicius Severus, Lund 1940; N. K. CHADWICK, Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul, London 1955, 89–121; G. K. VAN ANDEL, Sulpicius Severus and Origenism, V Chr 34, 1980, 278–287; G. AUGELLO, La tradizione manoscritta ed editoriale delle opere martiniane di Sulpicio Severo, Orpheus n.s. 4, 1983, 413–426.

Prose is represented impressively by Salvian of Marseille, whose work *De gubernatione Dei* (written between 429 and 451) in the best ancient tradition confronted the heirs of the Roman Empire with the moral superiority of the barbarians. Claudianus Mamertus (d. around 474), a rhetor and a friend of Sidonius, wrote as presbyter in Vienne the *De statu animae*, the most influential philosophical work after Augustine and before Boethius. Against Faustus of Riez he defended the non-spatial nature of the soul, not to be grasped in terms of quantity; his Neo-Platonism influenced the Middle Ages and, later, Descartes. In a letter to the rhetor Sapaudus, Mamertus confronted the problem of the decline in education and called for a return to classical studies. On the other hand, the irresistible development of the language toward Romance is documented by the cookbook of Anthimus (around 520); moreover, one can study the decay of metrics in the verses of King Chilperic (d. 584). In his valuable *History of the Franks* Bishop Gregory of Tours (d. 593) was still amused by his own 'inability' both to differentiate between masculine and neuter gender in substantives and to use the right cases after prepositions; the author who continued his work, known as Fredegar, stood in this respect already beyond good and evil.

Ireland and England. Ireland and England became the bearers of literature for the future. The consequential mission of Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks lies beyond the scope of our inquiry, as does the Carolingian Renaissance.

Patronage. The vanishing of Roman literature from the time of Hadrian onwards need not be attributed to an exhaustion of creativity. The causes are manifold. In the period under consideration, persons, institutions and social strata which fostered literature—or in some cases discouraged it—were, in the main, emperor, senate, schools, the Church, and jurists.

The death toll, which civil war and the madness of emperors had exacted, did not result in the decline of literature during the 1st century since writers of noble family were able to exist independently, and private patronage survived as well. This we know from the cases of Martial and Statius.

Pliny the Younger was not only an author himself, but he also provided substantial support for poets and writers of prose in his circle. That sort of ambitious Italian senator, who brought with him from his small native town a longing for immortality through good

deeds and who at the same time possessed enough good taste not to waste his beneficence on undeserving persons, was a solid element of support for literature. Naturally, the circle of those sponsored changed with the origin of each senator. Latin lost popularity under monarchs well-disposed to Greek culture or among senators who either came from the Greek-speaking Orient or followed the fashion of the time. Fronto supported the historian Appian, a Roman knight who wrote in Greek. Arrian (2nd century) and Cassius Dio (3rd century) were senators who wrote Roman history in their native Greek language.

The process of maintaining the literary tradition continued: emperors built libraries; Hadrian founded the Athenaeum, the first State University, in Rome (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14. 2); proficient grammarians[1] cultivated the language, archaizing authors[2] the venerable old Latin. Just as imperial policy had changed, Latin literature itself assumed a defensive posture and thereby ceased to concern itself with new conquests, but now looked to the preservation and cultivation of early Latin in the hope that it could be rejuvenated by recalling its own youth. There was, however, one topical branch of literature which developed further: with the perfecting of administration there now arrived the heyday of the jurists, the only 'classics' whom the epoch from Hadrian to Alexander Severus produced.[3] Here—literally in the last minute—something typically Roman was brought to perfection. The Latin of jurists has a specific charm of precision and clarity not always to be found in *belles lettres.* After Roman law had reached its late classical consummation, the violent death of one of its main proponents, Ulpianus (probably already in 223, not in 228),

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[1] Q. Terentius Scaurus (Hadrian's adviser on matters of grammar), Velius Longus (consulted Scaurus and was cited by Gellius, therefore also Hadrianic), C. Sulpicius Apollinaris (from Carthage, teacher of Gellius), Aemilius Asper (perhaps at the end of the 2nd century, author of important commentaries on Terence, Sallust and Virgil and later used by later commentators: Donatus, Servius), Helenius Acro (commentator, lived later than Gellius), Porphyrio (school commentary on Horace, 2nd–3rd century, after Apuleius and before Julius Romanus, who, in his turn, was used by Charisius around 362).

[2] Fronto, Gellius, Apuleius.

[3] P. Juventius Celsus filius (consul for the second time in 129), Salvius Julianus (an African under Hadrian), S. Pomponius (under Hadrian), Volusius Maecianus (under Pius), Gaius (under Pius and Marcus Aurelius), Cervidius Scaevola (under Marcus Aurelius), Aemilius Papinianus (probably the most famous jurist under Septimius and Caracalla, executed under the latter), Domitius Ulpianus from Tyre (under Alexander Severus, murdered by the Praetorian Guard), Julius Paulus (under Alexander Severus).

at the hands of his own guards marked the end of a cultural epoch.

The flowering of juridical literature from Hadrian to Alexander Severus demonstrates how decisive an influence patronage from the emperor could have on the existence or non-existence of literature. Juvenal spoke prophetically when he remarked that only the generous intervention of an emperor could still save Roman literature, but, unfortunately, his voice went unheeded.

The senate lost some of its influence in the 3rd century, and the emperors, who were rapidly succeeding one another, had no time for culture. The exorbitant taxation of the inhabitants of cities and the resulting decline of civic spirit were detrimental to private patronage. At that time Latin literature—oriented to the general public and seismographically sensitive to changes in society as it was—seems to have been silenced for almost half a century (235–284).[1] The writings of Cyprian, whose ideas looked to the future and centered around a new community, the Church, were brilliant exceptions. Still brighter was the light of Greek philosophy at that dark moment of the Roman Empire: In Alexandria, Origen (d. at the latest in 253) opened to his students the depths of space and time, and in Rome Plotinus (d. at Minturnae, 270) led them into lofty regions. A Christian and a pagan, in retrospect they appear to be brothers. In a period of upheaval they forged the intellectual weapons for future generations.

Even at this point in time there were rulers who recognized their cultural responsibilities. The Emperor Gallienus afforded philosopher Plotinus the opportunity to work undisturbed, and the Emperor Tacitus was said to have been instrumental in disseminating the works of his namesake. Whatever their reasons, both monarchs demonstrated good taste.

With the new consolidation of empire under Diocletian and Constantine, Latin literature blossomed again—as is to be expected in times of restoration, in a classicizing form, one more proof that literature does not always merely follow immanent laws of development. Latin was nurtured by the emperors despite their decision to establish an Eastern capital. It was not only the language of the military and of jurists, but also an element of governmental and intellectual identity and continuity. Julian the Apostate, who wrote in Greek,

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[1] Worthy of mention are Censorinus, *De die natali* (A.D. 238), an inquiry into the measurement of time, Solinus (perhaps around A.D. 250), the bucolic poet Nemesianus (towards the end of the period under consideration).

was an anomaly in three fields: religion, philosophy, and language.

Able grammarians and rhetors provided for a good pedagogic tradition, which made possible the transmission of culture from generation to generation. A new educated aristocracy rose gradually; the members of the Roman senate, to whose share there no longer fell any important political power, earned distinction by preserving Latin literature in reliable texts; in this respect there was a blessing in Rome's waning power. Such an orator as Symmachus sprang from the aristocracy, which was a reading public for Ammianus' history.

Christian literature and philosophical translations increased dramatically. The Christian humanism of Jerome and the Platonism of Augustine represented culminating points. Under Theodosius poetry experienced a twofold renaissance: Claudian, who once more evoked classical antiquity in its sculpturesque beauty, and Prudentius, who so transformed the ancient literary genres that they became vehicles for Christian ideas.

School and Church. Apart from the vicissitudinous influences of emperor and state, Latin literature has two institutions to thank for its survival: the needs of school and Church determined the cultivation and preservation of certain literary forms.

Ancient scholastic education had an admirable continuity, which ultimately resisted even Christianity and, as a matter of fact, was taken over by it: the leading representative of learned monasticism in the West, Jerome, had been a student of the grammarian Donatus.

While the Roman literature of the Republic and of Empire was linked to the *res publica*, senate and equestrian order and grew silent with the disintegration of the old society and its values, a new Latin literature was emerging—that of the Church in Africa. A spiritual community replaced the political: hence came Tertullian's unprecedented exultation of freedom. In the period under consideration the Church at the outset had a revolutionary and in the end a preserving function for literature.

After Constantine literature would be increasingly dominated by the Church. The ascent of the Church and of Latin under the rule of Christian emperors added momentum to the development of Christian Latin literature. Jerome, who made the authoritative Latin translation of the Bible, as a classical scholar, papal secretary, monk, and expert Hebraist, stood at the historical junction of all important intellectual paths (with the exception of philosophy).

After the fall of the Western Empire only the jurists remained to a certain extent independent of the Church; traces of that independence would linger on well into the Middle Ages.

LATIN AND GREEK LITERATURE

Latin literature had predominated for approximately three hundred years; contemporary Greek literature had offered little in comparison with the great authors from Plautus to Tacitus. With Hadrian the picture changed. Now first-rate Latin authors like Apuleius and Tertullian were a rarity; moreover, the age of philosophy did not encourage poetry. On the Greek side there appeared scholars like the great physician Galen of Pergamum (d. 199), the astronomer Ptolemy of Alexandria (under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius), the epistemological critic Sextus Empiricus (d. around 200), and the knowledgable guide Pausanias (d. around 180). Moreover, there was an abundance of famous authors; among these were the orator Aelius Aristides (d. around 187), the historians Arrian (*consul suffectus* in 130; d. after 170) and Appian (knight and *procurator* under Marcus Aurelius; d. after 165). Last but not least there were two writers who are to be counted among the great authors of world literature: Plutarch (d. after 120) and Lucian (d. after 180). Latin literature lay dormant during the 3rd century; Greek literature produced—to name only two—Origen, an eminent theologian, and Plotinus, a philosopher of the highest merit.

It had become inevitable to recognize the intellectual and economic importance of the Greek-speaking East; hence, in a great organizer like Hadrian, enthusiasm for Greek culture was certainly more than a personal fixation. Had not Caesar already considered moving the capital to the East? Diocletian would choose Nicomedia, Constantine neighboring Byzantium. The influx of Greeks and Orientals into Rome—deplored already by Juvenal—continued in the 2nd century; it reflected the actual economic and cultural shift which Hadrian was politically competent enough to perceive. He reacted accordingly by placing himself at the vanguard of the movement.

World culture had become entirely bilingual, a fact which reverberated on the development of Latin literature: in the East 'Latinization' was limited to the dissemination of Latin officialese, the development

of which was promoted by the emperor, to schools of Roman law[1] and to an ambitious, scholarly cultivation of Latin as a somewhat extravagant discipline; in the West—particularly in cosmopolitical Rome—many of the intelligentsia preferred the comfortable *pallium* to the stiff *toga* and spoke Greek—above all when following the fashion and discussing philosophical themes. So they spared themselves the trouble of tackling the stylistic idiosyncrasies of Latin. Much to the consternation of his trusted teacher of rhetoric, the African Latinist Fronto, Marcus Aurelius would become more and more a philosopher on the throne who wrote down his most intimate thoughts in Greek.

With the victory of philosophy over rhetoric, Latin, related as it was to public life, had been played to the end. 'Public life' in the old sense was disappearing; the peace of the 2nd century was just as unconducive to it as was the chaos of the 3rd. Moreover, the new rhetoric of the Greek sophists drove Latin from its own field. A noble amateur could hardly compete any longer with such virtuosos of discourse. The praise of Rome was now being sung in Greek prose. Only in predominantly Latin regions, e.g. in Carthage and its surrounding areas, could the modern rhetorical style find expression in the language of the Romans: hence, Apuleius. He and Tertullian, the two great Latin authors of that time, were—as one would almost expect—bilingual; their subjects were philosophy (in keeping with the times) and religion respectively. To be sure, the age of philosophy all but stifled poetry. The graceful *Pervigilium Veneris*, the date of which, incidentally, is uncertain, is among the exceptions which prove the rule. Latin seemed condemned to be confined to scholastic, military and juridical affairs.

Under Constantine Latin recovered its strength—the Greek-writing Emperor Julian was an exception. In the period after Constantine there emerged a notable Latin literature cultivated by Western senators, men of the Church and soldiers or poets from the East. With the decline in bilingualism it became necessary to make Greek works accessible to the West, a necessity that led to an enrichment of the philosophical literature in the Latin language.

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[1] In addition to Rome (the classical authors' forum of intellectual activity) and Carthage, we should mention Alexandria, Caesarea, Antioch, Athens and, above all, Berytos (flourishing especially in the 4th century); Constantinople, too, became such a center after 425.

Jerome, Augustine, Prudentius, Claudian, and Ammianus brought about a new flowering period of Latin literature, which under Theodosius the Great (379–395) and his successors reached its high point. This period was no mere retrospective second blooming, but a genuine rebirth: both Jerome and Augustine would be among the most influential of Latin authors. Jerome brought Latin to the East as well—to Bethlehem. By the end of the 4th century Greeks like Ammianus and Claudian were writing in Latin: a proof of the high regard for the language. The Roman senatorial aristocracy—politically debilitated as it was—applied its energy to the preservation of Latin literature.

The minor renaissance represented in Justinian's time by Boethius[1] and Cassiodorus in Italy and the grammarian Priscian, who was active in Constantinople, was brief but consequential. Together with Justinian, who collected ancient sources of jurisprudence, these authors laid the foundations for medieval education, law and philosophical thought.

GENRES

Literary genres were undergoing a transformation; novel hybrids of various genres were created, the essence of which reflected the altered situation of authors and their respective audiences: imperial court, aristocracy, school, and Church.

Thanks to imperial initiative, *Roman law* found its definitive form. The imperial court also fostered the composition of the *panegyric* in prose and later in epic style.

The influence of school and Church changed *historiography*: brief summaries and overviews were written for young readers; they might also serve as crash courses in Roman history for self-made men. With Augustine's *De civitate Dei* a Roman sense of linear historical development with the aid of biblical hints successfully shaped a philosophy of history. Later historians were for the most part clerics who thought it enough to offer general overviews or collections of *exempla*. Exsuperantius made excerpts from Sallust, as did Julius Paris from Valerius Maximus; Cassiodorus took Eusebius for his point of departure. Fulgentius wrote 14 volumes entitled *De aetatibus mundi*. On the

[1] Theodoric did not deserve better of Boethius than Caligula and Nero did of Seneca.

pagan side Symmachus' 7 books, the *Historia Romana*, are lost. The only genuine historiographer, Ammianus Marcellinus, wrote as a non-senator and former soldier for the Roman senatorial aristocracy.

As a result of the political situation and of the requirement to entertain readers, Latin historiography was being supplanted by imperial biography; noteworty for this genre are Marius Maximus, the *Historia Augusta* and Aurelius Victor. Christian writers also took advantage of the general public's penchant for *biographies*, for such themes central to the Christian religion as conversion and martyrdom seemed to call for biographical treatment. Christian biography emerged from humble beginnings—the Acts of the Martyrs—to become more sophisticated. Thus, Pontius described the life of Cyprian, Paulinus of Milan the life of Ambrose and Possidius that of Augustine; Eugippius wrote the biography of Severin and Sulpicius Severus the *vita* of St. Martin.

We should be happy if we could read imperial autobiographies such as that of Hadrian or that of Septimius Severus. Psychological autobiography was an innovative, visionary hybrid including philosophical and exegetic elements: Augustine's *Confessiones*, in terms of genre, is a brilliant development of Apuleian rudiments. It was not until this time that the Romans' interest in psychology, in individuals and their personal experience was exposed in a new literary genre, the psychological autobiography.

Novel and biography were closely related genres: in addition to pagan novels ranging from the highly stylized *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius to the popular *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, the *Troy Novels* by Dictys and Dares, and the *Alexander Novels*, there were also Christian novels, which tried to combine entertainment and edification.[1]

The form of the *philosophical dialogue* had already been Christianized by Minucius Felix: in contrast to Cicero, in whose philosophical works each interlocutor was allowed to stick to his opinion, now, at the end, the pagan was converted to the truth of Christianity.

Didactic treatise and speech for the defense combined in *apologetic works* which were aimed at non-Christians. This genre found its apex

[1] Thus, the *Acts of Saints Paul and Thecla* (within the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*) resembles a 'chaste love story'; in the 4th century Rufinus translated an anonymous novel on the travels of St. Peter from Greek into Latin. Jerome was a master of the hagiographic novel. The essays in G. Schmeling, ed., The Novel in the Ancient World, Leiden 1996 discuss all these issues and authors.

and culmination in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*; later on, missionary activities concentrated on uneducated pagans, and, unfortunately, words were not the only means used to convince them.

Another, less ephemeral form of polemical writing had already been amply represented by the earliest significant Latin Christian author, Tertullian: the polemics against Jews and dissenting Christians. Discord among Christians increased after the momentous change brought about by Constantine, and here, too, politics played an important role: the Arians had strong supporters among the Teutons, as had the Monophysites in Syria and Egypt and the Donatists in Africa. 'Antiheretic' texts were at times outright aggressive and formed a stylistic hybrid of didactic treatise and invective.

The needs of the Church increasingly encouraged *biblical interpretations* and *commentaries*.

The Christian *sermon* was a cross between speech and exegesis; its style could be ornate or downright popular depending on author and audience.

Seneca had coined the form of the Latin moral *letter*; Jerome borrowed and expanded it. His letters were meant to edify but they also contained memorial addresses and theological instruction so that they often border on didactic treatises. Such epistles were intended for wide circulation.

The traditional 'Plinian' type of epistolography was no less popular. Colored with political and personal expression, it served the purposes of both pagan and Christian writers. Authorship was a contagious disease in that age.

Schools continued to focus attention on ancient *grammar* (to include the interpretation of authors) and *rhetoric*. There were distinguished scholars in the 4th century: Jerome's teacher Aelius Donatus, who would later be considered the very impersonation of grammar, and Marius Victorinus, the competent commentator and translator of significant pagan and Christian texts. The increasing gulf between the two halves of the empire made it necessary to produce *translations* from Greek.

Roman fondness for encyclopedic teaching found expression in literary forms both traditional and novel (e.g. Martianus Capella) which transmitted knowledge from antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Only in the period of late empire did *poetry* achieve its previous level of sophistication—if we may disregard the good Ausonius. To our knowledge, Latin national *epic* had grown silent after Silius Italicus. The next witnesses available to us are the panegyrical or invective

epics of Claudian and Corippus. Form and content of these works are indicative of their intimate connection with the imperial court. Here rhetorical technique is advanced to the point of verging on Prudentius' use of pure allegory. The mythological type of epic—apart from the *Alcestis Barcinonensis* (an intriguing sample of rhetorical poetry) and similar exercises by Dracontius—is represented foremost by Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*. This work gracefully combines different traditions of epic and didactic poetry into a cosmological myth. The newly created *bible epic* was linked to the milieu of the Church but not directly to the liturgy; Sedulius excelled among the representatives of this genre. The poetic achievement of Prudentius is no less personal: he Christianized almost all genres and among them *didactic epic*. Allegorical from beginning to end, the *Psychomachy*, for example, is an organic development of tendencies earlier found in Roman poetry and plastic arts; at the same time, it provided a promising model for medieval poetry and art.

The didactic bent innate to the Latin mindset benefited from the fact that Roman intellectual life was more and more confined to the spheres of classrooms and churches. An example is the *Carmen de figuris*, which—in Hellenistic tradition—versified unpoetic subject matter. More gratifying are the riddles of Symp(h)osius. Didactic elements are also to be found in other literary genres: here the ethnographic digressions in Claudian, Corippus, and Sidonius or the minor scientific poems of Claudian and Sidonius come to mind.

Times were not favorable for *pastoral*—only Nemesian can be cited; Endelechius wrote a Christian eclogue in asclepiadean verse. *Satire* was assimilated into other genres: Claudian's invectives, Ammianus' excursuses on Rome and—last but not least—the prose works of Arnobius and Jerome, Church Fathers, who would have made exceptional satirists.

The *Anthologia* also contains a poetic *Letter of Dido to Aeneas* (No. 83 Riese = 71 Shackleton Bailey) written in hexameters.

Elegiac meter lost its identification with a clearly defined genre. It became a vehicle for Lactantius' innovative poem *De Phoenice*, an early document of Christian poetry. In his elegiac travel poem, *De reditu suo*, Rutilius Namatianus included a praise of Rome. Maximian was a rather mediocre representative of *love elegy*. In elegiac meter, which does not quite fit his subject matter, Avian Latinized the *Fables* of Babrius. Later there were even 'comedies' in that meter.

Epigram was popular up to the very latest period and sometimes appeared even in lyric meter.

Drama, which had been reduced to mime and show-business, now had little literary significance; the prejudices of Christians against the theater were quite understandable. Successors to Plautus did not appear until very late in so-called comedies, about which the choice of elegiac meter was not the only astonishing peculiarity.

Lyric poetry received new creative impulses from Christian hymnody. Its rhythm based on word accent opened totally new artistic fields to Latin literature. In addition, Christian lyric poetry continued to use traditional forms. Next to Catullus and Horace, Prudentius was the third great Latin lyric poet.

Wedding songs[1] were highly receptive to relics out of the pagan past.

Experiments with mixed forms such as accentuated hexameters—e.g. those of Commodian (3rd or—more likely—5th century), which conform neither to classical nor to medieval standards, were short-lived.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

World culture was bilingual: Juvenal complained that Rome had become a Greek city. Emperor Hadrian confirmed this development through his own philhellenism, which also had political motives. Somewhat eclipsed by Greek as a literary language, Latin sought to regain its juvenile strength by resorting either to earlier linguistic stages or to affected rhetoric.

Both philosophy and Christianity gave a new creative impulse to the use of Latin. Slowly but surely, Latin reacted to the great challenge offered by philosophy. From Apuleius, Tertullian, and Marius Victorinus up to Augustine and Boethius, Latin became an instrument of precision for this discipline, too, which in the 2nd century was still considered a Greek domain. The gradual conquest of abstract terms answered a growing need. Laymen would discuss philosophy and dogma in their mother tongue; in late antiquity this became true even of scholars, since knowledge of Greek had become less general.

We should dwell slightly longer on 'Christian Latin', for it enriched the language—if indirectly—from a new, Semitic source. Being rooted in the eastern empire, the Church at first used the Greek κοινή even at Rome, just as in the earliest stages of the development

[1] A Christian exception: Paulinus of Nola. On the other hand, the Statian tradition in Dracontius, Sidonius, Luxurius, and Patricius was present anew.

of Latin literature, Greek had priority over Latin. The Latin language was, once again, being fed, as it were, from foreign stocks as early Bible translators and preachers—some after the example of Latin-speaking Jews—began to shape Christian Latin. The problem of biblical translation was a novelty in Latin literature: although translating had been its mainstay from the beginning, most translations were free, artistic imitations. To be sure, accuracy faithful to the letter was familiar to Romans from documents used in daily life but it was not considered necessary for literary texts. Strict adherence to a sacred text created a new situation. Even syntax was partly influenced by the original languages,[1] Hebrew and Greek, albeit seldom without genuine Latin parallels. Viewed as a whole, however, the structure of the language of literature did not change to the same extent as its vocabulary did. Hebraisms, Grecisms, and calques resulted from the principle of literalism. Sanctioned by the authority of the gospel, they made their way into the language of literature and thence into vulgar Latin, though sometimes very late.

The following are two examples of Hebraic influence. In pagan usage, *confiteri* can mean: 'confess one's sins' or 'profess one's faith'. From these meanings there developed as Christian terms *confiteri* (intransitive), 'confess', and *confessio*, 'martyr's tomb'. A pure Hebraism, however, is the use of *confiteri* in the sense of 'praise';[2] this is an artificial usage that has no descendant in Romance languages, but we have to know it in order to realize the full sense of the title of Augustine's work *Confessiones*. A Hebraism, which has had a lasting etymological influence, is *parabola*, the translation in the *Septuagint* and in the *Vulgate* of the Hebrew *mâshâl*. Its meaning 'parable' or 'saying' can be taken in some instances as a synonym for 'word';[3] thence came French *parole*, Italian *parola*, and Spanish *palabra*.

One could expect that with the arrival of Christianity the hour of vulgar Latin was at hand. Latin-speaking communities first arose mainly in North Africa. There were both social and religious grounds for the linguistic simplicity of earlier Latin texts like the *Acta Scillitanorum* (c. 180).[4] The unadorned language of the gospels, which stood in

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[1] *Vivit Dominus, quia*... ('The Lord liveth that...'; e.g. 1st *Sam.* 28. 10); Spanish 'Vive Dios que....'

[2] E.g. *Matth.* 11. 25; *Ps.* 144. 10; the intermediary was the Greek ἐξομολογεῖσθαι.

[3] E.g. *Job* 27. 1; 29. 1; *Is.* 14. 4.

[4] On traces of literary forms in these *Acts*: H. A. Gärtner, Die *Acta Scillitanorum* in literarischer Interpretation, WS 102, 1989, 149–167.

opposition to the rhetorical culture of paganism, led to a certain renewal, although it, too, was soon neutralized by the inextinguishable rhetorical element.

The Christian sermon gave access to vulgarisms, for it had to have a homespun ring to it if the people were to be reached.[1] A plain and vivid style and high rhetorical skills, however, are not at all mutually exclusive.[2] Therefore, the sermons of the Fathers are not dependable evidence of vulgar Latin. Surely Christian orators were committed to impart the gospel in a straightforward manner, but, from generation to generation, they came to express the very idea of 'evangelical simplicity' in ever more sophisticated periods. No wonder it was their aim to convince the educated[3] as well. As a result, the Christian sermon carried on the tradition of Greco-Roman rhetoric.

Neologisms are numerous; they belong to those elements which are anything but vulgar. They originated from the pullulating theological discussions, which could not be carried on without using abstract terms. The works of Tertullian, the first Christian author of merit to write in Latin, already abounded with abstracts. As all the world discussed dogma, such vocabulary became vital even for the layman. Welcome or not, this was the dawn of a surprisingly 'modern' attitude to language.

Particularly fascinating from the standpoint of cultural history is the Christian development of old pagan vocabulary: *orare* ('pray') was not a popular but an archaic, ceremonial word, which had fossilized relatively early and mostly occurred in formulaic expressions. Christianity revived it and, significantly, did so in the footsteps of Seneca.[4]

The biblical opposites 'spirit' and 'flesh' (*spiritus* and *caro*; e.g. *Gal.* 5. 17) were prefigured by the same Stoic: Seneca had contrasted *caro* and *animus*.[5]

The Christian usage of *captivus* in the figurative sense ('prisoner of

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[1] Aug. in *Ps.* 36, *serm.* 3. 6 *Melius in barbarismo nostro vos intellegitis, quam in nostra disertitudine vos deserti eritis.*

[2] Cf. the text cited in the preceding note and e.g. also the anaphorae and parallelisms, Aug. *serm.* 301. 7. 6 (PL 38, 1383) or *serm.* 199. 2. 3 (PL 38, 1028). Elements of diatribe had already been discovered in Saint Paul.

[3] The reserves of this audience in Lact. *inst.* 5. 1. 15.

[4] E. Löfstedt, Peregrinatio Aetheriae, Uppsala 1911, 39–43.

[5] Sen. *epist.* 65. 22; 74. 16; *dial.* 6 (= *cons. Marc.*) 24. 5; cf. W. von Wartburg's review of G. Devoto, Storia della lingua di Roma, Bologna 1940, ZRPh 61, 1941, 144–148, especially 146.

his passions'), which developed further in Romance as 'paltry' (Fr. *chétif*) or 'bad' (Ital. *cattivo*), was likewise anticipated by Seneca (*dial.* 5. 4. 4 *captus*).[1]

In addition to Stoic sources for Christian usage, there are ancient Roman ones as well; this applies especially to the established opposition between one's own people (*populus*) and foreign peoples (*gentes*).[2] Since the time of the earliest Latin Fathers this deeply ingrained Roman distinction had been transferred to the antithesis of the Church ('people of God') and the pagans (Hebr. *gojîm*).

The later designation of the non-Christian as paganus probably came from wide-spread Roman usage, which made a distinction between civilian (*paganus*) and warrior (here the *miles Christi*).[3] Here also the unbroken influence of Roman concepts is obvious.

Did a unique new language come into being in this way,[4] or did the authors adapt themselves to their respective environments? The propagation and victory of Christianity undoubtedly brought with them new forms of expression, and the early Christian period is one of the most important phases in the history of Latin. However, the roots of the Christian literary language reach far back to antiquity, just as the irrevocable medieval transformation of art had already begun in antiquity.[5]

Christianity did not suddenly generate a new language or a new art. In order to be understood it had to avail itself of existing forms of expression; this elucidates indirectly Rome's role of intermediary between antiquity and the Middle Ages.

IDEAS I
REFLECTIONS ON LITERATURE

In Macrobius we find an understanding of the *Aeneid* that follows on the tradition of ancient Homeric interpretation. Virgil is compared

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[1] E. Löfstedt, Late Latin 73, note 2.

[2] E.g. Cic. *de orat.* 2. 76.

[3] E.g. Tac. *hist.* 1. 53; 'civilian' still in Tert. *pall.* 4. 8; *cor.* 11. 5; another interpretation: 'boorish, unenlightened' (Oros. *prol.* 9; Pers. *prol.* 6; Plin. *epist.* 7. 25. 5–6).

[4] Thus Mohrmann (see bibl.); more reserved Löfstedt, Late Latin 68–87.

[5] B. Schweitzer, Die spätantiken Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst, Leipzig 1949, 17; in addition, E. Dinkler, Gnomon 22, 1950, 412–413.

to nature, which brings forth everything;[1] this is typical on the one hand of the ancient school's strict adherence to the validity of poetic texts and its acceptance of their claim to 'truth': they were used as an introduction to the understanding of our world. On the other, his high esteem of human creativity pointed to the future.

Ancient and Christian textual exegeses met one another, and in some respects it it may be positively said that ancient education carried off the victory. Above all, the tradition of classical schools held its own with astonishing tenacity. Through education, grammarians and rhetors continually cultivated and imparted a conception of literature which came to be regarded as common knowledge among the educated. In this field Christianity only seldom was radically inimical to culture; most authors were open to the influence of pagan education.

Jerome, to be sure, took pains to prove that the Bible offered paradigms for every literary genre and could therefore replace all books. His words, however, sound more threatening to classical literature than they actually are, for just such reflections of a skillful translator demonstrate a fine feeling for style and a reluctance to renounce all sense of beauty even in matters of sacred reading.

Christians 'used' pagan literary genres and made something new out of them: creative attempts to Christianize certain literary genres led, for example, to the birth of biblical epic and to the systematic transformation of a wide range of genres in the work of Prudentius.

Even more important were the first attempts at hermeneutics: the categories of Greek literary criticism were applied to biblical texts. When reading the Old Testament, Christians followed the principles of ancient Homeric interpretation, which had been further developed and applied to biblical exegesis in Alexandria by Philo the Jew and many Christians up to the time of Origen.

Perhaps of greatest consequence was the 'conversion' of ('productive') rhetoric to ('receptive') hermeneutics under the banner of Christianity. This religion was based on the reading of scriptures; thus it could use the reading and understanding of a text as a metaphor for the understanding of the world and of the human experience; such was Augustine's discovery in his *De magistro* and *De doctrina christiana*.

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[1] Lieberg, Poeta creator; the experience of human creativity, which was not foreign to Roman poets (cf. Ov. *met.* 6. 1–145), was not given more attention by philosophers until Neoplatonism.

IDEAS II

An intellectual revolution took place at the beginning of the 2nd century. Whereas Domitian had continued the tradition of banishing philosophers from Rome, under Nerva and Trajan philosophy became presentable at court, a change which was reflected by the exile and recall of Dio of Prusa; what is more, philosophy became a bullwark of imperial power. (One is reminded of Constantine, who, after the failure of persecution under Diocletian, placed himself at the head of a spiritual power that would shape the future). Philosophy was in vogue. From Hadrian on, it became fashionable to sport a philosopher's beard:[1] thus, even the outward appearance of the Romans changed. Rulers enjoyed being addressed as 'philosophers'. Hadrian went so far as to vouchsafe immunity to teachers of wisdom (a measure that would, however, be rescinded under Antoninus Pius). A spiritual revolution from above promised an age of reason, of wisdom and of moderation. As a consequence, the wind was taken out of the sails of the Stoic opposition and senatorial historiography in the Tacitean style. Would Seneca's dream of the ideal Stoic ruler come true? His attempt, however, to express philosophical subjectivity in Latin terms, at first, did not find allegiance.

The philosophical trend of the period opened up new channels for the propagation of Christianity: Christianity introduced itself as a philosophy (Tert. *apol.* 46). In fact, there were some points of contact with philososophy: there were basic concepts of natural theology (such as monotheism) and of ethics; the idea of conversion; devotion to truth; the acceptance of the role of a moral guardian in society; courage to resist based on freedom of will; defiance of death and readiness to suffer martyrdom (here Christians could approve of philosophers like Socrates). It became possible to bring Christianity home to the educated as the consummation of ancient philosophy; in this process initially Stoicism stood in the foreground, later on it was Neoplatonism.

The dialogue with pagan philosophy also had repercussions on the intellectual approach to the articles of faith. The philosophy of late antiquity and that of early Christianity cannot be treated separately. Theology was availing itself more and more of the methods

[1] Cf. now P. ZANKER, The Mask of Socrates. The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity, Berkeley 1995, esp. 198–266.

of philosophy. An early example is the doctrine of the Logos in which—at the latest since Philo—the traditions of Jewish wisdom and Greek philosophy had merged. Through Christianity the concept of Logos became a pivotal point of old and new: the unheard-of statement in the prologue to John that the creative, divine Logos became flesh in Jesus Christ made possible the step from an old philosophy of nature to a new philosophy of history. A philosophy of history in grand style was now possible since a new standpoint had been gained, from which two streams of tradition—that of antiquity and that of the Old Testament—could be surveyed, assimilated and filled with new meaning.

Latin literature of middle and late Empire absorbed for itself anew the Judeo-Christian tradition. This became a third cultural source along with Greek civilization, from which Republican literature had drawn, and the Roman national classics since the Augustan Age: thus, the literature of middle and late Empire laid the foundations for Europe.

The role of Roman tradition in this process was important; unfortunately it is often overlooked; in fact, even some typically Roman characteristics only now found an adequate literary expression:

Juridical thought reached its perfection at this time.

The same was true of psychology, a field in which particularly the Latin Church Fathers distinguished themselves. Seneca had a key position here; he seemed to anticipate Christian ideas both as a practical spiritual adviser and as a mediator between Stoic and Roman thought. Tertullian had good reason to call Seneca *saepe noster* (*anim.* 20. 1). Augustine's concern with psychology and the idea of conversion were congenial with the Romans' penchant for practical psychology. Their interest in individual characters and in personal experience now produced the new literary genre of psychological autobiography (Augustine's *Confessiones*).

Encouraged by biblical hints and his Roman perception of history as a linear development, Augustine finally succeeded in formulating an explicit philosophy of history (culminating in his didactic work *De civitate Dei*). Virgil's and Cicero's views of history, which were centered on the Roman empire, in many respects had prepared the way for Christian reflection or offered points of reference for criticism; an inalienable ingredient was the Roman's public spirit, from which the Church drew much for its own identity (e.g. notions such as *populus*

for Christians and *gentes* for outsiders). Virgil and Cicero were not simply literature for the Christian authors; they embodied an intellectual force—either as opponents or as forerunners—that was to be taken seriously.

A typically Roman taste for encyclopaedic knowledge and didacticism found expression in traditional and new literary forms, through which men such as Martianus Capella passed on the knowledge of antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Roman thought also constituted an antidote against a threatening prevalence of the Greek bent to pure contemplation and against an absorption of Christianity by the intellectual environment of a mythically colored Platonism or a general syncretism. In Tertullian's polemics against the Gnostics we hear the voice of a Roman advocate and activist, who champions passionately the unique importance of life on earth and of historical reality. This convergence of Roman and Jewish practical sense—the precedence of real life over philosophical speculation—contributed substantially to a clear differentiation of the Christians from their Hellenized environment and kept Christianity alive. A marked striving to reach a large audience, strong reservations against what is excessively esoteric, and a passion for juridic definition are all typically Roman heirlooms of the Occidental Church.

We might therefore call the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th a first renaissance. The more we study this epoch, the more we come to appreciate, in retrospect, the liberating effect and the regenerative strength of classical Roman literature.

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II. POETRY

THE POETRY OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE[1]

The Final Strains of Ancient Poetry

We have a few poetic lines of Emperor Hadrian, in which he expresses his own restlessness and loneliness in almost modern terms; they give us an idea of the direction that Latin verse could have taken had it not subsided into a non-committal play on forms. The *poetae novelli* competed with the technical achievements of contemporary Greek poets[2] and echoed the affected style of Laevius. Some representatives of the middle class devoted themselves to hammering out verse inscriptions[3] which stood on the fringe of literature; representatives of the new aristocracy and Christians, too, busied themselves with such activity since the end of the 3rd century. Incidental poetry, which in Statius' *Silvae* and Martial's *Epigrams* had reached the highest artistic level and rank of world literature, could no longer maintain that standard. A separate chapter will be devoted to Ausonius, who towered above his contemporaries. Yet, even his poems appear incidental and ephemeral when compared to the masterpieces of Silver Latin.

Minor poetry was represented by[4] P. Optatianus Porfyrius, Pentadius, Ablabius, Flavius Afranius Syagrius, Alcimus, Paulus quaestor, Reposianus, Symp(h)osius, Tiberian, and the anonymous *Prayer to Oceanus* and *Song of the Oar.* Worthy of mention on its own merit is the graceful *Alcestis,*[5] recently discovered in Barcelona. It was composed in hexameters by an unknown author from an unknown period.

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[1] In general cf. P. Steinmetz, Lyrische Dichtung im 2. Jh. n. Chr., ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 259–302.

[2] Norden, LG 97.

[3] W. Schetter, K. Smolak, HLL 5, 224–236.

[4] On these authors: K. Smolak, HLL 5, 1989, §§ 544–553. On Reposianus also Gärtner, LG 1988, 192–199; 569; 582.

[5] *Edition*: M. Marcovich (TC), Leiden 1988; *bibl.*: Gärtner, LG 1988, 170–178; 568; K. Smolak, HLL 5, 1989, § 549.

Vespa's *Squabble between Baker and Cook*[1] appeared at the earliest toward the end of the 3rd century. The contest (*agon*) between different trades was rooted in the popular tradition of 'flyting' and had been raised to the rank of literature by Theocritus, Virgil, and Catullus (62); moreover, it was influenced by rhetorical *syncrisis*. This type of text had a great literary future.[2]

The precious *Pervigilium Veneris*[3] (probably early 4th century) fully justifies its high repute. The impressiveness of the *versus quadrati* is enhanced by a sonorous refrain. The night fête imparts a quasi cultic aura; the distinctively secular piety and the poignant contrast between man and nature stressed at the end of the work touch a sympathetic chord in modern readers, such as Jacob Balde (*Philomela*), G. A. Bürger, Chateaubriand, Walter Pater, and T. S. Eliot.

The minor poetic forms reached an acme in the work of Ausonius (see the chapter devoted to him). His style found followers in Gaul: C. Apollinaris Sidonius, a talent mastering form but lacking depth, and his contemporary Merobaudes, an admirer of Aëtius. Another writer of short poems was Ennodius (d. 521), who like Sidonius also distinguished himself as a writer of prose. In Africa during the rule of the Vandals there appeared the Christian and 'old Roman' poems of Dracontius (at the end of the 5th century)[4] and several epigrams of the Anthologia Latina, among which those of Luxurius (first third of the 6th century) are particularly well explored.[5]

Around 400, Avianus wrote fables in elegiacs, a meter that did not particularly suit the content—this is indicative of the blurring of the boundaries of genre in late Antiquity. The well-known travel poem

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[1] M. Schuster, Vespa, RE 8 A 2, 1958, 1705–1710; K. Smolak, HLL 5, 1989, 235–256.

[2] H. Walther, Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, München 1920.

[3] *Editions*: P. Pithou, Paris 1577 (with notes by J. Scaliger; ed. princ.); R. Schilling (TTrN), Paris 1944; L. Catlow (TTrC), Brussels 1980; G. P. Goold, F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, J. W. Mackail (TTr), London 1918; 2nd ed. 1988; *bibl.*: basic K. Smolak, HLL 5, 1989, § 551; R. Schilling, Le refrain dans la poésie latine, in: M. von Albrecht and W. Schubert, eds., Musik und Dichtung. FS V. Pöschl, Heidelberg 1990, 117–131.

[4] The *Laudes Dei* do not comprise an epic but a glorification of God's grace in three books. The 1st book concerns Creation; the 2nd, Christ and his acts. The 3rd book, which among other subjects treats the obedience of mankind, is remarkable for its mention of self-sacrificing pagans.

[5] H. Happ, Luxurius. Text, analyses, commentary, 2 vols., Stutgardiae 1986.

of Rutilius (s. below) is also elegiac in form. Love elegy in the true sense of the word was represented in the 6th century by Maximianus,[1] an author familiar with Augustan elegy and Virgil. He purports to have consulted in his youth the wise Boethius (3. 48). His perspective of an elderly man allowed him a new approach to an effete genre (elegies 1, 2, and 5); of six poems only two reflect younger days (3 and 4): once the beloved has been won over, desire wanes (3). Impotence (3 and 5) is a topic known to us from Ovid and Petronius; in Maximianus, the disappointed girl's address to a limp member of the male anatomy ascends to the lofty regions of philosophy (5). Asceticism lies behind the seeming outspokenness of this author who probably was a Christian. In the Middle Ages Maximianus was read in classrooms as *ethicus*.

Bucolic poetry was cultivated by Nemesianus (see Roman Bucolic, above, pp. 659–667).

The same author tried his hand at didactic poetry: however, only 325 hexameters of his work on hunting survived. Q. Serenus composed a medical didactic poem, a collection of recipes in hexameters. Rufius Festus Avienus wrote a *Descriptio orbis terrae* in verse, a work entitled *De ora maritima* and a translation of Aratus. Terentianus Maurus[2] was an unusual didactic poet (probably 2nd–3rd century); he constructed a three-part didactic poem on metrics in breathtaking verses of varying meter: *De litteris* (85–278), *De syllabis* (279–1299) and *De metris* (1300–2981). The texts were handed down together; the preface (1–84) originally belonged to the *De syllabis* only. Around 400 there appeared the *Carmen de figuris* and the *Carmen de ponderibus et mensuris*, both composed in hexameters.

Epic was given a new panegyric form by Claudian, a true poet; he will be discussed in a separate chapter. In Corippus[3] we have a late blooming of this venerable genre.

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[1] *Editions*: Ae. Baehrens, Poetae Latini minores, vol. 5, Lipsiae 1883, 313–348; R. Webster (TC), Princeton 1900; F. Spaltenstein (TC), Rome 1983; *bibl.*: W. Schetter, Studien zur Überlieferung und Kritik, Wiesbaden 1970; C. Ratkowitsch, *Maximianus amat*, Wien 1986 (dating into the 9th century); C. Ratkowitsch, Weitere Argumente zur Datierung und Interpretation Maximians, WS 103, 1990, 207–239; A. Fo, Significato . . . della raccolta . . . di Massimiano, Hermes 115, 1987, 348–371.

[2] *Edition*: J.-W. Beck (TTrC), Göttingen 1993; *concordance*: J.-W. Beck, Hildesheim 1993; *bibl.*: P. L. Schmidt, KlP 591; J.-W. Beck, Terentianus Maurus: Gedanken zur Datierung, Hermes 122, 1994, 220–252.

[3] Authoritative E. Burck, in: E. Burck, ed., Das römische Epos, Darmstadt 1979, 379–399; 418–419 (bibl.).

The Beginnings of Christian Poetry

Christian Latin poetry was derived from three sources: first, Eastern Church hymns based on popular song; second, the elevated prose of the Latin Psalter, of liturgical prayers, and of dogmatic texts like the Creed; and, finally, Roman literary poetry.

The New Testament (*Eph.* 5. 19; *Col.* 3. 16) mentions examples of current Christian lyric poetry: 'psalms, hymns and spiritual songs'. Pliny (*epist.* 10. 96/97. 7) attests at the beginning of the 2nd century that Christians came together on a certain day before sunrise and in antiphony sang a hymn (*carmen dicere*) to Christ as a god. A great number of songs must have circulated in Greek and Syrian communities; the music of the Eastern Church spread westward through Hilary and others before him. Introduced by individuals—often into initially reluctant communities—the early Christian Latin hymns were for the most part highly literary and at times downright unpopular; however, the newly discovered abecedarian *Psalmus responsorius*[1] (in a 4th century papyrus) changed this picture. The work is an early attestation to a 'popular' style of ecclesiastical songs in the otherwise classicizing period of Constantine: actually, the use of classical and non-classical means of expression is not only determined by epoch but also by social stratum. Mixed forms such as 'hexameter without regard to quantity' had no future.[2] In his innovative hymnody, both simple and noble, Ambrose found a balance between the high literary standards of the educated and the piety of the simple folk; his influence would last for more than 1500 years.

In early Christian times Latin poetry was once again influenced by prose, though in a way completely different from early Latin and Augustan poetry. Adopted by the Church as a book of prayers, the psalms assumed prosaic form in Latin;[3] hymns of a dogmatic nature (such as those of Hilary or Victorinus) imitated the formal prose of ecclesiastical texts like the Creed. The preference for parallel constructions, typical of prose artistry, gave assonance and rhyme special

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[1] R. Herzog, HLL 5, 1989, § 559.

[2] Commodian composes in a meter based on word accent and in a 'vulgar Latin' style (*edition*: I. Martin, Turnholti 1960 = CC 128); period disputed (3rd–5th century). Similar attempts were made by Augustine.

[3] The 'hymns' prescribed in the monastic rules of Caesarius and Benedict are written in prose: the *Te Deum laudamus* (perhaps from the Greek), the *Te decet laus* (from the Greek), and the *Magna et mirabilia* (*apocal.* 15. 3–4); cf. W. Bulst, Hymni Latini antiquissimi LXXV, Psalmi III, Heidelberg 1956, 7–8.

prominence. With the decline of classical meter based on quantity, rhythmical cola in parallel arrangement became a new medium of popular lyric poetry.

In the area of form, two different traditions converge surprisingly: the preference for parallelism in Hebrew psalms is echoed spontaneously in Latin, for prose had long cultivated such a style. At the same time the nascent Christian lyric took up structural principles not indigenous to Rome, e.g. the abecedarian arrangement of Psalm 119 (118), the so-called 'Golden ABC'. This form also served pedagogical purposes: questionable as its artistic value may be, the alphabetical order is nevertheless a mnemonic device for driving home the articles of faith; many Christian poems are indeed didactic. Among Gnostics in the Greek Orient the approach had been more or less the same.

Thirdly, Christian poetry drew on the traditional forms of ancient poetry as developed in various genres. Narrative contents inspired biblical epic, whereas didactic themes found their form in dogmatic poems; even bucolic poetry was Christianized. Lactantius' elegiac poem *De Phoenice*[1] was perhaps the earliest Christian poem written in Latin. Its use of myth as an allegory for the personal hope of resurrection provided the groundwork for a Christian poetics.[2] The process culminated in the deliberate transfiguration of all pagan literary genres by Prudentius, whose work was a last blooming of classical and a first blooming of Christian poetry.

The development took a step backward when Prudentius' less talented successors increasingly came to assimilate, along with classical form, classical subject matter into Christian poetry. Artistic assessment of the products of virtuosi such as Sidonius Apollinaris[3] is a matter of taste: one could laugh them off as French frivolity *avant la lettre*, praise them as *humanitas Ausoniana* or condemn them as the vanity of pseudo-Christians; one-sided as they are, perhaps all three verdicts do not miss the mark entirely. Christianity, which emphasized the role of the individual, would have allowed, in principle, a development of great personal poetry comparable to Augustine's autobiographical prose. However, such an achievement could not be expected

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[1] See our chapter on Lactantius, s. pp. 1595; 1602.

[2] Traditional forms are equally used in the hexametric *Laudes Domini* (R. Herzog, HLL 5, § 560), which end in an intercession for Constantine.

[3] *Edition*: A. Loyen (TTrN), 3 vols., Paris 1960 and 1970; *carm. 22*: N. Delhey (TC), Berlin 1993; *concordance*: P. G. Christiansen, J. E. Holland, Hildesheim 1993.

from authors like Sidonius, given his threefold commitment to aristocratic society, school and Church. Superficially his situation brings back memories of Horace, who gave up poetry for philosophy, as he tells us in masterful verse. In the same way educated authors, having become bishops, 'renounced' the vanities of poetry, but continued writing verse anyway, though not near Horace's level. Poets like Ausonius, at whose command stood the entire treasury of ancient literary forms, might have regarded their works as fragments of a great confession; yet unlike the prose of Augustine, in their artful verse confession is all too often smothered in convention, and there is not much to confess anyway. However feebly and hesitantly, late antiquity nevertheless prepared the way for the personal poetry of modern times. Hints of this change are traceable in Paulinus of Nola,[1] for whom Christ had assumed the role of muse since his conversion. With the rigor of a zealot (but still in classical verse) he sought to explain to his teacher Ausonius why he had shed the tinsel of humanism. The epic *Eucharisticus* composed around 459 by Paulinus of Pella,[2] is touching as a personal confession but ungainly as poetry.

The talent of Venantius Fortunatus[3] (6th century) rose above his contemporaries; his works reflected the jubilation of the *ecclesia triumphans* in a style which easily mastered both old and new forms. The elegy *De partu virginis* conformed to classical standards while the magnificent Christmas and Passion hymns laid the foundation and set high artistic standards for medieval poetry. Polished verse on struggles and miracles immortalized individuals as they actively imitated Christ. The description of the joys of eternal life resembles a baroque ceiling fresco. The rift between pagan form and Christian content had once again been overcome. Although the voice of the individual was heard in conventional occasional poetry, it would ultimately submerge in the choir.

The main theme of Christian poetry is praise of God, for the expression of which the lyric form is only one of several possibilities. Closely connected to the glorification of God was the communication of his message, which could be brought about in two ways: either directly by paraphrasing the Gospels and explaining Church

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[1] *Edition*: G. de (= von) Hartel, 2 vols., Vindobonae 1894 (= CSEL 29–30).
[2] *Edition*: W. Brandes, Vindobonae 1888 (= CSEL 16, 263–334).
[3] *Edition*: F. Leo, B. Krusch, MGH AA 4, 1 and 2, Berolini 1881–1885; M. Reydellet (TTr), Paris 1994; *Epitaphium Vilithutae* (*4. 26*): P. Santorelli (TC), Napoli 1994.

dogmata in epic and didactic poetry, or indirectly by describing the life and martyr's death of Christian converts. Accounts of martyrdom recalled drama and biography; reports of conversion were reminiscent of philosophical texts.

Actual Bible epic began with Juvencus; he Christianized epic and the intent of the epic poet, transformed the text of the Bible into the cultivated Latin of poetry, but did not find for his subject matter an independent arrangement, selection, or form. Owing to his importance as a pioneer, he will be discussed in his own section.

In her cento, Proba[1] (4th century) clothed selected Christian topics in a mosaic of citations from Virgil. Was this symptomatic of a 'classicism' that had been budding since Constantine or was it merely another proof of the degeneration of poetry to pedantry? Confronted with Proba's claim that Virgil was actually singing the praises of Christ, strict theologians and philologists alike bristled with opposition. Jerome, theologian and philologist in one, saw in Proba's cento a degradation of both the Bible and Virgil. It would probably be more accurate historically, however, to speak of a new 'hermeneutic' reading encouraged by the incorporation of Roman culture into a Christian perspective. Proba established a typological relationship between the Roman classic (as a kind of 'Old Testament') and the new truth realized in Christ. Subsequently—like the artists who decorated Constantine's arch—she built a new structure out of the spoils of her predecessor.

After the talented Sedulius, to whom a separate section is devoted (s. below), we have to mention his imitator Arator, an author admired well into the 16th century, whose *Acts of the Apostles* roused the Romans to enthusiasm in 544 as they were being threatened by the Arian Goths. Trinitarian exegesis revealed the high vocation of the Church of St. Peter.[2] The technique of isolated images and of poetic meditation recalls Sedulius, who also influenced Rusticius Helpidius in his *Carmen de Christi Jesu beneficiis*. *Genesis* was rendered in verse by Claudius Marius Victor (*Alethia*), but above all expertly by Avitus.

Mentioned as bishop of Vienne in 494, Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus is to be associated with the eminently rhetorical culture of late Gaul. His main poetical work, *De spiritalis historiae gestis*, comprises 5 books:

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[1] R. Herzog, HLL 5, 1989, § 562.

[2] *Editions*: Arius Barbosa, Helmanticae 1516; A. P. McKinlay, Vindobonae 1951 (= CSEL 72); J. Schwind, Arator-Studien, Göttingen 1990.

1 *De mundi initio*, 2 *De originali peccato*, 3 *De sententia Dei*, 4 *De diluvio mundi*, 5 *De transitu maris*. Unlike Cyprian's *Heptateuch*, which had been an adaptation, Avitus' is an independent work of poetry. Far from being overwhelmed by the abundance of his subject matter,—he selected, after the fashion of good epic poets, a few episodes of vital importance. He knew how to portray paradise poetically and to recount events with psychological deftness. He was the first to bring the figure of Lucifer into epic. Milton, who included Avitus in his extensive studies,[1] would shape authoritatively the theme of *Paradise Lost*. This shows that in ancient Bible epic, too, there was a considerable potential which would be effectively exploited only in much later times.

THE *POETAE NOVELLI*

Dates

A group of poets active from the epoch of Hadrian up to the late 2nd century was called *poetae novelli* by Terentianus Maurus (probably end of the 2nd century) and *neoterici* by his colleague Diomedes (2nd half of the 4th century). Terentianus names three of them: Alfius Avitus (whose works had been published 'long ago'), Annianus, and Septimius Serenus (who was his contemporary). Gellius (about A.D. 170) introduces Annianus as an older contemporary who had heard the grammarian Probus. Other comparable poets are known to us only by name (Marianus), and many of them remain anonymous. One may doubt, however, whether all the poets labeled *poetae novelli* thought of themselves as forming a homogeneous group.

Survey of Works

Alfius Avitus wrote *Libri rerum excellentium* in iambic dimeters. He treated anecdotes or short stories, mainly from Livy's Roman history. Of Annianus' *Fescennina* (ludicrous marriage songs) only the title is known; Ausonius attests to his frankness in sexual matters. Annianus' *Falisca*, named after his property at Falerii, had a rural and folkloristic touch (*Uva, uva sum et uva Falerna*

[1] G. Krüger, in: Schanz-Hosius, LG 4, 2, 1920, 632, n. 3; on Avitus in general, ibid. §§ 1153–1159.

'I'm a grape, a grape, a grape of Falernum', *frg.* 1 Morel). We have relatively numerous fragments of Serenus' *Opuscula ruralia* which dealt with country life and, of course, love. Martianus wrote his *Lupercalia* probably in an antiquarian vein.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The attitude of the *poetae novelli* resembles that of Greek Alexandrian poets who avoided hopeless competition with the classics by playfully concentrating on small and rare poetic forms not yet represented by standard works.

The most illustrious Latin forerunners of the *poetae novelli* were Catullus and his contemporaries; an even earlier important stimulus was the metrical and linguistic versatility of Laevius. Nor should we forget the so-called *Appendix Vergiliana*, the minor poetry of the Neronian age and the younger Pliny's attempts to revive the poetic atmosphere of late Republican literary circles in his day.

Alfius used Livy as a source. He treated novelistic episodes in lyric meters, giving special attention to dramatic effects. This mixture of genres is strikingly reminiscent of what would be called 'ballads' in a much later period. We should therefore try to find out how different genres melted together in each individual poem rather than speak of a 'poetry without definite genre'. The rise of a minor type of poetry to literary status is nothing new; new is its becoming the typical representative of the poetry of an entire age. When reading Ausonius, we will be able to appreciate fully the importance of this development.

Literary Technique

In the story of the rape of the Sabines Alfius replaces the Livian chorus of the young women with an individual young wife addressing her husband; thus the poet enhances realism and the privacy of the scene. When remodeling the episode of the schoolmaster of Falerii, Alfius prefers direct to indirect speech. The schoolmaster's outspoken cynicism adds to the dramatic effect.

Language and Style

The *poetae novelli*, who (in accordance with the archaizing tastes of the age) discovered Laevius, did not abstain from metrical experiments: the following line can be read both forward and backward

without losing its metric form: *versu volo, Liber, tua praedicentur acta/ acta praedicentur tua, Liber, volo versu* (p. 189 Morel).

A preference for playful use of difficult meters is matched by a sophisticated approach to language. On the one hand, there are archaisms (*litterator* for *grammatista, Curis* for *Quiris*), on the other hand there are elements of vulgar Latin (*vagare* for *vagari, viridus* for *viridis*). The authors strive for a seemingly plain and simple style; syntactic and metrical borders tend to coincide; there are no long periods.

Ideas I

We know from Gellius that Annianus was interested in problems of language and pronunciation. As we have no direct knowledge of the literary theories backed by the *poetae novelli* we must confine ourselves to observing the paradoxical phenomenon that this 'modern' movement was inaugurated by 'archaists': thus it happened that Laevius and Catullus, who in their day had been extremely 'modern', were now rediscovered as precious 'antiques'.

Ideas II

Gellius draws an attractive picture of Annianus' cheerful life on his estate near Falerii. This poet devoted his time to antiquarian and philological studies. In fact, the poetry of the *poetae novelli* is not fraught with the great questions of human existence; it rather concentrates on domestic, rural, and erotic life without overtly competing with elegy or pastoral. Quite unlike the generations of Seneca and Lucan these authors avoid emotional exuberance. The upper class of the 2nd century had made the best of their loss of political impact and turned to private pastimes like farming, hunting, love and sometimes even poetry and scholarship.

Transmission

The scanty fragments have been preserved by grammarians who quote them as examples of rare meters.

Influence

Despite a certain lack of depth the influence of the *poetae novelli* was not negligible. The very fact that they remained fashionable for half

a century shows that they were congenial to their epoch. There is an affinity with other poetic products of the 2nd century like those of Florus and Hadrian. Gellius, Terentianus, and Diomedes seem to prove that their texts were copied and read. Ausonius is the best witness of their impact: as they had done, he cultivated minor literary forms, was fond of puns and combined local poetry with erotic and scholarly elements.

Editions: FPL (T), pp. 136–148 Morel; 342–360 Blänsdorf. * J. W. Duff, A. M. Duff, Minor Latin Poets, 2 vols., London 1934, rev. 1935, 439–450 (Hadrian only). * E. Courtney, The Fragmentary Latin Poets, Oxford 1993, 375–420.

H. Bardon, Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien, 2nd ed. Paris 1968, 393–424. * A. Cameron, Poetae Novelli, HSPh 84, 1980, 127–175. * E. Castorina, I '*poetae novelli*', Biblioteca di cultura (Firenze) 79, 1949, 3–12. * E. Castorina, Questioni neoteriche, (ibid.), 1968, 157–160. * M. Galdi, Ideali artistici e letterari della scuola neoterica o novella in Roma, Mouseion 4, 1927, 90–108. * I. Mariotti, *Animula vagula blandula*, in: Studia Florentina A. Ronconi oblata, Roma 1970, 233–249. * P. Steinmetz, Untersuchungen zur römischen Literatur des 2. Jh. n. Chr., Wiesbaden 1982. * P. Steinmetz, Livius bei Alfius Avitus, in: Livius, Werk und Rezeption, FS E. Burck, 1983, 435–447. * P. Steinmetz, Lyrische Dichtung im 2. Jh. n. Chr., ANRW 2, 33, 1, 1989, 259–302. * J. K. Wagner, Quaestiones neotericae, diss. Leipzig 1907, 5–10. * E. Zaffagno, Gli opuscula di Sereno, in: Argentea Aetas, in memoriam E. V. Marmorale, Genova 1973, 273–294.

AUSONIUS

Life and Dates

Born to a physician in Bordeaux around 310, D. Magnus Ausonius was the first French representative of world literature. After studies in his native city and in Toulouse with his uncle Arborius, he taught at famous schools in Bordeaux for three decades, first as *grammaticus* and later as *rhetor*.[1] His unforgettable wife Sabina, who bore him three children, died at the age of 28. Emperor Valentinian I appointed him tutor to Gratian in Trier (around 365), promoted him to *comes*

[1] A. D. Booth, The Academic Career of Ausonius, Phoenix 36, 1982, 329–343.

(371) and later to *quaestor sacri palatii* (375).[1] There with his famous *Mosella*,[2] a tribute to the landscape of the river Moselle in 483 hexameters, he became the first poet of the German landscape and with his *Bissula* he became a discoverer of the qualities of the Swabian (Suevian) girl. The blue-eyed blonde was allotted to him as part of the spoils from the military campaign under Valentinian against the Alamanni, but she soon reversed the roles of master and slave. Gratian made him *praefectus praetorio trium Galliarum* in 378 and consul in 379. The poet urged the ruler to strengthen the position of the senate and to adopt a policy of clemency in deliberate contrast to Valentinian's attitude. After the violent death of Gratian (383), Ausonius returned to his holdings and to the Garonne in order to live for literature and friendship. His last years were overshadowed by his disappointment over the religious fanaticism of his pupil Paulinus, with whose departure from the tranquil milieu of literati Ausonius—who was satisfied with a short morning prayer—could not bring himself to sympathize.

Survey of Works[3]

Poetic *Prefaces* ('book 1') are directed to the reader, to Syagrius and to the Emperor Theodosius, from whom there is a letter to Ausonius enclosed.[4]

The *Ephemeris* ('book 2') describes a typical day in the poet's life.

There follow *Poems*, which concern the important stations of Ausonius' life and are partly of an official character ('book 3').

The *Parentalia* ('book 4') passes on portraits of his relatives, the *Professores Burdigalenses*[5] ('book 5') portraits of his colleagues (probably after 385 A.D.).

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[1] Hesperius, the son of Ausonius, became proconsul of Africa in 376, and *praefectus praetorio* of Italy, Illyricum and Africa in 377–380.

[2] The work is dated between 369 and 375 (probably 371).

[3] It is a difficult task to reconstruct the original order of the poems of Ausonius; today we would start from Textual Transmission X. In this chapter we follow the traditional order of the poems (e.g. H. G. E. White, edition); especially important for us are the genres of texts.

[4] Books 5, 7, 13, 14 have poetic prefaces; prose prefaces are found in books 4, 6, 8, 9, and 12 (2 prose prefaces), 16, and 17. Poem 2. 1 is forwarded by its own preface in prose. Discursive interludes are found in the *Cento*. Prefaces in prose and in verse open books 4 and 9. Books 2, 3, 10, and 11 are without prefaces; on prose prefaces: Z. Pavlovskis, From Statius to Ennodius. A Brief History of Prose Prefaces to Poems, RIL 101, 1967, 535–567.

[5] R. P. H. Green, Still Waters Run Deep. A New Study of the *Professores of Bordeaux*, CQ 35, 1985, 491–506.

The *Epitaphs* ('book 6') relate mostly to figures of the Trojan War.

The so-called *Eclogues* ('book 7') include, after a hendecasyllabic preface, some longer didactic pieces in hexameters or distichs and several instructive epigrams as well.

The *Martyred Cupid*[1] ('book 8'), a hexameter text with an introduction in prose, describes a mural in a triclinium at Trier. Loving women in the underworld and Venus herself cruelly punish the god; in the end, however, everything turns out to be a nightmare.

Bissula ('book 9'), named after the above-mentioned Suevian girl, is a brief cycle of love poems in varying meters,[2] mostly epigrams, with a prose introduction and a poetic introduction.

The *Mosella* ('book 10') is the most extensive and most important work of Ausonius. The poem probably owes its renown primarily to its subject matter—as in the case of the travel poem of Rutilius Namatianus.

The *Ordo urbium nobilium* ('book 11'), written in hexameters, treats famous cities in descending order of importance—from Rome, which he 'venerates', to Bordeaux, which he 'loves'.

The *Technopaegnion* ('book 12') is a collection of hexameter poems in which each verse ends in a monosyllable. Material from literature, grammar, and mythology is ordered according to subject.

The *Game of the Seven Sages* ('book 13') is composed in iambic senarii. Each wise man introduces himself and quotes his own pithy saying in the original Greek.

The *Twelve Caesars* ('book 14') are treated in distichic epigrams; the introductory poems that relate to all the emperors are in hexameters.

The poetic epilogues forming the *Conclusio* to a list compiled by Ausonius of all the consuls make up 'book 15'.

'Book 16' is the *Griphus ternarii numeri*, and 'book 17' the *Cento nuptialis*, an unholy montage out of shredded sentences of the chaste Virgil, both meant to be circulated round the table.

The largely poetic *Exchange of Letters*—prominent among the addressees are Symmachus and Paulinus—fills the comprehensive '18th book', *Mixed Epigrams* the 'Nineteenth'; consul Ausonius' *Speech of Thanksgiving* written in prose to Emperor Gratian fills the 'Twentieth', a plainly hymnlike panegyric.

The editions include the *Appendix Ausoniana*, which contains spurious items.

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[1] W. Fauth, *Cupido cruciatur*, GB 2, 1974, 39–60.

[2] Choriambic tetrameters (2 choriambs and an aristophaneus), hexameters, elegiac couplets, couplets out of hexameter and hemiepes.

Sources, Models, and Genres

In addition to his favorites, Catullus and Horace, Ausonius mirrors a broad spectrum of Roman poetry:[1] Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, Tibullus, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal,[2] and Septimius Serenus (to whom he was indebted for the title *Opuscula*). Among the writers of prose Cicero and the Plinii take first place; he was also familiar with Varro, Suetonius, Florus and perhaps Marius Maximus.[3]

He quotes old Latin authors like Afranius, Ennius, and Lucilius from secondary sources.

The *Mosella* verges on eulogy but also on poetry such as the *Halieutica*; there was also a work on fish written by Apuleius. Poetic descriptions of regions (chorographies such as that of Varro Atacinus) are also at work here; the idealization is reminiscent of Virgil's praise of Italy in the *Georgics*.

In many cases the epigrams are based on Greek models;[4] strangely enough, Martial is less prominent—much to Ausonius' disadvantage. The *Trojan Heroes* come from Pseudo-Aristotle. It is evident that a history of the Latin epigram cannot be written without continual consideration of Greek sources.

The shaping of new poetic genres is our next subject.

Literary Technique

In the *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*[5] there are basically two types of poems represented: *Encomia*,[6] at the core of which public instruction is evaluated according to systematic criteria, and texts, in the middle parts of which biographical material dominates because there is not much to praise with respect to technical competence.[7]

Many poems conclude with an address to the deceased; motifs of consolation are rather rare. Inspired by personal ties and fondness

[1] W. Görler, Vergilzitate in Ausonius' *Mosella*, Hermes 97, 1969, 94–114; R. P. H. Green, Ausonius' Use of the Classical Latin Poets. Some New Examples and Observations, CQ 27, 1977, 441–452.

[2] R. E. Colton, Ausonius and Juvenal, CJ 69, 1973, 41–51.

[3] R. P. H. Green, Marius Maximus and Ausonius' *Caesares*, CQ 31, 1981, 226–236.

[4] F. Munari, Ausonio e gli epigrammi greci, SIFC 27/28, 1956, 308–314.

[5] On the following, s. esp. H. Szelest (ZAnt) 1976.

[6] 1–6; 13–15; 20–22; 24.

[7] 7–12; 16–19; 23.

but not delivered with effusive praise, such commemorative poems sketch the most accurate portrait possible of the deceased. They are an invention of Ausonius himself: the *commemoratio.* This new type of poem combines elements of *laudatio, epicedium,*[1] elegy, and the grave epigram. In place of the *pathos* of mourning, personal *ethos* dominates. A possible model of both form and content is the *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* of Suetonius,[2] who had portrayed individual grammarians. Roman preference for concrete information, for individual features, and for telling facts, had been evident in the works of Suetonius; in Ausonius this attitude gave rise to poetry and found expression in a new form.

The *Ordo urbium nobilium,* too, represented a new type of poem. Here formal elements of the Greek epigram combined with Roman *descriptiones,* which up to this point had been components of longer texts but now became independent; moreover, it was a new idea to publish a cycle of such poems.

On the other hand, the *satirical epigrams* remained unoriginal in form and content. In this case Ausonius limited himself to repetition of the stereotype; his excessive illustration and explanation of punch lines is pedantic and inexcusable—all the more as he wrote for a public of connoisseurs.

With his showpiece *Letter to His Son* Ausonius proved himself to be a worthy continuator of rhetorical lyric after Statius' poem *To Sleep.*

Language and Style[3]

Just as Lucilius had once done, Ausonius mixed Latin and Greek elements to produce a hybrid poetry. This practice, an affront to both languages, seems to be typical of semiliterate epochs. Particularly striking is the slipshod prosody in many Greek words; he is not especially competent in this language. Even in Latin he shortens the *a* in *contra.* As he never left Gaul, his Latin is evidence of the Latinity of his time and region.

His epigrams, however, do betray considerable linguistic awareness.

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[1] The *epicedium* is composed of *laudatio, comploratio,* and *consolatio.*

[2] H. Szelest (ZAnt) 1976, esp. 433.

[3] R. E. Colton, Some Unusual Words Used by Martial and Ausonius, CB 54, 1977, 8–10; V. Crisi, De re metrica et prosodiaca D. Magni Ausonii, I. De hexametris et pentametris, Utini 1938; P. Tordeur, Etude des élisions dans la *Moselle* d'Ausone, Latomus 29, 1970, 966–987.

Rufus says *reminisco* instead of *reminiscor*—*cor* (intelligence), therefore, he does not possess (*epigr.* 8). *Epigr.* 61 reveals the thoughtless transfer of school terminology to inappropriate objects: the same Rufus wishes a newly married couple children *masculini, feminini,* and *neutri generis.* Accordingly, his humor ever retained some odor of the classroom.

His use of adjectives in the *Mosella* contributes substantially to poetic effect: the contrast of colors—green, red, white (69–70), the transparency of the water (55) and the play of light enchant the reader. The observation of blue and green tones in the landscape also corresponds to the increased interest of late Latin poets in the effect of color,[1] though Ennius, too, had recognized the dynamic impact of color.

In the *Commemoratio professorum* the address to the deceased is an important element of style.

Lyrical appeal combines with rhetorical repetition in the *Letter to His Son.* The mournful mood of an abandoned father is brought home to the reader at once through the steady hammering of *solus* (7–9) and *sic* (17–19).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Ausonius' rhetorical criteria correspond to his practice: *perite, concinne, modulate, dulciter* (*epist.* 23, *prosa*); his love of literature is closely related to the concept of *otium.* In old age he intends to read anew the classics with his grandchild: Horace, Virgil, Terence, Sallust (including the *Histories, epist.* 22. 55–65). As the *Protrepticus* to his grandson indicates (*epist.* 22), his approach to literature is marked by pedagogical concerns. However, such conventional remarks hardly reach the core of his intent.

The most important witness to Ausonius' view of his task as an author is the all-embracing character of his collection of poems. To this poet everything seems worth immortalizing: his family, the professors at Bordeaux, and much more. As in the case of Lucilius one is tempted to say that the old gentleman's life lies before us as on a votive tablet. Like some early Latin authors do, Ausonius leaves us with the impression that the personality of the author is more significant than his modest and often incidental verse. The 'encyclopedic'

[1] H. Szelest 1987 (with further bibl.).

subject matter of the *opuscula* discloses a typically Roman penchant for a broad overview. In the jumble of seemingly unimportant matters, the reader is conscious of an individual attempting to become a mirror of the world.

The love poems addressed to the Suevian girl *Bissula* may be regarded as the first steps to personal poetry—at least on the basis of intention and suggestion. In a special preface Ausonius felt it necessary to apologize for the personal character of these poems. In them something crops up that in Roman literature surfaces again and again but is often suppressed by literary and social constraints. The fact that the expression of personal feelings appears in the work of a poet who is otherwise so conventional and scholastic must be taken as a stirring symptom of the times.[1]

Ausonius himself obviously felt that he had not expressed everything in his poems, for he often supplemented them with prefaces, explanatory insertions and concluding remarks in prose. He was a man of letters living in a time prone to verbalize everything, albeit in long-standing, conventional forms. Not long thereafter the *Confessiones* of Augustine would cast a new type of personal literature. In the works of Ausonius the professed friend of the surface of things, we have rudiments perhaps more than modest but not to be dismissed altogether.

Ideas II

Ausonius' world of ideas is centered around those closest to him, the landscape of his homeland and his profession as rhetor. Unimportant as they may be individually, these persons and things have a prominent place in his heart. In this respect he is a genuine Roman. Despite all the rhetoric of the *Mosella*, there are some passages conveying an almost modern feeling for nature. Compared with the idealizing and typifying portrayal of the Mosel, the images of the cities give us a better impression of life in Ausonius' time; it was not commonplace in antiquity to give poetic expression to reality in such a way. Although the professors of Bordeaux are portrayed with fondness, they are not praised excessively. Ausonius' poetic sense of what

[1] It is true that Symmachus acknowledges that the poet of the *Mosella* remains faithful to truth (*epist.* 1. 14. 3). However, this should be taken with reservation, cf. e.g. C.-M. Ternes 1970.

is individual and tangible places him on the threshold of modern times.

On the other hand, his preference for rhetoric and play on words is a thoroughly Roman—and Romance—feature; granted, the personal touch is also there. The playful flourishes of the *Gratiarum actio* do not conceal the exhortation to clemency: a teacher's legacy bequeathed to the Emperor. Beloved Latin, too, and its classics—Greek was not his forte—belonged to the natural environment of this man of letters. A born pedagogue, he conveys with gusto—if not always with good taste—the comfort afforded by education. Virgil for him is not just some venerable idol but an indestructible piece of his household effects, which—as in the *Cento nuptialis*—could even be tousled to one's heart's content.

However, he took dalliance with rhetoric and homespun poetry contrary to expectation so seriously that the conversion of his pupil Paulinus to an uncompromising form of Christianity was considered by him an act of treason. The words of the convert (Paulin. *carm.* 10. 39–40) against rhetors, who imbue the heart with false and vain things and instruct only the tongue (*qui corda falsis atque vanis imbuunt/ tantumque linguas instruunt*, 'who imbue the minds with false and worthless things and instruct only the tongue'), must have hurt him deeply.

Transmission[1]

The transmission of the text of Ausonius is among the most complicated problems of classical philology; some brief remarks must suffice here.

Ausonius sent his poems in the form of samples[2] before publication to his friends; the actual publication followed with a cover letter, in which an acquaintance was asked—in affect—to 'correct' the enclosed poem. Several poems have come down to us accompanied by two such letters; hence, these poems were published twice.[3]

We know of three threads of tradition that go back to late antiquity:

X: Thread X comes by way of Spain, and its primary representative is the Leidensis Vossianus Lat. F. 111, 9th cent. (= V): this is the most

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[1] S. Prete, Ricerche sulla storia del testo di Ausonio, Roma 1960; bibl. in S. Prete, 1978 edition; M. D. Reeve, Some Manuscripts of Ausonius, Prometheus 3, 1977, 112–120; cf. the same, in: Reynolds, Texts and Transmission 26–28; a helpful survey of research in: W. L. Liebermann 1989, 270–277.

[2] Cf. Symmachus *apud* Auson. *epist.* 1.

[3] E.g. the *Technopaegnion*. In the *Fasti* the accompanying poem originally dedicated to Hesperius was rededicated to a certain Gregorius.

comprehensive collection of Ausonius; however, several epigrams fell victim to abridgement.

Y: The second thread of the tradition probably goes back to a Bobiensis; the Paris. Lat. 8500 of the 14th cent. (= P) represents the beginning. Prete considers the Harleianus 2613 (h) the best representative. This tradition also contained the Historica, which today is lost. Y is somewhat shorter than X; there are cuts mainly in the personal parts of the text.

Z: The third and briefest selection omits the autobiographical and historical portions but contains the speech of thanks and the erotic poems. Today one no longer holds variants of Z to be those of the author (variants of a 'first edition' of about A.D. 383); they are thought instead to be an interpolated text dating from late antiquity. The Tilianus (Leidensis Vossianus Lat. Q 107) of the 14th or 15th cent. (= T) has been dethroned as the main representative of Z.

Influence[1]

Ausonius was read by Endelechius, Prudentius, Paulinus of Pella, Sidonius, Ennodius, and Venantius Fortunatus; his influence can be felt in the *Epigrammata Bobiensia*. In many respects his relaxed small talk set the tone in Gaul of late antiquity.

The renown of the *Mosella* extended into the Middle Ages, and its traces are detectable in Walahfrid Strabo, Ermenric (both 9th century) and in the *Gesta Treverorum* (12th century). Our poet's aphorisms were handed down through schools, but the echo is scarce on the whole (not necessarily because of the exchange of letters with Paulinus). In the early Renaissance[2] interest started to increase with Benzo and Petrarch. Boccacio possessed a complete corpus of Ausonius. Montaigne read the poet 'because he came from Bordeaux'. Erasmus liked to quote him in his *Adagiorum Collectanea*, J. C. Scaliger in his *Poetics*; the poets of the *Pléiade*—Ronsard, DuBellay and Baïf—were familiar with him. The works of C. Celtis and M. Opitz prove that he was

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[1] Late Antiquity: J. L. Charlet, L'influence d'Ausone sur la poésie de Prudence, Paris 1980; Middle Ages and modern times: R. Weiss, Ausonius in the Fourteenth Century, in: R. R. Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King's College (1969), Cambridge 1971, 67–72; H. L. Felber, S. Prete, D. Magnus Ausonius, in: P. O. Kristeller, ed., Catalogus translationum et commentariorum, Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides, vol. 4, Washington 1980, 193–222.

[2] Highet, Class. Trad. 188; on the following also W.-L. Liebermann 1989, 306–308.

well-known also in Germany. Granted, as a writer of epigrams he stands in the shadow of Martial and the Greek Anthology; nevertheless, B. Gracián (d. 1658), a mainstay of the Conceptismo, extolled the brilliance of Ausonius. To Pope (d. 1744) and Richardson (d. 1761) our author was not an unknown. He also attracted Lessing's (d. 1781) attention; Goethe was intrigued by the *Tenth Epigram*; in 1812, he asked Knebel for a translation and J. W. Döbereiner for information concerning the identity of the poison mentioned in the text[1] (he read Ausonius, therefore, not primarily out of poetic interest). Herder (d. 1803) was astonished at our poet's influence on posterity. Felix Dahn (d. 1912) portrayed him in his Bissula novel.

Editions: Bartholomaeus Girardinus, Venetiis 1472. * K. Schenkl, Berlin 1883 (MGH, AA 5, 2). * R. Peiper, Leipzig 1886. * H. G. E. White (TTr), 2 vols., London 1919–1921 (and later repr.) * S. Prete, Leipzig 1978. * R. P. H. Green (TC), Oxford 1991 * *Mosella*: C. Hosius (TN), Marburg 3rd ed. 1926, repr. 1967. * C.-M. Ternes (TC), Paris 1972. * W. John (TTrN), W. Binsfeld (revised), W. Abel (bibl.), Berlin 1980. * B. K. Weis (TTrC), Darmstadt 1989. * G. P. O'Daly (T), Cambridge (forthcoming). ** *Concordance*: L. J. Bolchazy, J. A. M. Sweeney, M. G. Antonetti, Concordantia in Ausonium. With Indices to Proper Nouns and Greek Forms, Hildesheim 1982; see also Indices in editions. ** *Bibl.*: C.-M. Ternes, Ausone. Bibliographie objective et subjective, Bulletin des antiquités luxembourgoises 14, 1983 (1984), 3–126.

F. Benedetti, La tecnica del *vertere* negli *Epigrammi* di Ausonio, Firenze 1980. * A. Delachaux, La latinité d'Ausone. Etude lexicographique et grammaticale, thèse Lausanne, Neuchâtel 1909. * F. Della Corte, L'ordinamento degli *Opuscula* di Ausonio, RCCM 2, 1960, 21–29. * F. Della Corte, I *Fasti* di Ausonio, in: Studi di storiografia antica in memoria di L. Ferrero, Torino 1971, 203–208. * F. Della Corte, I *Caesares* di Ausonio e Mario Massimo, in: Atti del Convegno *Gli storiografi latini tramandati in frammenti* (Urbino 1974) = StudUrb 49, 1, 1975, 483–491. * F. Della Corte, Bissula, RomBarb 2, 1977, 17–25. * J. Fontaine, Etudes sur la poésie latine tardive d'Ausone à Prudence, Paris 1980. * W. Fauth, *Cupido cruciatur*, GB 2, 1974, 39–60. * H. Fuchs, Textgestaltungen in der *Mosella* des Ausonius, MH 32, 1975, 173–182. * M. K. Hopkins, Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire. The Evidence of Ausonius, CQ 11, 1961, 239–249. * C. Hosius, Die literarische Stellung von Ausons *Mosellied*, Philologus 81, 1926, 192–201. * E. J. Kenney, The *Mosella* of Ausonius, G&R 31, 1984, 190–202. * D. Korzeniewski, Aufbau und Struktur der *Mosella* des Ausonius, RhM

[1] Grumach 398–400.

106, 1963, 80–95. * P. de Labriolle, Ausonius, RLAC 1, 1950, 1020–1023. * W. D. Lebek, Das Versepitaph *Syll. Eln.* 2 (ZPE 63, 1986, 83–100) und Ausonius, besonders *Epitaphia heroum* 35, ZPE 69, 1987, 101–105. * W.-L. Liebermann, D. Magnus Ausonius, in: HLL 5, München 1989, 268–308. * J. Martin, Textes chrétiens d'Ausone, BAGB 4, 1972, 503–512. * F. Marx, Ausonius' *Lied von der Mosel*, RhM 80, 1931, 368–392. * F. Marx, Ausonius, RE 2, 2, 1896, 2562–2580. * E. K. Rand, Ausonius. The First French Poet, PCA 24, 1927, 28–41. * M. D. Reeve, Some Manuscripts of Ausonius, Prometheus 3, 1977, 112–120. * M. Roberts, The *Mosella* of Ausonius. An Interpretation, TAPhA 114, 1984, 343–353. * E. Sánchez Salor, Hacia una poética de Ausonio, Habis 7, 1976, 159–186. * E. G. Schmidt, Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten des Ausonius, StudClas 3, 1961, 413–420. * H. Sivan, Ausonius of Bordeaux. Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy, London 1993. * H. Szelest, Die Sammlung *Ordo urbium nobilium* des Ausonius und ihre literarische Tradition, Eos 61, 1973, 109–122. * H. Szelest, *Valete manes inclitorum rhetorum.* Ausonius' *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*, Eos 63, 1975, 75–87. * H. Szelest, Ausonius und Suetonius, ZAnt 26, 1976, 433–442. * H. Szelest, Die Spottepigramme des Ausonius, Eos 64, 1976, 33–42. * H. Szelest, Die *Mosella* des Ausonius und ihre literarische Tradition, Eos 75, 1987, 95–105. * C.-M. Ternes, Paysage réel et coulisse idyllique dans la *Mosella* d'Ausone, REL 48, 1970, 376–397. * Id., Etudes ausoniennes, 2 vols., Luxembourg 1980; 1983.

AVIANUS

Avianus (or -ius, not Avienus) probably did not live during the 2nd century but at the beginning of the 5th. He dedicated his fables written in elegiac couplets to a certain Theodosius (perhaps Macrobius). His identity with the aristocrat Avienus in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (1. 4) is uncertain.

The authenticity of several of the 42 fables has been doubted (23; 35; 38); also of dubious origin are many *promythia* and *epimythia*, which are missing in some manuscripts. Today, however, most consider them authentic. The titles, which have been handed down only in some codices and in varying form, did not come from Avianus.

Thirty-one of the fables bear a striking resemblance to those of the Greek verse fabler Babrius. From the Preface scholars concluded that Avianus had before him a prose paraphrase of Babrius' fables (probably by Titianus, the 'Aesopian trimeters', cf. Auson. *epist.* 16);[1]

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[1] O. Crusius, JKPh 139, 1889, 650.

others, however, hold the opinion that the poet used Babrius directly. Phaedrus' influence, on the other hand, seems only slight. Five fables are not attested previously (22; 25; 28; 30; 38), four originate from the Collectio Augustana (9; 12; 26; 42), one from Ps.-Dositheus (27) and one from an unknown source (5).

As an author Avianus is inferior to Phaedrus. The elegiac couplet is not particularly appropriate for his subject. Each distich forms one complete thought; so the development of the narrative in most of the fables is antithetic.

An appraisal of Avianus' language and style hinges on textual criticism which lacks any definitive basis. Doubtless he considered himself an educated author and cared for literary polish; however, his language is interspersed with late Latin elements and his style is contorted.

The assessment of the rich manuscript tradition (160 manuscripts) is in a state of flux.[1]

Avianus, the only known ancient versifier of fables from the 9th up to the 16th century, was a school author in the Middle Ages and was repeatedly paraphrased. Alexander Neckam (d. 1227) composed a *Novus Avianus*.

Editions: Steinhöwel, in: Aesopus, Ulm (Joh. Zainer) around 1476–1477 (27 fables). * Apologus Auiani civis Romani (complete), Coloniae 1494 (H. Quentell). * H. Cannegieter (TC), Amstelaedami 1731. * C. Lachmann, Berolini 1845. * V. Rabenlechner (Tr), Wien 1883. * R. Ellis (TC), Oxford 1887. * J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff (TTr), in: Minor Latin Poets, London 1934, 2nd ed. 1935. * A. Guaglianone, Torino 1958. * F. Gaide (TTr), Paris 1980.

O. Crusius, RE 2, 2, 1896, 2373–2378. * E. C. Jones, LAW, s.v. Aviānus (with bibl.). * W. R. Jones, Avianus, Flavianus, Theodosius, and Macrobius, in: Classical Studies Presented to B. E. Perry, Urbana, Illinois 1969, 203–209. * J. Küppers, Die Fabeln Avians. Studien zu Darstellung und Erzählweise spätantiker Fabeldichtung, Bonn 1977. * C. W. Müller, Ennius und Äsop. MH 33, 1976, 193–218.

[1] Cf. J. Küppers, Gnomon 53, 1981, 242–243.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS

Life and Dates

Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, a noble from Roman Gaul, was prefect of the city of Rome in 414;[1] his father had already held that office. He travelled from Rome to Gaul in late fall of 417[2] to inspect his properties which had been laid waste by the Goths.

His itinerary, written in elegiac couplets, was composed after his arrival in Gaul.

Survey of the Work

The beginning of the 1st book of Rutilius' work is missing; therefore, the title *De reditu suo*, which was taken from 1. 1, is not authentic. The first 68 verses are all that remain of the 2nd book and they are followed by 38 lines of mutilated text.

The statement of the occasion of the journey includes a eulogy of native Romans (1. 1–34); the departure from the Eternal City contains a hymnic prayer to Roma for a safe journey (35–164). There follows his farewell to his friends (165–178), the last of whom leaves Rutilius at Ostia (179–216). The monotony of the sea voyage from the *Portus Romae* to the *Portus Pisanus* (217–644) is broken by sightseeing (e.g. sulphur springs 1. 249–276; salt works 1. 475–490; the monument to his father at Pisa 1. 574–590) and visits to his friends (1. 465–474; 541–558).

After an introduction (2. 1–10) and excursuses on the geographical position and shape of Italy (17–40) and on the disastrous activities of Stilicho (41–60), the 2nd book breaks off with the arrival at Luna (61–68). The Fragments A and B recently discovered in a Bobiensis show that the journey continued to Gaul.

Sources, Models, and Genres

To be sure, Rutilius supplemented his own observations with those found in travel handbooks. As a skilled orator, he was well-versed in

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[1] I. Lana 1961, 15–16, is of a different opinion.

[2] A different opinion in I. Lana 1961, 60, agreeing with F. Vollmer 1941, 1251: 21st–22nd September 416. A basis for the dating is the reference to Rome's age (1. 135); on the season, lines 183; 201; 205–206; for an early date (A.D. 415): I. Lana and E. Castorina in A. Bartalucci (and others) 1975, 16 and 17; for 417 again V. Tandoi, ibid. 18.

Roman history. He knew Roman poetry and, applying his own sophisticated technique of imitation, he made use of his predecessors:[1] Virgil, Ovid, and especially texts of his specific genre, poetic itineraries like Horace's *Iter Brundisinum* (*sat.* 1. 5), Ovid's *Tristia* (e.g. 1. 10), Statius' *Propempticon* (*silv.* 3. 2), and the *Mosella* of Ausonius. He cites Homer directly. His work is an example of a successful attempt at mixing genres: one would have expected hexameters rather than elegiac couplets, but in that period the connection of certain meters with specific genres had loosened.

Literary Technique

Rutilius' work is not merely a documentary journal but a subsequent elaboration embellished with the rhetorical devices of imperial poetry. In the main, the work consists of excursuses, which are appended to the stations of the journey and contain etiologies, descriptions and moral commentary.

Language and Style

Language and style are pure and based on good models. The active use of the past participle is old and vulgar: *decessis umbris* (1. 313); *quisque* is substituted for *quisquis* (1. 276). The versification is cultivated, yet polysyllabic words are not avoided at the end of a verse. Meter contributes to rhetorical epigram: Rome's achievement is mirrored by antitheses (*urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat*, 'you made one city of what had been the globe' 1. 66; *excedis factis grandia fata tuis*, 'by your deeds you exceed your great destiny' 1. 92) and paradoxes (*profuit iniustis te dominante capi*, 'it turned out prosperous for the unjust to be conquered under your rule' 1. 64).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

After the archaic fashion Rutilius attributed his fame not to his poetic expression but to his political accomplishments that glorified the people;

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[1] W. SCHMID 1960, 877–887; A. BARTALUCCI 1965, 30–39; on genre: F. PASCHOUD 1979.

Rome was to remember these deeds (1. 155–164).[1] In one of the recently discovered fragments (B 15–19) the author seems to hint that he intends to extol Constantius[2] to the best of his ability: a very old *topos.*

Ideas II

His praise of Constantius (*frg.* B) and his attack on Stilicho (2. 41–60) help us revise Claudian's overstatements. Although Rutilius is considered a good historical and geographical source, only a few passages reflect the factual reality of his epoch. We get, however, an authentic impression of the effusive politeness then common among friends and acquaintances.

The author is probably a pagan, although his remarks aimed at monks (1. 439–452; 517–526) and Jews (1. 381–398) are clearly stereotype and are also found in Christian authors.[3] His anti-Teutonic sentiments complete the picture of a somewhat narrow-minded representative of his class. The sight of Populonia's ruins (1. 401–414) evokes a melancholic contemplation of the transitoriness of cities that reflects the mood of that period. A personal touch is added when Rutilius speaks of his father.

His own idea of Rome could be viewed partly as an—unsatisfactory—rebuttal to Augustine's *De civitate Dei.*[4] Rutilius attaches great importance to the idea of a community under Roman law (1. 1–66). Although his idealized picture of Rome is in keeping with the views of the aristocratic party of the Symmachi and Nicomachi, it had little to do with the hard reality of the early 5th century. On the other hand, his affirmation of Rome's renascent potential is especially moving right after her sacking by Alarich; to be reborn, to emerge strengthened from distress is justly considered a constant of Roman history: *ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis*, 'your principle of regeneration is to be able to grow through destructions' (1. 140).

[1] 'Rutilius was a witty diplomat interested in literature; he was hardly willing to betray in his verse more of his inmost feelings than he was accustomed to show in his daily life' (F. Vollmer 1914, 1251).

[2] Consul 414; 417; 420; later Constantius III.

[3] H. Schenkl, Ein spätrömischer Dichter und sein Glaubensbekenntnis, RhM 66, 1911, 393–416; E. Doblhofer considers Rutilius a pagan (with a detailed discussion) in his edition, 1, 1972, 27–33.

[4] Courcelle, Histoire, 3rd ed. 1964, 104–105, A. Cameron 1967.

Transmission

A mutilated manuscript found in Bobbio in 1493 was later lost again. Sannazarius (d. 1530) and two other scribes used a lost intermediary source to produce the codex Vindobonensis Lat. 277 (end of 15th or early 16th c.), fol. 84 r.–93 v. This and the Editio princeps of John Bapt. Pius, Bologna, 1520, go back to one same copy; however, the Editio already contains interpolations. The Romanus,[1] 16th century, which originated from another copy, is inferior to the Vindobonensis. Thirty-eight additional lines—unfortunately fragmentary—were found recently on an old piece of parchment (7th or 8th cent.) used to repair a Bobiensis (Taurinensis F IV 25), which survives only in fragments.[2]

Influence

Subsequent generations have paid little attention to Rutilius; among classicists, however, his subject matter has secured for him a great reputation not entirely in proportion with his literary merits.

Editions: Io. Bapt. Pius, Bononiae 1520. * W. Zumpt (TN), Berlin 1840. * Itasius Lemniacus = A. von Reumont (TrC), Berlin 1872. * J. Vessereau (TTr, complete index, assessment), Paris 1904. * C. H. Keene, G. F. Savage (TC), London 1907. * J. Vessereau, F. Préchac (TTrN), Paris 1933, 2nd ed. 1961. * G. Heidrich (T), Progr. Wien 1911, corrected 2nd ed. 1915 (C announced ibid., probably never published). * J. W. and A. M. Duff, in: Minor Latin Poets (TTrN), London 2nd ed. 1935, 751–829. * P. van De Woestijne (T, word index), Antwerpen 1936. * R. Helm (TC), Heidelberg 1933. * E. Merone (TC), Napoli 1955. * E. Castorina (TTrC), Firenze 1967. * E. Doblhofer (TTrC, word index), 2 vols., Heidelberg 1972–1977. * A. Mazzolai (TrC), Grosseto 1990–1991. * A. Fo (TTrC), Torino 1992. * G. P. O'Daly (T), Cambridge (forthcoming). * *2, 31–60*: O. Schissel von Fleschenberg (C), Leipzig 1923. * *The new fragments*: M. Ferrari, IMU 16, 1973, 5–30. * P. Frassinetti (TTr), I nuovi frammenti di Rutilio Namaziano, SRIL 3, 1980, 51–58. ** *Indices*: Complete in the editions by J. Vessereau 1904; P. Van De Woestijne; E. Doblhofer. ** *Bibl.*: A. I. Ventura, Studi recenti su Rutilio Namaziano e note al suo classicismo, A&R 16, 1971, 83–102.

L. Alfonsi, Significato politico e valore poetico nel *De reditu suo* di Rutilio Namaziano, StudRom 3, 1955, 125–139. * A. Bartalucci, E. Castorina,

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[1] C. Hosius, Die Textgeschichte des Rutilius, RhM 51, 1896, 197–210.

[2] M. Ferrari 1973; cf. also A. Bartalucci (and others) 1975; P. Frassinetti 1980, s. his edition.

E. Cecchini, I. Lana, V. Tandoi, Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano. Interventi, Maia 27, 1975, 3–26. * A. Bartalucci, Note rutiliane, SCO 14, 1965, 30–39. * A. Cameron, Rutilius Namatianus, St. Augustine, and the Date of the *De reditu*, JRS 57, 1967, 31–39. * E. Cecchini, Per il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano, RFIC 102, 1974, 401–404. * J. Cirino, L'idea di Roma negli scrittori latini e particolarmente in Rutilio Namaziano, Napoli 1933. * F. Corsaro, Studi Rutiliani, Bologna 1981. * Courcelle, Histoire 53–54; 104–107 etc. * G. D'Anna, Recenti scoperte di testi di poesia latina, C&S 19, 1980, no. 75, 72–80. * F. Della Corte, Rutilio Namaziano ad Albingaunum, RomBarb 5, 1980, 89–103. * F. Della Corte, La ricostruzione di Albingaunum (414–417 d.C), RSL 50, 1984, 18–25. * F. Della Corte, Il frammento A' del *De reditu* di Rutilio Namaziano (1987), in: F.D.C., Opuscula 11, Genova 1988, 209–213. * M. Ferrari, Nuove scoperte di testi classici, A&R 18, 1973, 228–229. * M. Ferrari, Spigolature bobbiesi, IMU 16, 1973, 1–41. * A. Fo, Ritorno a Claudio Rutilio Namaziano, MD 22, 1989, 49–70. * D. Frye, Is Cl. Postumus Dardanus the Lepidus of *De reditu suo* 1. 307?, Hermes 121, 1993, 382–383. * H. Fuchs, Zur Verherrlichung Roms und der Römer in dem Gedicht des Rutilius Namatianus, BZG 42 (= FS Staehelin), 1943, 37–58. * M. Fuhrmann, Die Romidee der Spätantike, HZ 207, 1968, 529–561. * H. A. Gärtner, Rome et les Barbares dans la poésie latine au temps d'Augustin. Rutilius Namatianus et Prudence, Ktema 9, 1984, 113–121. * A. Giannotti, La metrica di Rutilio Namaziano, Udine 1940. * U. Knoche, Ein Sinnbild römischer Selbstauffassung, in: U.K., Vom Selbstverständnis der Römer, Heidelberg 1962, 125–143. * D. Korzeniewski, Reiseerlebnisse des Rutilius Namatianus. Exegetische Beiträge, Gymnasium 86, 1979, 541–556. * N. Lamboglia, Albenga e i nuovi frammenti di Rutilio Namaziano, RIL 31–33, 1976–1978, 32–88. * I. Lana, Rutilio Namaziano, Torino 1961. * I. Lana, Originalità e significato dell'inno a Roma di Rutilio Namaziano. La coscienza religiosa del letterato pagano, Pubbl. del Dip. di archeol., filol. class. e loro tradizioni dell'Università di Genova 106, Genova 1987, 101–123. * F. Paschoud, Roma aeterna. Etudes sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des invasions, Rome 1967. * F. Paschoud, Une relecture poétique de Rutilius Namatianus, MH 35, 1978, 319–328. * F. Paschoud, A quel genre littéraire le poème de Rutilius Namatianus appartient-il?, REL 57, 1979, 315–322. * M. Roberts, The treatment of Narrative in late Antique Literature. Ammianus Marcellinus (16. 10), Rutilius Namatianus and Paulinus of Pella, Philologus 132, 1988, 181–195. * W. Schmid, 'Roma nascens' in Rutilio Namaziano, in: Studi in onore di L. Castiglioni, 2, Firenze 1960, 877–887. * K. F. Stroheker, Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien, Tübingen 1948, 193–194. * V. Tandoi, Il nuovo Rutilio Namaziano, Maia 27, 1975, 3–26. * F. Vollmer, Rutilius, RE 1 A 1, 1914, 1249–1254.

CLAUDIAN

Life and Dates

Like the pioneers of Roman poetry, its last great representative, too, was a man whose mother language was not Latin. At his native city of Alexandria, which never lacked distinguished grammarians (who were often poets at the same time), Claudius Claudianus received a thorough, bilingual[1] education and distinguished himself early by writing a Greek *Gigantomachy*, *Epigrams*,[2] and other works. It was not unusual at that time for an Egyptian-born author to leave his homeland in the hope of making contact with influential personalities elsewhere. In Rome he made his appearance before the public for the first time with a Latin poem, the *Panegyric on the Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius* (January 1st, 395). His talent was therefore discovered by senators;[3] he adopted their mentality as his own. His career at court fell between 395 and 400; he became *vir clarissimus*, *tribunus*, and *notarius*;[4] he even belonged to the privy council of Stilicho, and was awarded (between 400 and 402) *poscente senatu* his own likeness and place of honor in the Forum of Trajan.[5] Had the senatorial aristocracy understood what he had done for late Rome's self-identity—or was it only Stilicho who had honored him? Claudian's marriage and his honeymoon in Libya occurred during the last phase of his life. He was no longer living after 404; otherwise he would have sung the praises of Stilicho's second consulship (405) and his victory over Radagais (406).

Before the fall of Stilicho (408), a collection of poems dedicated to him was undertaken; the *carmina minora* likewise were not collected and published by Claudian himself. Attempting to date some of the major works scholars find it difficult to reconcile[6] a historian's

[1] On his biography: A. Cameron 1974, especially 1–29; in Egypt, Latin versification was also taught (ibid. 21).

[2] By virtue of the similarity of their motifs the Greek epigrams A.P. 9. 753 and 754 are genuine; the following are attributed to a later Claudianus: A.P. 1. 19; 9. 139 and, on grounds of meter, 1. 20; on the interpretation of the epigrams: P. Laurens 1986.

[3] Other patrons were a certain Hadrianus (*min.* 21–22), Aeternalis (*min.* 3), and Florentinus (*rapt.*).

[4] CIL 6, 1710.

[5] *Get. praef.* 7–14; CIL 6, 1710; Dessau 2949.

[6] *Paneg. Prob. et Olyb.* (to January, 395), *rapt.* 1 (395–397: according to T. Birt,

assumption of successive origin[1] with a philologist's adherence to unity of conception.[2]

Survey of Works[3]

Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio: After the invocation to the sun god, there follows a eulogy of ancestors, especially of the father of both youthful Anicii. The goddess Roma—presented to the reader in graphic detail—recommends the youths to the Emperor Theodosius, mother Proba dresses them in the robes of office, the god of the River Tiber expresses his pride in them, and the poet gives his blessing for the new year.

In Rufinum 1: Claudian's earlier doubts about Providence are put to rest with the death of Rufinus. Enraged by the supremacy of Justice (*Iustitia*), Allecto convenes a hellish council of the Furies. Megaera then sends her special foster son, Rufinus the monster, to Byzantium. Stilicho is set over against the greedy and cruel Rufinus as a saving ray of light. Ordered by Megaera to leave the earth again, Iustitia prophesies Rufinus' death and a happy age under Honorius.

In Rufinum 2: Rufinus, who keeps the eastern Emperor Arcadius at his beck and call, orders Stilicho—who is avoiding a battle with Alaric—to send the eastern Roman troops back to Constantinople. On their return the troops cut Rufinus down and the Judge of the Dead consigns him to the deepest regions of the underworld.

Panegyricus dictus Honorio Augusto tertium consuli: Claudian conveys the congratulations of the senate to Milan on the occasion of the eleven-year-old Honorius' accession to the consulship (396). From his father, Honorius received the kind of military training that his grandfather had undergone. Honorius could participate in the war against Arbogast only in spirit, but it is he who is to be thanked for the propitious auspices. Dying, Theodosius entrusted both of his sons to the care of Stilicho; they would reign in glory.

Panegyricus dictus Honorio Augusto quartum consuli: Claudian praises Honorius' grandfather, his father, his victories over insurgents, his clemency and liberality. The teachings of Theodosius take up the bulk of the work: Claudian

s. his edition; A. CAMERON 1970, 452–466, dates *rapt.* after *Ruf.* and assumes that the death of the author prevented its completion), the dates of books 2 and 3 are disputed; *III Hon.* (for January, 396); *in Ruf.* (*praef.* 2, 397; the age of the 1st book is disputed); *IV Hon.* (for January, 398); *epithalam.* (beginning of 398); *Gild.* (398); *Manl. Theod.* (for January, 399); *in Eutrop.* (399), *cons. Stil.* (beginning of 400). *Get.* (402), *VI Hon.* (for January, 404). The *Laus Serenae* (*min.* 30) and the Latin *Gigantomachy* (*min.* 53; dated late by A. CAMERON 1970, 467–473) remained unfinished.

[1] A. CAMERON 1970; H. FUNKE 1985.

[2] S. DÖPP 1980.

[3] On the prefaces, s. Ideas I.

creates a prince's manual. An exhortation to continue his studies follows; examples out of Roman history are to guide him. At the conclusion of the work, Stilicho and Honorius receive their accolades.

Epithalamium dictum Honorio Augusto et Mariae and *Fescennina*: Amor learns of Honorius' love for Maria. He flies to Cyprus, to his mother Venus, whose abode is described. No less important is the immediately following passage: the description of the sea voyage of Venus to the Ligurian coast. The goddess surprises the bride as she is reading the classics and adorns her. A chorus of soldiers praises the bride's father, Stilicho.[1]

De bello Gildonico: The strong man of the East, Eutropius, has Stilicho declared an enemy of the state (397) and induces the Moor Gildo to cut off the supply of grain to Rome. His brother Mascezel defeats him in the spring of 398 by order of Stilicho. It is not by accident that a 2nd book is missing; it would have been unseemly after the murder of Mascezel, which Stilicho himself witnessed.

Roma complains to Jupiter about the famine, Africa in turn about Gildo's avarice and debauchery; the father of the gods then prophesies the victory of Honorius and Rome's dominion over Africa. In two parallel dreams Arcadius is ordered by his father, Theodosius, to acquiesce to his brother, and Honorius is urged on to battle by his grandfather, the conqueror of Mauretania. After a conversation with Stilicho, who recommends that Mascezel be sent, Honorius delivers a fiery speech to the warriors as they are about to march off.

Panegyricus dictus Mallio Theodoro consuli: After a period of leisure dedicated to the study of philosophy, Theodorus, who had already held high offices in the past, is now requested by Iustitia to serve her. He accepts although he must give up his beloved life in the country. The following portrayal of Mallius' character corrects the distorted image given by *carm. min.* 21. The hopeful era should be opened by festive games according to the Muse Urania in her speech.

In Eutropium 1: The most influential politician of the Roman East, the eunuch Eutropius, holds the consulship in 399. As a slave he had quite often changed masters. The fact that everybody hated him allows him to do whatever he pleases; Abundantius, who had promoted him at court, becomes his first victim. He is greedy and ambitious. Instead of leaving the war to men, Eutropius declares that he has conquered the Goths and now even demands the office of consul. Thereupon a straight man and a buffoon offer their commentaries. The goddess Roma orders Honorius and Stilicho to get rid of the disgraceful creature.

In Eutropium 2: The development has proceeded: Monuments to Eutropius are set up, and he leads a festive procession of effeminate followers to Ancyra, the city of the mother of the gods. In the face of Eutropius' mollycoddling,

[1] On the *Fescennina*, s. Language and Style.

Mars asks Bellona to incite the Goths to war. Eutropius first adopts and ostrich-like policy of sticking his head in the sand but later, in a satirical scene, summons the dissipated members of his council of war. In addition to the Goths, the Parthians now threaten to take to the field; at last Eutropius is overthrown in August and exiled to Cyprus. Aurora then asks Stilicho to protect the Eastern Empire, too.[1]

De consulatu Stilichonis 1: The Vandal Stilicho becomes consul in 400. We read of his youth and deeds of war, including his mission of peace in the area of the Rhine and the war against Gildo, which is now described without mention of Mascezel.

De consulatu Stilichonis 2: The 2nd book, an important one, treats the personified virtues of Stilicho: clemency above all, fidelity and a sense of justice. At the request of the provinces Roma asks Stilicho to take over the consulship and she presents him with the staff of ivory and a robe, which had been woven by divine hands and pictures events in the lives of his descendants. For the future the Sun brings golden years and favorable stars out of the Cave of Eternity.

De consulatu Stilichonis 3: Stilicho is in Rome, which is extolled, and organizes a hunt as a festive performance. Diana and her nymphs make an expedition abroad to gather wild animals from all over the world for the feast. Her journey from Libya to Rome is reminiscent of Bacchus'. Thus, nature is incorporated into 'universal poetry'; just as time had been in the 2nd book, now limits of space have been transcended.

De bello Getico: Alaric sacked Aquileia in 401. Stilicho returns to Italy from Rhaetia, where he restored order, and during Easter, 402, successfully engages the Visigoths in battle near Pollentia; Alaric must promise to return to Illyricum. The admonitory speech of an old Goth and Alaric's defiant response are noteworthy. At the end Stilicho's success is compared with Marius' victory over the Cimbri.

Panegyricus dictus Honorio Augusto sextum consuli: At Roma's invitation, Honorius comes as emperor and consul to the festive games held in the Eternal City in 404. After another defeat—this time near Verona—Alaric declares in a memorable speech that Italy is lost for him. Prompted by Roma, Honorius honors the achievements of Stilicho.

De raptu Proserpinae 1: Pluto complains before the Council of the Underworld that he has no spouse. On the advice of Lachesis he sends Mercury to Jupiter; the latter decrees that Proserpina should marry Pluto. On Jupiter's orders Venus, accompanied by Diana and Minerva, hurries to Sicily, where she finds Proserpina busy at her loom. For her absent mother she is weaving a gift, a piece of fabric on which the world is depicted.

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[1] In the body of the 2nd book banishment is considered an insufficient punishment; the introduction—probably written later—to the 2nd book is somewhat milder.

De raptu Proserpinae 2: The next morning the goddesses venture into the open countryside to pick flowers, which grew beautifully and abundantly around Henna. Suddenly the abductor Pluto appears; Minerva and Diana upbraid him to no avail. He consoles his bride and brings her to his realm, where she is received in splendor.

De raptu Proserpinae 3: Before the assembly of the gods Jupiter explains that under his reign—unlike Saturn's—necessity would become the mother of invention for human kind. Responding to Mother Nature's objection that there was a dearth of fertility and civilization, Jupiter provides for the spread of agriculture by having Ceres wander about the earth in search of her daughter. No one was to betray to her the whereabouts of Proserpina. In desperation Ceres kindles two huge torches atop Aetna and starts out on her way. The work is incomplete.

The Minor Poems vary considerably: several of the epigrams we read share common themes and follow one another accordingly (e.g. 33–39). Among the letters the one addressed to Serena (30) is enlightening historically. In the case of a certain Hadrian, who is first insulted in an epigram and then gets an apology, epigram and epistle belong together (*min.* 20–21). We also find descriptions of places (the spring Aponus 26), of objects (the magnet: *min.* 29), unusual or legendary animals (the porcupine 9, the phoenix 27, the stingray 49), and persons (thus *min.* 20 on the elderly man who never left his hometown) and finally poetry for the occasion like the graceful *Epithalamium* for Palladius and Celerina (25).

Claudian's Latin *Gigantomachy*, which has come down to us in incomplete form, is not a translation of its likewise fragmentary Greek counterpart. On the Greek *Epigrams*, see p. 1337, note 2, and p. 1347.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The *Carmina maiora* fuse epic and panegyric traditions in a new way. The genre is marked by the requirements of the milieu for which Claudian wrote but also discloses the personal characteristics of his talent (s. Literary Technique).

Latin panegyric mostly appeared in prose. As a Greek, Claudian was at home in Greek panegyric verse. Rudiments of the genre are found in Theognis and in choral lyric, after which Horace patterned some of his works; Theocritus' praise of a sovereign is a fully developed model, which made its way into the Latin bucolic poetry of his successors as well as into the poetry of Herodas and Callimachus, whose *Lock of Berenice* was translated by Catullus. As author of an historical epic who praised his patrons, Ennius had patterned his work in the image of Hellenistic historical epic, thus initiating

a tradition in Rome; Claudian continued that tradition.

Literary poetry, which had meanwhile become highly artificial, nevertheless received a subliterary impulse. In the imperial age we know of Greek verse panegyric only from fragments; a preserved Latin specimen is the *Panegyricus Messallae*. This widespread ephemeral type, to which Statius gave literary stature in the short form (e.g. *silv.* 2. 5), gained even greater compass through Claudian's introduction of epic elements. Thus, Claudian's *Panegyrici* enriched Latin poetry with one more genre.

Other *Carmina maior* have an historic (*De bello Getico, De bello Pollentino*) or mythological character (*De raptu Proserpinae*, probably after a 2nd Century Alexandrian source). The panegyric quality is as traceable in the historic epics as it is in the *Carmina minora*—here the *Praise of Serena* (*min.* 30) comes to mind immediately.

The invectives have Greek and Roman roots. Rhetorical theory, poetic and folkloric traditions as well as a comparison of parallel texts shed light on the essence of the genre: *In Eutropium* could be read in conjunction with the deprecative speech of Johannis Chrisostomus against Eutropius and the propagandistic work of Synesius for Eutropiuis' successor Aurelianus (*De regno*). The personification of Rome had been used in epic tradition (Lucan, Silius Italicus), and the 3rd *relatio* of Symmachus had contained a speech of Roma.

The poetic tradition is ubiquitous. Reminiscences of Virgil are a recurrent phenomenon; Ovid's allegorical topography,[1] his character studies in the form of speeches and his graphic vividness make him an ancestor of Claudian; Statius had already completed the groundwork for him by elevating poems written for the occasion to the level of literary works. The descriptive *carmina minora* (e.g. 2; 4; 17; 26) are reminiscent of Statius' 'descriptive poems'. The extent to which Claudian was inspired by plastic and graphic art remains to be researched.[2] The epigrams toy with Greek tradition; a typical feature is Claudian's unfolding one theme in a series of epigrams (*min.* 7 a, b; 15–16; 33–39; 43–44). Claudian's emulation of his models is free, original, and ingenious.

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[1] E.g. the abodes of Fame, Envy, and Sleep.

[2] A beginning: F.-F. Schwarz, *Nigra maiestas*. Bryaxis—Sarapis—Claudian, in: Classica et Provincialia, FS E. Diez, Graz 1978, 189–210.

Literary Technique

Claudian's art rests on his ability to single out individual images and to convey them to the reader with a remarkable power of visual suggestion; by doing so, Claudian accomplishes a development which had been ongoing in Roman epic since Virgil, Ovid and the epic poets of the Silver Age.[1] As a result of this process, the mechanisms of the action itself were reduced to their essentials. Self-contained though they are, these images are not entirely isolated from one another. Keywords, which function like leitmotifs, bind them and so contribute to the unity of the work. Thorough interpretation has revealed the inner continuity of Claudian's texts.[2] Wherever myth is treated at length, it displays the emotional and intellectual side of the action. In short form myths serve as *exempla* or enhance a contrast. Numerous names of women from mythology adorn the praise of Serena (*min.* 30).

Typical of the individual development are the speeches, which were planned as character studies. In other cases as well, the speakers were selected purposely: if Alaric himself, for example, declares that Italy is lost for him, he is the best authority on his own lack of success (*VI cons. Hon.* 274–329). Similarly, Father Theodosius is an appropiate mouthpiece for a prince's manual.

Descriptions contribute to the poetic effect, brought to life, among other devices, by narrative movement and the dynamics of color—gold, purple, white, and green (e.g. *min.* 30. 89–93). Another typical feature is the portrayal of allegorical personae—as in the strife between Megaera and Iustitia (*Ruf.* 1. 354–387). Allegorical descriptions of places, for example the noteworthy home of Venus, demonstrate that rhetorical training, too, is capable of unleashing poetic ingenuity. The 2nd book of the *De consulatu Stilichonis*, combines different techniques of allegorical invention in concentrated form.

Another novelty is Claudian's regular use of poetic prefaces—one recalls his contemporary Prudentius who, however, had other applications in mind for them.[3] The eagle simile in *III cons. Hon. praef.* reveals a poet who is artistically mature and self-assured.

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[1] F. Mehmel, Valerius Flaccus, diss. Hamburg 1934; F. Mehmel, Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius, Hamburg 1940

[2] Cf. M. Balzert 1974; on the *In Rufinum*: S. Koster 1980, 298–314.

[3] R. Herzog, Die allegorische Dichtkunst des Prudentius, München 1966, 127–135 (on the difference between panegyric and religious allegory).

Rhetorical theory—as known to us mainly from Menander of Laodicea (3rd century)[1]—also helped to form Claudian's art; although the structure of the encomiastic poems should not be reduced schematically to academic precepts,[2] for the poet's talent excels in giving new life to traditional modes or in deviating from them.[3] A clever example is his return to the preface's point of departure towards the end of the panegyric on the fourth consulate of Honorius. Composed albeit after the pattern of eulogy, the encomiastic poem as a literary work of art is still an innovation of Claudian in Latin literature.[4]

Language and Style

Claudian's style and metrical art are elegant, and he bears comparison with the best poets of the 1st century A.D. Skilful antitheses arise as if of themselves. On Roman ways we read: *virtute decet, non sanguine niti*, 'one should rely on virtue, not on blood' (*IV cons. Hon.* 220). The phoenix is an example of a stylistically rich theme: here is a bird that dies joyfully because it yearns to be born (*min.* 27. 58); only age itself dies, but the phoenix remains (103). It is 'its own heir' (101), its act of dying a 'fecund death' (25). The hexameter is often cut down to the smallest units (*Ruf.* 1. 300): *eruit: instauras; accendit proelia: vincis.*

The most frequently occurring meters are hexameter and elegiac couplet; Claudian prefers the latter for his epigrams, minor works, and prefaces to the longer poems. There are, however, short hexametric pieces, too. The *Fescennina* are metrically diverse. The first piece is stichic in alcaic hendecasyllables; the second is made up of stimulating five-line strophes; three anacreontics, one choriambic dimeter and a pherecratean. The third number is anapaestic, the fourth asclepiadean.

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[1] RhetGr 3, 329–446.

[2] Preface, origins, birth, youth, deeds in war and in peace (according to cardinal virtues), comparison (mostly missing), epilogue.

[3] S. Döpp 1980.

[4] H. Szelest 1977.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Claudian knows that he is a born poet; he is unable to express *verba communia*, particularly when his patron (*meus Apollo*) inspires him (*min.* 3). However, we should not think of him as a ready improviser; comments like *min.* 25. 1 are specific of situation and genre. Claudian documents his attitude toward writing poetry especially in the prefaces.

Even in his youth he was drawn to great themes. We recall the Greek *Gigantomachy*: at the beginning (1–15) he compares his tackling with so lofty a theme to a voyage on the high seas. He speaks elsewhere, too, of feeling intimidated by the magnitude of his subject and by the high station of his audience (e.g. *Manl. Theod. praef.*). On the other hand, he imparts to the reader the gradual increase of his own confidence: there is the image of the seaman, who ventures ever further (*rapt.* 1 *praef.*), and there is the simile of the young eagles, who, as a rite of passage, have to look squarely into the face of the sun (III *cons. Hon. praef.*). In the preface to the *Bellum Geticum* we learn that the poet has found recognition and enjoys a high reputation. As a result, he feels that he is under the additional pressure of great expectations. Claudian confronts his critics, whom he wittily masks as centaurs and fawns (3), in the foreword to the *Epithalamium for Honorius and Maria.*

In *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 *praef.* Florentinus appears as a new Hercules and Claudian as a new Orpheus. Claudian labels the interplay between mythical and historical subjects appropriately as a relationship between dream and reality (*VI cons. Hon. praef.*). He dreamt that he had composed a *Gigantomachy* and laid it before the feet of Jupiter; now he is to extol the emperor's consulship. As Ovid had done long before him—and as any Roman would—he saw something greater than myth in the real Princeps (who in fact did embody the highest earthly power). The dream motif had been closely connected with political themes since Cicero's *Somnium.*

In the preface to the 3rd book, *De consulatu Stilichonis*, Claudian compares his relationship to Stilicho with that of Ennius to Scipio. The very fact of writing under orders turns out to be a blessing (*cons. Stil.* 3 *praef.* 24): the general values the company of the Muses as witnesses (5) and takes good care of the poet, allowing him to see Rome again after the victory and granting him the laurel wreath for the campaign (20). Thus Stilicho is regarded as a commander favored

by the Muses like Scipio or Augustus. The historical events (which were undoubtedly of greater consequence than those of the time of Statius, for example) serve as an inspiration for Claudian; they are *carmine digna* (6), and the artistry of their commemorator is appraised accordingly. Claudian views the situation as an auspicious hour of history and his poetry has made it so.

Ideas II

Claudian obviously idealizes his hero Stilicho and vilifies his opponents. He undoubtedly distorts the truth; it is often difficult to determine just how biased his historical accounts are.[1] The meaning of the term 'propaganda' is not unequivocal: good propaganda makes use of facts (albeit selectively); therefore, a propagandist is not always a liar. Moreover, mere propagandists, as a rule, would not have an impact on posterity comparable to Claudian's. The harmonious structure and the elaborate style of the texts give further evidence that these might be more than just ephemeral pamphlets.[2] Claudian's poetic design goes far beyond mere topicality.

It is also evident that in Claudian the gods of the *theologia fabulosa* gain a graphic and even sculpturesque quality seldom achieved in Roman poetry. Should we then conclude that he was a devout pagan? Surely the allegories, which no one takes literally, are depicted just as vividly. Had not myth become literature since Ovid at the latest and was not its use a question of style rather than faith? One poem is evidence that Claudian—at least nominally—must have been a Christian (*min.* 32);[3] conversely, the prayer to Victoria (*Stil.* 3. 205–216) is a piece of patriotic rhetoric and no proof of pagan convictions. Given the widespread religious indifference at that time, the question is perhaps not as important for our understanding of the poems as is sometimes assumed. For us Claudian is one of the last representatives of classical Roman literature.

He is proud of Rome's magnificent past.[4] As for the Rome of the present, he insists on its special obligation to protect the civilized

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[1] Revealing, knowledgeable, and stimulating: A. CAMERON 1970; for a more moderate view, e.g. C. GNILKA, Gnomon 49, 1977, 26–51.

[2] Cf. S. DÖPP 1980 against A. CAMERON 1970.

[3] On this: J. L. SEBESTA 1980; J. VANDERSPOEL, Claudian, Christ and the Cult of Saints, CQ n.s. 36, 1986, 244–255.

[4] Cf. e.g. the famous praise of Rome *cons. Stil.* 3. 130–181.

world from its domestic and foreign enemies.[1] Like Ennius,[2] who is also comparable to him in other ways, he mirrors the ideas of his contemporaries in his poems. Naturally he tries to influence his readers as well, and we may believe that he wants the Roman Empire to survive and considers Stilicho the man destined to save it. Claudian thinks of himself as a mouthpiece for Rome and Roman attitudes.

The serious exhortation to the sovereign (*IV Hon.* 214–352) is based on the ideal of an ethical ruler, which extends far beyond momentary propagandistic considerations.[3] Honorius should not simply appear as the ruler who governs the empire worthily in the spirit of his father; more importantly, the poet holds a mirror up to the emperor and society of his time and offers analogies between the great world of the universe and the little world of man. Claudian succeeds as a poet again in unifying Greek and Roman culture as it is viewed by his public, the educated senatorial aristocracy.

Transmission

We have approximately 300 manuscripts of Claudian. In the oldest ones the works have been transmitted in independent groups: The political poems, excluding the poem on the consulship of Probinus and Olybrius, were—perhaps at the request of Stilicho himself—brought together early on as a collection. Together with the minor poems collected in the same manner, this compilation came down to us from the early Middle Ages as the so-called Claudianus maior.[4] Its main representatives are the Bruxellensis 5381 (Gemblacensis, 11th century), the Vaticanus 2809 (12th century), and the Parisinus 18 552 (12th–13th century).

There are further codices for the *carmina minora*; the most important is the Veronensis 163, from the late 8th century. The Sangallensis 273 (9th century), contains only the *Latin Gigantomachy* (*min.* 53). The *Greek Gigantomachy* is in the Matritensis Graecus 4691 (of A.D. 1465) and in the Laurentianus, conv. soppr. 164 (15th century), while the *Greek Epigrams* are found in the Heidelberg Palatinus 23 (11th century).

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[1] Emphasis is placed elsewhere in the speech in praise of Rome by Aelius Aristides (2nd century): maintenance of law and the rights of citizens.

[2] Cf. *cons. Stil.* 3 *praef.*

[3] When studying manuals for princes, Synesius' (d. before 415) *De regno* and the speeches to the emperor by Themistius (d. around 388) and Libanius (d. around 393) should be taken into account.

[4] The terminology used in scholarship on Claudian is perplexing indeed: Claudianus maior and minor should not be confused with carmina maiora and minora.

The following larger works not related to Stilicho were transmitted independently: the *Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino* and—again independently—the *De raptu Proserpinae*; the last work was called the Claudianus minor. We can trace back these two works to the 12th century.

Manuscripts of Claudian increase on the whole in the 12th, 13th, and 15th centuries in accordance with our poet's popularity. As far as we can determine, the separate threads of tradition were first brought together in the 12th–13th centuries. Medieval library catalogues, however, show that there were also other combinations and groupings. All the manuscripts are contaminated. More recent editors have given up trying to produce a stemma.

Influence

Claudian has influenced art and literature in many ways: as a versifier, as a poet of archetypal mythical imagery including allegorical figures and places, as a source for painters and sculptors, as a natural philosopher, as a political philosopher, and as a moralist.

The relationship between Claudian and Prudentius is still open to discussion.[1] The Latin poets in Africa, Gaul and Italy knew Claudian and followed his example. We may compare the *Epithalamium* (*mai.* 9–10) to similar poems of both Venantius Fortunatus (*carm.* 6. 1) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*carm.* 10–11); the latter poet even attempted to become a second Claudian. Nonnus of Panopolis (5th century), Claudian's countryman, also seems to have taken cognizance of him;[2] in Constantinople Priscian and Johannes Lydus (6th century) were among his readers.

Since the 12th century there has been renewed interest in our poet. In his *Architrenius* (of 1184) Johannes de Altavilla referred to him explicitly.[3] Claudian's rendering of Venus' residence (10. 49–96) has probably contributed to the common conception of the 'Mount of Venus'.

Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) cited 53 verses out of Claudian's *Phoenix* in his work *De naturis rerum* (1. 35); for us this long quotation has the value of a manuscript. Alanus ab Insulis (d. around 1203) wrote his

[1] Cf. A. Cameron 1970, 469–473 (Claudian has priority in most cases); a different opinion: C. Gnilka, Gnomon 49, 1977, 43–44; on what follows: A. Cameron 1970, 419–451.

[2] On the Greek *Gigantomachy* in Nonnus: A. Cameron 1970, 15–16.

[3] *Architrenius* I, p. 252 Wright.

Anticlaudianus de Antirufino with constant reference to the *In Rufinum*)[1] He contrasted the monster Rufinus with his idea of the Celestial Man (the embodiment of man's true essence). Claudian's Council of Hell (*Rufin.* 1. 25–67) as a motif consequently inspired Alanus (8. 147–316), and, through him, Vida (*Christias*), Petrus Martyr de Angleria (*Pluto furens*)[2] and Milton (*Paradise Lost*).

Chaucer (d. 1400) made use of some of Claudian's works which he perhaps knew from a school selection:[3] the *Laus Serenae*, the prologue to the *VI cons. Hon.* and especially the *De raptu Proserpinae*, a work which had very likely owed its popularity since the 12th century to its allusions to natural philosophy.[4]

Together with Statius and Lucan, Claudian as a favorite of 14th and 15th century readers even rivaled the Augustan poets. This author made his way into the Renaissance without interruption. Petrarch knew him well. Claudian's poems of praise became paradigms for the panegyric literature which had been reviving since the 14th century. Later he would at times threaten to overshadow Virgil and Ovid.

In the *De genealogiis deorum gentilium* (11. 4) Boccaccio (d. 1375) presents a biography of Venus; here he cites the *Epithalamium* at length, erroneously identifying it, however, as *De laudibus Stylliconis*. The *Epithalamium* (*min.* 10 also influenced Poliziano's (d. 1494) stanzas *Per la giostra*. In the 18th century the *Court of Venus* (ibid.) was still evoking numerous English adaptations.[5] Even Coleridge (d. 1834) recommended the imaginative Claudian and left Silius unread.[6]

For the history of art the sea voyage of Venus (Claud. *mai.* 10. 144–179) gave rise to a tradition of its own, which led to Poussin's (d. 1665) *Vénus marine*.[7] Along with Ovid and Statius, Claudian affected

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[1] Cf. also the allegorical setting *Anticlaudianus* 1. 107–186; Claud. *nupt. Hon.* 49; 56–57.

[2] Cf. U. Hecht, Der *Pluto furens* des Petrus Martyr Anglerius. Dichtung als Dokumentation, Frankfurt 1992; forthcoming: K. Wiersch, Die Unterweltsversammlung bei Claudian in der antiken und späteren Tradition, diss. Heidelberg 1996.

[3] *The House of Fame* 1507–1508; *The Merchant's Tale*, E. 2227–2228; Highet, Class. Trad. 592–593.

[4] For a medieval commentary see now A. K. Clarke, P. M. Giles, eds., The Commentary of Geoffrey of Vitry on Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*. Transcribed . . . with an Introduction and Notes, Leiden 1973.

[5] A. Cameron 1970, 439.

[6] A. Cameron 1970, p. vii.

[7] C. Dempsey, The Textual Sources of Poussin's *Vénus marine*, JWI 29, 1966, esp. 441.

considerably that conception of myth and classical antiquity which prevailed well into the 18th century.

The exhortation of Theodosius to Honorius (*IV cons. Hon.*, esp. 299–302) is the passage most frequently quoted in the princes' manuals,[1] from the *Policraticus* (1159) by John of Salisbury (d. 1180)[2] up to Philip of Leiden's *De cura reipublicae* (some time after 1355). The tradition continued in the Renaissance—for example, in Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Gouvernour* (1531). Claudian's Rufinus influenced the cliché of the tyrant well into modern times.

Claudian's aphorisms have wandered through florilegia since the 9th century: modern readers still know and love his pithy remarks on the *mobile vulgus* (*IV cons. Hon.* 302; hence the English 'mob'), on the freedom to serve a good master (*numquam libertas gratior extat/quam sub rege pio*, 'freedom is never more welcome than under a king aware of his responsibilities'; *cons. Stil.* 3. 114–115) and on the ruthlessness of upstarts: *asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum*, 'there is nothing harsher than a humble man elevated to a high position' (*Eutr.* 1. 181). Claudian is not missing from Montaigne's (d. 1592) reading list. Montesquieu (d. 1755) inscribed his *Considerations* on the fall of Rome with a phrase out of *Ruf.* 1. 22–23: *tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant*, 'they are raised up high to fall down more heavily'.

Coleridge (d. 1834) called Claudian 'the first of the moderns', discovering in him two contrasting attitudes (one classical and objective, the other modern and subjective). Joris-Karl Huysmans (d. 1907) devoted to him a passage in his *A Rebours*.[3] In 1966 Hella S. Haasse would use Claudian in her novel *Een nieuwer testament.* In his drama *Die Lobgesänge des Claudian* (Stuttgart, Berlin 1914) Hermann Sudermann dubbed our poet appropriately 'the favorite of the gods, from whose feathers even baptismal water did not wash away the gleam of Olympus' (Act 1, Scene 4).

Editions: B. Celsanus, Vicentiae 1493, etc. * N. Heinsius, Lugduni Batavorum 1650; Amstelodami 1665. * T. Birt (critical, with an extensive introduction and index), Berolini 1892, repr. 1961 (= MGH AA 10). * M. Platnauer (TTr), London 1922. * J. B. Hall, Leipzig 1985. * *Get.*: H. Schroff (TC), Berlin 1927. * D. De Venuto (TC), Roma 1968. * G. Garuti, Introd.; TTrC, Bologna 1979. * *Gild.*: M. Olechowska (TTrC), Leiden 1978.

[1] A. Cameron 1970, 431–433 (substantial).
[2] This author is well-read in Claudian.
[3] Conte, LG 661.

* A. Cameron (C forthcoming). * *Eutrop.*: A. C. Andrews (C), diss. Philadelphia 1931. * P. Fargues (TC), Paris 1933. * H. Schweckendiek (TrC), Hildesheim 1992. * *Eutrop., Ruf.*: J. B. Hall (T), Cambridge (forthcoming). * *III Hon.*: J. Lehner (C forthcoming). * *IV Hon.*: W. Barr (TTrC), Liverpool 1981. * J. Lehner (C), Königstein 1984. * *VI Hon.*: K. A. Müller (TC), Berlin 1938. * W. Ernest (C, cf. below). * *Manl. Theod.*: W. Simon (TTrC), Berlin 1975. * *nupt. Hon.*: U. Frings (C), Meisenheim 1975. * *Ol. Prob.*: W. Taegert (TTrC), München 1988. * *rapt.*: J. B. Hall (TC), Cambridge 1969. * J.-L. Charlet (TTr), Paris 1991. * C. Gruzelier (TTrC), Oxford 1993. * *rapt. 1.*: E. Potz (C), diss. Graz 1985. * *Ruf.*: H. L. Levy (new exeget. C with repr. of T and crit. C of 1935), London 1971. * *Stil.*: U. Keudel (C listing parallel passages), Göttingen 1970. * *Carm. min. 27* (*Phoenix*): M.-L. Ricci (TC), Bari 1981. * *carm. min. 30* (*Laus Serenae*): W. E. Heus (TC), Utrecht 1982. * F. E. Consolino (TTr), Venezia 1986. ** *Indices*: Word index in the edition by T. Birt. * M. Wacht, Lemmatisierter Index zu den *Carmina maiora* Claudians mit statistischen Anhängen zu Sprache und Metrik, Nürnberg 1980 (= Regensburger Microfiche Materialien 9). ** *Bibl.*: F. Casaceli, Recenti studi Claudianei, BStudLat 2, 1972, 318–326. See also the monographs and commentaries.

M. Balzert, Die Komposition des Claudianischen Gotenkriegsgedichtes c. 26, Hildesheim 1974. * T. D. Barnes, The Victims of Rufinus, CQ n.s. 34, 1984, 227–230. * A. Cameron, Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius, Oxford 1970. * A. Cameron, Claudian, in: J. W. Binns, ed., Latin Literature of the Fourth Century, London 1974, 134–159. * P. G. Christiansen, The Use of Images by Claudius Claudianus, Den Haag 1969. * S. Döpp, Zeitgeschichte in Dichtungen Claudians, Wiesbaden 1980. * A. H. Eaton, The Influence of Ovid on Claudian, diss. Washington 1943. * W. Ernest, Die *Laudes Honorii* Claudians: 3 Beispiele poetischer Konsulatspanegyrik im Vergleich, diss. Regensburg 1987. * P. Fargues, Claudien. Etudes sur sa poésie et son temps. Paris 1933. * W. Fauth, Concussio Terrae. Das Thema der seismischen Erschütterung und der vulkanischen Eruption in Claudians *De raptu Proserpinae*, A&A 34, 1988, 63–78. * A. Fo, Studi sulla tecnica poetica di Claudiano, Catania 1982. * H. Funke, The Universe of Claudian. Its Greek Sources, PLLS 5, 1985, publ. 1986, 357–366. * S. Gennaro, Lucrezio e l'apologetica latina in Claudiano, MSLC 7, 1957, 5–60. * I. Gualandri, Aspetti della tecnica compositiva in Claudiano, Milano 1968. * J. B. Hall, Prolegomena to Claudian, London 1986 (= BICS suppl. 45). * U. Keudel, Poetische Vorläufer und Vorbilder in Claudians *De consulatu Stilichonis*, Göttingen 1970. * U. Knoche, Ein Sinnbild römischer Selbstauffassung, in: Symbola Coloniensia J. Kroll, Köln 1949, 143–162. * S. Koster, Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur, Meisenheim 1980. * P. Laurens, Poétique et histoire. Étude de neuf épigrammes de Claudien, BAGB 1986, 4, 344–347. * J. Lehner, Poesie

und Politik in Claudians Panegyrikus auf das vierte Konsulat des Kaisers Honorius. Ein Kommentar, Königstein 1984. * H. L. Levy, Themes of Encomium and Invective in Claudian, TAPhA 89, 1958, 336–347. * N. Martinelli, Saggio sui carmi greci di Claudiano, Miscellanea Galbiati 2, 1951, 47–76. * R. Moes, Les hellénismes de l'epoque thédosienne. Recherches sur le vocabulaire d'origine grecque chez Ammien, Claudien et dans l'*Histoire Auguste*, Strasbourg 1980. * I. Opelt, Schimpfwörter bei Claudian, Glotta 60, 1982, 130–135. * R. Perrelli, I proemi claudianei. Tra epica è didattica, Catania 1992. * M. L. Ricci, Il mito della Fenice in Claudiano tra propaganda politica e scienza, Quaderni dell'A.I.C.C. di Foggia 1981, 63–71. * Wolfg. Schmid, Claudianus, RLAC 3, 1957, 152–167. * P. L. Schmidt, Politik und Dichtung in der Panegyrik Claudians, Konstanz 1976. * J. Schwartz, Le papyrus latin d'Alceste et l'œuvre de Claudien, ZPE 52, 1983, 37–39. * J. L. Sebesta, Claudian's Credo. The *De Salvatore*, CB 56, 1980, 33–36. * M. Swoboda, De Ausonii et Claudiani fragmentis hymnico-precatoriis, Eos 69, 1981, 83–95. * H. Szelest, Klaudians *Laus Serenae*, Eos 65, 1977, 257–263. * F. Vollmer, Claudianus, RE 3, 2, 1899, 2652–2660.

JUVENCUS

Life and Dates

Born to a prominent Spanish family, C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus was a presbyter. He wrote his harmony of the gospels (*Evangeliorum libri IV*) under Constantine probably in 329/330.

Survey of Works

The childhood account (1. 1–306) is a synopsis from Matthew and Luke (cf. Tatianus' *Diatessaron*); Juvencus then follows Matthew, supplementing him from John.

Sources, Models, and Genres

As a genre, 'Bible epic' originated on the one hand from school exercises in poetic paraphrase and on the other from the educated listeners' desire for a stylistically acceptable version of biblical accounts. Juvencus probably harmonized the gospels independently; he used the Greek original in addition to the Latin text.

Literary Technique

The work is almost a literal rendering, for the poet felt obliged to be faithful to the sacred text. His explicit goal is nevertheless *ornatus* (4. 408); only the highest literary form, epic, is good enough for the sublime subject. Juvencus' method can be described by the following headings: paraphrase, abridgement, expansion, suppression of historical facts, removal of Judaic themes, and Romanization.

Language and Style

As we might expect from an author consciously adopting a classical style, language and meter are used correctly.

Ideas I
Literary Reflection

The prooemium conveys Iuvencus' ideas on literature and his task as a poet: there is nothing immortal in this world, not even Rome; nevertheless, the glory of human exploits survives for a long time if it is sung by a Homer or Virgil, and just as lasting is the fame of poets. If cantos based on the lies of men confer on the poet long life after death, then Juvencus will surely reap immortal glory and eternal life if he proclaims divine truth and the acts of Christ which foster life. Hence he needs not dread the end of the world.[1] Christian poetry can be the salvation of its author at the final judgment. Yet Juvencus will not declare it a means of grace; for his spirit, he requests the baptism of the Holy Spirit in the Jordan—in the way that Milton would do later. He therefore puts his literary talent in the service of a higher instance and in the epilogue he is still fully aware that he owes his work to Christ's *gratia* and *pax* (4. 806) and His *pax*. He has thus taken the first step towards a poetics of Christian epic.

The goal of the work under consideration is a 'baptism' (i.e. a Christianization and a spiritualization) of classical epic. The author

[1] In a way too straightforward and 'Roman' to our taste, the poet counted on being recompensed by Christ for his work. To be sure, the poet softened his claims based on the merits of his work through *forsan*, a fact that is sometimes overlooked; on the Invocatio, cf. also F. Quadlbauer, Zur Invocatio des Juvencus (*praef.* 25–27), GB 2, 74, 189–212.

intended to surpass the achievements and duration of Homer and Virgil (a similar idea in secular form would appear in Camões: Juvencus was the first to write an epic 'free of lies'.

Ideas II

The customary homage to the emperor is Christianized: Prince of Peace Constantine is the only monarch who does not want to be considered as God; the grace of Christ will give him everlasting life (4. 809–815). The emperor is the guarantor of secular peace, which is a prerequisite for the naissance of Juvencus' work (4. 809–810); the idea is indirectly reminiscent of the *pax Augusta*, which made Virgil's creativity possible (the number of books in Juvencus recalls not only the four gospels but also Virgil's *Georgics*). The union of classicism and Christianity also had a Roman and political ring. In the Constantinian era, the 'Christian Cicero', Lactantius, matched the 'Christian Virgil', Juvencus.

Textual Transmission

Six manuscripts are pre-Carolingian; the majority are from the 9th and 10th centuries (30 manuscripts); a history of the text has not yet been written.

Influence

Juvencus was immediately recognized as one of the prime forces of Christian poetry. Proba and Paulinus of Nola knew him. Jerome granted him an important place in his history of literature. In late antiquity Juvencus was cited often in place of sacred scripture. He was a school author up to the 11th century and again from the Renaissance on, although the less austere Sedulius was more popular.

Editions: Ed. princ. Daventriae 1490. * K. Marold, Lipsiae 1886. * J. Huemer, CSEL 24, Vindobonae 1891. ** In addition, N. Hansson, Textkritisches zu Juvencus mit vollständigem Index verborum, Lund 1950.

M. Flieger, Interpretationen zum Bibeldichter Iuvencus. Gethsemane, Festnahme Jesu und Kaiphasprozeß (4. 478–565), Stuttgart 1993. * R. Herzog, Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike 1, München 1975. * R. Herzog, HLL 5, 1989, § 561 (bibl.). * M. J. Roberts, The Hexameter Paraphrase in Late Antiquity, Liverpool 1985.

SEDULIUS

Life and Dates

The *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius (2nd quarter of the 5th century) is a gratifying specimen of biblical epic. Its author probably hailed from Italy but later went to Greece.

Survey of Works

Since Sedulius' four-part harmony of the gospels was introduced by one book on the Old Testament, the *Carmen Paschale* consists of five books. There is also a highly rhetorical prose version of the work (*Opus Paschale*). An Elegy with artistic repetitions of hemistichs parallels events from the Old and New Testaments. The famous hymn to Christ *A solis ortus cardine* is abecedarian.

Sources, Models, and Genres

As a writer of biblical epic, Sedulius follows Juvencus but goes much further in imitating Virgil than his predecessor, sometimes borrowing entire lines from the classical author. Fortunately he dispenses with the slavish adherence to his biblical model, an attitude which had been artistically less rewarding.

Literary Technique

A gifted poet, Sedulius arranges his material independently. His talent for getting to the core of his subject brings the event of Easter into the thematic foreground. Miracles of the Old and New Testament point to this central event; they have to be understood typologically. At the beginning of the 2nd book, Christ's incarnation is contrasted with Adam's fall from grace; the female figures Eve and Mary are evaluated through poetic images. Concentration on the acts of Christ offers an artistic advantage in that there is less doctrinal instruction than action; moreover, the author (a fiery orator like Lucan) brings the stories to life through prayers, exhortations and polemics. Intended for meditation, the text could be thought of as an 'iconostasis put into poetry' avant la lettre.

Language and Style

The author's artful diction is more attractive in his poetry than in his tortuous prose.

Ideas I
Literary Reflection

Proposing to celebrate the miracles of Christ (*carm. pasch.* 1. 1), Sedulius (as Juvencus did before him) sets himself apart from the mendacious poets of the pagans. He has chosen verse form for its appeal to educated readers (*epist.* 1, p. 5. 1 Huemer); like Lucretius he represents a modest form of poetics that remains behind the power of his work.

Ideas II

The author had to pay the penalty for his talent: his independent treatment of biblical themes brought him difficulties; hence, the reworking in prose.

Transmission

The works of Sedulius were published posthumously in 495. All manuscripts of the *Carmen Paschale* go back to one archetype. The oldest are the Ambrosianus R 57 (7th century), the Taurinensis E IV 44 (7th century), the Gothanus I 75 (8th century), and the Basileensis O IV 17 (8th century). Manuscripts from the 9th century onward are numerous; many cloister libraries possessed even two copies of this popular work.

Influence

Sedulius has been much read and praised. Arator (*Acts of the Apostles*, of 544) adopted both his allegorical method and his style. We have already made mention of the talented Avitus (beginning of the 6th century). Around 900 Remigius of Auxerre wrote a commentary on Sedulius; strophes of the *Christianissimus poeta* enrich the Missal and the Breviary and, through Luther's translation, many Protestant hymn books.

Editions: Io. Huemer, Vindobonae 1885 (= CSEL 10). * N. Scheps (TrC), Delft 1938. * F. Corsaro (TrC), Catania 1948. ** *Index verborum et locutionum*

(selective) in the edition of Io. HUEMER. ** *Concordance*: M. WACHT, Hildesheim 1992. ** *Bibl.*: Altaner § 101.

G. KRÜGER in: SCHANZ-HOSIUS, LG 4, 2, 1920, §§ 1146–1149. * I. F. CORSARO, Sedulio poeta, Catania 1955. * HERZOG, s. Juvencus. * I. OPELT, Die Szenerie bei Sedulius, JbAC 19, 1976, 109–119. * C. RATKOWITSCH, Vergils Seesturm bei Iuvencus und Sedulius, JbAC 29, 1986, 40–58. * C. P. E. SPRINGER, The Gospel Epic in Late Antiquity. The *Paschale Carmen* of Sedulius, Leiden 1988 (with bibl.).

PRUDENTIUS

Born in Spain in 348, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens studied rhetoric, practised at the bar, was twice governor of a province and lastly numbered among the advisors of Emperor Theodosius. Late in life he decided to dedicate himself solely to Christian poetry. At the age of fifty-seven he prepared a collection of his works for publication. The *Dittochaeum* is not mentioned in the preface: did the poet consider it not important enough, or did he not until later? Different reasons have been given for the omission of the *Psychomachia* from the *Praefatio* (see below, Survey of Works, with footnote). The variants in *cath.* 10. 9–16 suggest a second edition, a conjecture for which there is no other evidence. The year of the poet's death is unknown.

The edition contains the following works: *Praefatio* (405), *Cathemerinon, Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, Psychomachia, Contra Symmachum* (402–404), *Peristephanon*, and *Epilogus*. The *Peristephanon* appeared in many manuscripts behind the *Cathemerinon*, but in the better tradition after the *Contra Symmachum*. Position and function of the so-called *Epilogus* are not entirely certain, nor is the order of the poems within the *Peristephanon*.[1] All works were written between 392 and 405.

Survey of Works

Enclosed by two sets of two didactic epics, the *Psychomachia*[2] stands at the center of the collection. The pair *Apotheosis* and *Hamartigenia*, which precedes the *Psychomachia*, is directed against heretics, while the two books *Contra*

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[1] On this, W. LUDWIG 1977, 321–338.

[2] The omission of the *Psychomachia* in the general *Praefatio* complicates the interpretation of the collection as a unity but does not exclude it (W. LUDWIG 314 with a discussion 364–365).

Symmachum, which follow it, are against pagans. A prologue and an epilogue lend unity to each group of two. The *Psychomachia* has its own prologue. The lyric works *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon* frame the epic middle section of the collection.

Thematic development complements the symmetric tectonics of the work. The *Cathemerinon* ('Hymns of the Day'), which contains six hymns for certain periods of the day[1] and for seasons respectively, accompanies the Christian in the course of a day and a year. At the end—in the last two hymns—the connection to Christ is emphasized. The epics, which occupy a central position in the work, first turn from practice to theology. The middle piece, the *Psychomachia*, is flanked by poems that parry errors—heresy and paganism. The *Apotheosis* contends with Patripassians, Sabellians, Jews, Ebionites, and Manichaeans and subsequently unfolds the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. Prudentius is cautious enough not to attack Arians and Priscillianists directly. The *Hamartigenia* confronts the dualistic concept of the origin of sin. Marcion is often named, but the actual target is probably Priscillian and perhaps Pelagius as well.

The *Psychomachia*, the center piece, is in turn practice-oriented: the building of the temple of wisdom is possible only after the victory of virtues. Six struggles follow the invocation of Christ: the allegorical figures Faith, Chastity, Patience, Humility, Hope, Sobriety, Reason and Charity (*operatio*) overcome their respective opposites, the vices. The seventh struggle takes place upon the return of the victorious host of virtues. Discord (heresy) succumbs to Concord. The virtues build a temple in which wisdom resides.

The fight against paganism is a side-piece to the repulsion of heresies. The two books *Contra Symmachum*—probably not inspired by any current controversy—picks up the well-known discussion of 398 over the Altar of Victoria. The 1st book is a critique of polytheism; in the 2nd Prudentius refutes the *Relatio* of Symmachus of that time by expanding the arguments of Ambrose (*epist.* 17–18). The last book (*Peristephanon* 'On Crowns'), which shows martyrdom to be the crowning of Christian existence, is composed of 14 poems which combine lyric, epic, and dramatic elements. Prudentius eulogized primarily Spanish and Roman martyrs (the latter on the occasion of his sojourn in Rome in 401–403). Alternation between practice and theory and between contemplation and struggle is a principle securing a meaningful thematic development throughout the collection. The independent work *Dittochaeum* ('twofold nourishment') is interesting from the point of view of art history. 49 four-line epigrams in hexameters, which describe biblical scenes, were intended as inscriptions to the murals of a basilica in Rome.

[1] The first six hymns are related to the times for prayer recommended by Ambrose (*virg.* 3. 18): J. Bergman 1921, 62.

Sources, Models, and Genres

In his own way the poet of the *Psychomachia* rivals Virgil and his successors, whose first attempts at allegorical imagery he gives a full and logical development. The result is a Christian literary poetry that serves as an alternative to pagan literature. Despite the presence of antithetical imitations, the anti-Virgilian elements should not be stressed exclusively; rather, the poet's emulation of Virgil should be viewed as a sign of his striving for an important, universally valid statement—much similar to the way in which the pre-Socratics and Lucretius once vied with the great epic poets. He did not presume to 'replace' Virgil; this would have been equivalent to 'replacing' the 'first' creation, nature, by the 'second', the Church. After the omnipresent Virgil, Lucretius deserves special attention[1]—certainly a rather surprising convergence, which, however, is found again and again among early Christian authors since they appreciated the intellectual freedom of this poet. Finally, Roman satire added color to the description of archaic Roman religion.

Horace is a point of reference for lyric poems—the form and content of his lyric poetry were Christianized. In addition, handbooks could have helped Prudentius achieve his variety and 'systematic' repertoire of meter.[2] As 'victory odes' the poems on the martyrs have a vaguely Pindaric quality.

The 1140 iambic trimeters treating the martyrdom of Romanus (*perist.* 10) constitute a Christian pendant to tragedy. Like Seneca's tragedies and the epic of Lucan, Prudentius' portrayal of martyrdoms

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[1] C. Brakman, Quae ratio intercedat inter Lucretium et Prudentium, Mnemosyne n.s. 48, 1920, 434–448; E. Rapisarda, Influssi lucreziani in Prudenzio. Un suo poema lucreziano e antiepicureo, V Chr 4, 1950, 46–60. Bibl. on sources and models: on the Bible: N. Grasso 1972; on ancient models: S. M. Hanley 1959; C. Witke 1968; A. Mahoney, Vergil in the Works of Prudentius, diss. Washington 1934; C. Schwen, Vergil bei Prundentius, diss. Leipzig 1937; I. Opelt, Prudentius und Horaz, in: Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS K. Büchner, Wiesbaden 1970, 206–213; F. Alexander, Beziehungen des Prudentius zu Ovid, WS 54, 1936, 166–173; M. L. Ewald, Ovid in the *Contra Symmachum* of Prudentius, Washington 1942; A. Salvatore, Echi ovidiani nella poesia di Prudenzio, in: Atti del Convegno internazionale ovidiano (Sulmona 1958), Roma 1959, 257–272; R. Henke, Die Nutzung von Senecas (Ps.-Senecas) Tragödien im Romanus-Hymnus des Prudentius, WJA n.s. 11, 1985, 135–150; on Ausonius: J.-L. Charlet 1980; J. M. Poinsotte, La présence des poèmes antipaïens anonymes dans l'œuvre de Prudence, REAug 28, 1982, 33–58.

[2] W. Ludwig 1977, 318–321.

in the *Peristephanon* exploits the Roman preoccupation with gruesomeness. The same applies to the Roman penchant for the splendor of costly materials: descriptions such as that of the baptistry (*perist.* 12. 31–44) transpose Statius' pictures of villas to the spiritual realm. In the graphic account of the temple, the rhetorical *ecphrasis* is ennobled by the reference to the *Apocalypse.*

Fusion of genres is characteristic of Prudentius; this can be seen on a small scale: bucolic elements appear in a hymn, as do satiric elements in a didactic epic.[1] The same is true on a large scale: deviating from the classical norm, Prudentius combines in one collection of poems works whose genres are quite dissimilar.[2] Among them are contemporary secular genres: epigram (*perist.* 8), travel poem (*perist.* 9), *carmen tragicum* (*perist.* 10), epistolary elegy (*perist.* 11), Mimus (*perist.* 12) and, last but not least, an epic art reminiscent of Claudian. To put it briefly: it is true that Prudentius knows and takes into account the taste of his public, but it would be too simplistic to view his work merely as a reaction to certain contemporary literary trends. His goal is more comprehensive: he wants to Christianize all genres of poetry.

Prudentius read a translation of the Bible that was older than Jerome's; it was not lacking in elegance—if we assume that the poet did not embellish it. Moreover, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrose and the Acts of the Martyrs were known to him. The *Hamartigenia* goes back to Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem.* The *Contra Symmachum* is based on the *Relatio* of Symmachus, Ambrose's answer to it and, moreover, the criticism of pagan gods in the spirit of apologetic literature. Our poet's relationship to Augustine is disputed.

Prudentius' œuvre is 'encyclopedic' with respect to themes and literary genres. Such extensive schemes as Cicero's philosophical works or the corpus of Seneca's writings come to mind; even the *Corpus iuris* has been mentioned as a parallel.[3] His attempt to encompass the daily life of the Christian (in the *Cathemerinon*), Christian doctrine (in the epic poems), and the consummation of Christian existence (*Peristephanon*) in one cycle recalls—more as a whole than in detail—the tripartite masterpiece of Clement (*Protrepticus, Paedagogus, Stromateis*). We might also mention Latin poems, which—like Ovid's *Metamor-*

[1] J. Fontaine 1975.
[2] W. Ludwig 1977 with discussion.
[3] Cf. M. Fuhrmann, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 23, 1977, 368–369.

phoses—were meant to be encyclopedic. As a whole, the poetic œuvre of Prudentius is 'the first Christian example of Latin universal poetry'.[1] The integration of generically diverging elements into a symmetrically constructed whole is unusual; it is reminiscent of Catullus' collection, the transmitted structure of which likewise goes back to late antiquity. Works of such dimensions presuppose the existence of the *codex* as the form of publication.[2] Virgilian scholarship of Prudentius' time regarded *Eclogues, Georgics* and *Aeneid* as a single, great universal poem, which unfolded the different ages of humanity in succession—pastoral life, agriculture, and warfare.[3] While trying to rival the classical poets, Prudentius actually created something unclassical: a deliberately heterogeneous collection of poems.[4] Virgil—the sacral poet of pre-Christian Rome—announced in the *Georgics* (3. 1–39) that he would build a temple in honor of Augustus, a promise he fulfilled by writing the *Aeneid*; similarly, Prudentius' collection of poems, whose central piece culminates in the building of the Temple of Wisdom, has been compared with that period's sacral edifices[5] to which the poet referred with admiration. On a smaller scale, *Perist.* 8[6] is a triptych of epigrams.

Literary Technique

A hymnlike invocation to Christ opens the *Psychomachia*. Superficially it is comparable to epic invocations of the Muses; although Christ is not a god of poetry but the deity especially competent for the subject in question. This aspect of his *invocatio* links Prudentius with the didactic poets, the authors of the *De rerum natura*, the *Georgics*, and the *Metamorphoses*—Ovid's *nam vos mutastis* (*met.* 1. 2) in particular comes to mind. Prudentius himself acknowledges the didactic purpose of his poetry (*psych.* 18–19 and *psych. praef.* 50–68).

'Allegorical invention', a device characteristic of Roman poetry, comes to perfection with Prudentius. The *Psychomachia* is European

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[1] E. Zinn, Die Dichter des alten Rom und die Anfänge des Weltgedichts, A&A 5, 1956, esp. 25; now in: H. Oppermann, ed., Römertum, Darmstadt 1962, 185; and in: Zinn, Viva Vox, 123–148.

[2] P. L. Schmidt, Entretiens (Fondation Hardt) 23, 1977, 372.

[3] Don., *vita Verg.* 57–59; W. Ludwig 1977, 356, cf. 306.

[4] A different motivation in: W. Ludwig 1977, 350–353; 355.

[5] *Perist.* 12. 31–66; C. Gnilka 1963, 89.

[6] W. Schetter, Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 8, Hermes 110, 1982, 110–117.

literature's first completely allegorical poem of length. In every detail his description of a given allegorical figure reflects its essence as closely as possible. Earlier attempts of epic poets—such as Virgil's Fama, Ovid's allegorical descriptions of persons and places, Fides and Roma in Silius Italicus—are developed logically and innovatively by Prudentius; here Christianity has led to the ultimate artistic breakthrough for a typically Roman trend in literary imagery, to the birth of a 'moral allegorical epic'. In the *Cathemerinon* poetic allegory appears as an inversion of allegorical interpretations inherited from early Christian theology. The resulting mixture of abstract and visual elements creates difficulties for modern readers who are looking for 'pure images'.[1] Especially in the *Psychomachia* Prudentius spiritualizes typical features of epic poetry such as battle scenes (e.g. the struggle between virtues and vices) or ecphrasis (e.g. the description of the future Temple of Wisdom).

The images are modeled to suit the themes perfectly. Symbolism of light and dark dominates the book *Cathemerinon*. In the *Psychomachia* each vice is made to suffer a death that fits its character. Surprisingly the victory of Fides over pagan Religion (*psych.* 21–38) bears a remarkable resemblance to Lucretius (1. 78–79). The horrible head of old religion is trampled under foot; the victors feel that they have been raised to heaven. The similarity of images here is not an accident; it reveals a parallel in the context of intellectual history. Just as Lucretius had represented an experience of emancipation, so Prudentius uses the reminiscence to make clear that on a new level Christianity imparts a similar experience.

The concentric structure of the whole is matched by a well-balanced organization of each component; thus, an individual hymn in the *Cathemerinon* often finds its center of gravity, as it were, in a biblical story—position and function of such narratives recall the 4th book of Horace's *Odes*.

Language and Style

Poetic form dominates throughout the corpus. The insertions of prose from Symmachus in several manuscripts of the *Contra Symmachum* were added by an editor in late antiquity.[2]

[1] E.g. *epil.* 25–30; good on *cath.* R. Herzog 1966, 52–60.

[2] Another opinion: M. P. Cunningham, edition, praef. (misguided).

Language and style are elaborate, at times highly poetic and artificial. Archaisms such as *olli* for *illi* were already obsolete at the time of Virgil; Prudentius builds them into his poetic language. The contrast to the deliberate simplicity of Ambrose's hymns could hardly be greater. For his Christian poetry Prudentius coined many new words, which would become constituent parts of medieval literature.[1]

Prudentius masters all the techniques of classical rhetoric. As a metrician,[2] he shows judgment and versatility. Along with Horatian meters he uses other lyric strophes but never abandons the laws of quantitative metrics. The form of his strophes in *cath.* 1; 2; 11; 12 resembles that of Ambrose.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

It is misleading to speak of a Christian justification of pagan poetry in Prudentius; he did, however, revive the forms and language of Latin poetry under the banner of Christ, just as Lucretius had once placed his creative efforts in the service of Epicureanism and thereby initiated a rebirth of didactic poetry in grand style. The desire to achieve something useful[3]—or helpful in the eyes of God (*praef.* 28–46; *epil.* 21–35)—is consistent with typically Roman didactic goals. Prudentius deems the praise of God (*praef.* 36) to be the mission of the Christian poet. Moreover, he should strive for a holy life, lead men to God through instruction, and defend Christianity. In short, poetry has to serve divine purposes.[4] Formulaic 'expressions of modesty' reflect the Christian value of humility; in *perist.* 10. 1–25, esp. 19, two different traditions of 'inspiration'—Christian and classical—are combined in a thematic arrangement that meets the poet's bold artistic demands. In his work Prudentius sublimates both nature and classical tradition into a code; thus his œuvre can be described as a

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[1] M. Manitius, Zu Juvencus und Prudentius, RhM 45, 1890, 485–491, esp. 487; on the language: M. Lavarenne 1933.

[2] M. Manitius (ibid.) 490–491; A. Kurfess 1957, 1065–1066; L. Strzelecki, De Horatio rei metricae Prudentianae auctore, in: Commentationes Horatianae I, Kraków 1935, 36–49; P. Tordeur, Essai d'analyse statistique de la métrique de Prudence, RELO 1972, 2, 19–37; J. Luque Moreno 1978.

[3] That which serves to prepare for the life to come is useful (Basil, *Address to the Youth: On the Use of Greek Literature* 2. 9–10).

[4] J. Rodríguez-Herrera 1936, 142.

systematic Christian metamorphosis of almost all poetic genres.[1] In each of these forms he seeks and finds that which is 'akin to the truth'[2] and brings it to light. Prudentius also perpetuates the classical reverence for epic by placing the *Psychomachia* at the center of his collection.

Ideas II

After his tribute to the Creator, Prudentius turns to Creation in the *Psychomachia.* The spiritual battle proceeds on three levels: the inner conflict of each individual, the struggle of the Church in an historical context and finally the eschatological victory to which the consecration of the sword of Pudicitia (107–108) and the building of the temple allude at the end.

The *Peristephanon* differs from the *Cathemerinon* in its treatment of the relationship between biblical and earthly world, for in the latter the contemporaries' participation in Christ's passion and salvation is sacramental while in the former the martyrs of the past experience the passion and salvation first hand.[3]

Prudentius adopts and Christianizes the notion of *Roma aeterna*; here the *Hymn to St. Lawrence* and above all the *Contra Symmachum* (1. 542; Verg. *Aen.* 1. 279) come to mind. The *virtutes* of the Romans created the Roman empire so that a Christian world empire under a Christian emperor became possible. In contrast to others Prudentius therefore does not believe in the fall of the (Christianized) occident; but does this make him an 'imperial theologian' in the vein of Eusebius? He rather insists on the fundamental change produced by Christ in the history of Rome.

Transmission

Here we can offer only brief remarks on the rich textual tradition of approximately 320 codices. The oldest surviving manuscript, the Putean(e)us (A; Paris. Lat. 8084, 6th century) is written in capital letters and bears the *subscriptio* of a certain Vettius Agorius Basilius who also contributed to the transmission of Horace; in late antiquity scholars were quite aware of

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[1] W. Ludwig 1977.
[2] Basil, ibid. 4. 36–54.
[3] R. Herzog 1966, 13–92.

the fact that both pagan and Christian authors were part of the same heritage. Only slightly more recent is the Ambrosianus D 36, sup. (B), the older portions of which probably originated from Bobbio around 620. The *recensio* is based on these two oldest manuscripts; since they have many lacunae, others codices must be consulted.

The manuscripts fall into two classes.[1] The first—better—group offers the works in the order suggested above pp. 1357–1358. In the second group, the *perist.* follows *cath.* 10; whereas *cath.* 11 and 12 are placed after *perist.* The relationship of classes to each other needs further clarification. Traces of variants going back to the author himself are surmised in *cath.* 10. 9–16; 3. 100; *psych.* 727–729.

We possess illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius, which can be traced back to a lost illustrated *Psychomachia* edition probably of the 5th century. Illustrators of late antiquity Christianized iconographical stereotypes that were similar to the historical reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus. Thus, in the history of art a transferral occurred that is fully analogous to the allegorical reshaping of battle scenes in Prudentius.

Influence[2]

Prudentius was ignored by Augustine and Jerome. Were they suspicious of his poetry's classical style and his Roman ideology? Or were his poems at the outset simply limited to a small circle, which

[1] Curiously enough, these classes are categorized as A and B (although the same letters had been used to denote individual manuscripts). As a result, the oldest parts of manuscript B come to belong to Group A. On the textual transmission: R. Stettiner, Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften, Berlin 1895, with a volume containing plates 1905; C. Mengis, Fragmente einer Freiburger Prudentiushandschrift, Philologus 83, 1928, 89–105; H. Woodruff, The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius, Art Studies 7, 1929, 12–49; G. Lazzati, Osservazioni intorno alla doppia redazione delle opere di Prudenzio, AIV 101, 1941–1942, 217–233; W. Schmid, Die Darstellung der Menschheitsstufen bei Prudentius und das Problem seiner doppelten Redaktion, V Chr 7, 1953, 171–186; M. P. Cunningham, A Preliminary Recension of the Older Manuscripts of the *Cathemerinon, Apotheosis,* and *Hamartigenia* of Prudentius, SEJG 13, 1962, 5–59; E. Pianezzola, Sulla doppia redazione in Prudenzio *cath.* 10. 9–16, in: Miscellanea critica, FS B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1965, 2, 269–286; M. P. Cunningham, The Problem of Interpolation in the Textual Tradition of Prudentius, TAPhA 99, 1968, 119–141; E. J. Beer, Überlegungen zu Stil und Herkunft des Berner Prudentius-Codex 264, in: Florilegium Sangallense, FS J. Duft, Sigmaringen 1980, 15–70; C. Gnilka, Theologie und Textgeschichte. Zwei Doppelfassungen bei Prudentius, WS n.s. 19, 1985, 179–203; C. Gnilka, Zwei Binneninterpolamente und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Prudentiustexts, Hermes 114, 1986, 88–98.

[2] On Prudentius' influence: H. R. Jauss 1960; A. Katzenellenbogen 1933 and

diminished further after 410? In later generations his echo would be as resounding as it had earlier been faint.

Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 2. 9. 4) likened him to Horace; the textual tradition offers a parallel to that comparison (see the previous section). Gennadius (*vir. ill.* 13) called him an expert on pagan literature; Alcimus Avitus (*carm.* 6. 372) praised the *prudens ars* of Prudentius, a pun which later became popular.

Prudentius was the most extensively read and imitated poet in the Middle Ages. From his hymns, which today are classified 'non-liturgical', entire strophes[1] nevertheless made their way into the Roman Breviary. His hymns and songs on martyrs had already been provided with glosses in Old High German early on. The burial song *iam maesta quiesce querella* (from *cath.* 10) survived the Reformation through its appearance in Babst's hymnbook (1545) and is still included in the book of psalms of the Swedish Church.[2]

The influence of the *Psychomachia* on the art and literature of the Middle Ages is hardly measurable.[3] Yet, Dante, who far surpassed Prudentius as a universal poet, seems to have ignored him as well as other poets of late antiquity.[4]

His glory began to fade in modern times. Erasmus recognized him for his singular versatility as *unum inter Christianos fecundum poetam* ('a uniquely creative poet among the Christians') and knew better than later critics that his cultural achievement would be able to withstand all changes of time and fashion: *virum quovis etiam saeculo inter doctos numerandum*, 'a man to be numbered among the cultivated in any century'.[5] With its vivid portrayal of martyrs the *Peristephanon* found an echo in the baroque period.[6] Richard Bentley called Prudentius

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1939; R. E. MESSENGER, The Mozarabic Hymnal TAPhA 75, 1944, 103–126, esp. 105; H. SILVESTRE, Aperçu sur les commentaires carolingiens de Prudence, SEJG 9, 1957, 50–74; H. SILVESTRE, Jean Scot Erigène commentateur de Prudence, Scriptorium 10, 1956, 90–92; G. R. WIELAND, The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35, Toronto, Ontario 1983; H. D. MERITT, ed., The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer, Stanford 1959; K. L. SCHMIDT, Prudentius und Erasmus über die Christuskrippe mit Ochs und Esel, ThZ 5, 1949, 469–471.

[1] From *cath.* 1. 2 and 12 and an abridged hymn from *perist.*

[2] J. BERGMAN 1922, 15.

[3] S. LAVARENNE, edition, vol. 3, 25–45; A. KATZENELLENBOGEN 1933.

[4] HIGHET, Class. Trad. 80.

[5] J. BERGMAN 1922, 14.

[6] ALTANER 8th ed. 407.

the Virgil and Horace of Christians (*Christianorum Maro et Flaccus*).[1] The influence of Prudentius has even been discovered in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740).[2]

During the metamorphosis of Roman literature in late antiquity, Prudentius, who continued the tradition of Lactantius and Hilary, brought to perfection the Christianization of aesthetic elements in the realm of poetry. He was the first Christian for whom the writing of poetry became a profession—a vocation. The poetics of both 'praise' and 'transfiguration' foresaw the future of literature in Christian Europe; in our century, both would be important for Rilke.

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[1] Edition of Horace, Cambridge 1711, on Hor. *carm.* 2. 2. 15.

[2] Highet, Class. Trad. 340.

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III. PROSE

A. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RELATED GENRES

WRITERS OF HISTORY IN MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

After Tacitus there was no more great Latin senatorial historiography. The class that had fostered it had undergone a profound change; a living awareness of the old *libertas*[1] was now a thing of the past. Since Hadrian an irrevocable predominance of bureaucracy had made itself felt, and the senate lost its last semblance of political importance. With the increasing admission of Greek-speaking senators from the eastern half of the empire which began around the middle of the 2nd century, the old sentiment of Roman national solidarity among members of the senatorial class disappeared. Non-senatorial historiography, too, such as that of Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias or Titus Livius, succumbed to the change. Historians no longer had the sense of historical changes evinced by Livy[2] and Tacitus. On the one hand, Romans saw themselves as dependent on the person of the emperor—hence increasing interest in imperial biography (Suetonius, Marius Maximus, the *Historia Augusta*). On the other hand, readers sought edification in historical exempla (Valerius Maximus) and rapid overviews (Florus). Dry compendia had to suffice for schools.

Concurrent Greek historiography was spared a similar crisis. This was due not only to Emperor Hadrian's philhellenism and to the progressive Hellenization and orientalization of the Roman upper classes, but above all to the fact that Greek historiography in Rome was not linked to senatorial hierarchies to the extent that its Roman counterpart had been. It was supported not by senators but by intellectuals. In addition to his surviving *Anabasis* of Alexander, which is based on reliable sources, Arrian of Nicomedia wrote histories (now

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[1] Cf. WIRSZUBSKI, Libertas, esp. 153–212 (= 124–171).

[2] S. esp. T. J. LUCE, Livy. The Composition of his History, Princeton, N.J., 1977, in particular 230–297.

lost) of individual provinces (e.g. *Bithynica*: a history of his homeland) during the 2nd century A.D. At the same time Appian of Alexandria composed a history of Rome from the beginnings to Trajan in 24 books. During the first half of the 3rd century an aging Cassius Dio Cocceianus of Nicaea (consul 223/4 and 229) wrote a history of Rome (from Aeneas to Severus Alexander) in 80 books: This was the first comprehensive Roman history since Livy—written characteristically enough, in Greek.

Likewise in the first half of the 3rd century, Herodian, probably a Syrian, followed the history of Rome from the death of Marcus Aurelius (180) to the accession of Gordian III (238). Somewhat later but still in the same century P. Herennius Dexippus of Athens left behind works on Greece under the diadochoi, a chronicle from prehistoric times to Claudius Gothicus and a history of the wars with the Goths, which extends at least to the year 270. We have Eunapius of Sardis in Lydia to thank for a *Chronicle* from the beginning of the 5th century. Even the Roman Asinius Quadratus (first third of the 3rd century) chose to write his history of Rome (dating from the founding of the city up to Severus Alexander) in Greek—in the stylized dialect of Herodotus.

Christianity provided fresh incentive for historiography. Here, too, Greek took precedence over Latin at first. In his world history—from creation to A.D. 217/18—Sextus Julius Africanus introduced an innovation in ancient historiography by paralleling the Old Testament and Greek history.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (ca. 260–340), made important contributions. His Χρονικοὶ κανόνες provide a brief overview of Chaldeans, Assyrians (to include Medes, Lydians and Persians), Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, followed by annual tables from the birth of Abraham to A.D. 303. After Eusebius' death the text was corrupted and extended to 323. An Armenian version of the enlarged work and Jerome's Latin translation, with a continuation to 378, have survived. Another work of Eusebius, his *Ecclesiastical History* (which is not a full-scale history but only treats specific topics: apostolic succession, Christian teachers and authors, Gnostics and heretics, punishment of the Jews, persecutions of Christians, and martyrs) can be read in Greek, Syrian (hence: Armenian), and Latin (translated by Rufinus in 403 and continued to 395). Eusebius strove for 'truth' and eschewed rhetoric. Citing his sources, he proceeded in the manner of an antiquarian and philologist. In this respect he resembles Suetonius.

As for Latin authors, Florus was active under Hadrian; we shall dedicate to him a chapter of his own. At that time Granius Licinianus also probably wrote a brief *History of Rome*, the fragments of which survive on a palimpsest. The date of the *Epitome* of Livy is disputed. It is based on an earlier résumé which was more extensive.

In the 3rd or 4th century Julius Obsequens used the epitome for his *Collection of Prodigies*. M. Junianus Justinus[1] (from an unknown period, perhaps under Alexander Severus) abridged the universal history of Augustan Pompeius Trogus (who made use of good sources now lost), mixed excerpts with summaries and concentrated on what was important for students of rhetoric. He loved aphorisms.

With Emperor Diocletian[2] (284–305) political and economic stabilization set in, which under Constantine made possible a revival of culture and especially of Latin literature. Truly great historiography, however, did not arrive until around the end of the 4th century with Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote in Latin.

Eutropius (about 369) and Festus (after 369) had already composed their *Breviaries*. The entourage of such emperors as Valentinian and Valens had its origins mainly in the West, in the Danubian provinces. Now the senate was made up of provincials for whom Roman history had to be made palatable in striking and clear-cut form.

Lost to us is a hypothetical work, a *History of the Emperors*, the common source of Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and *Historia Augusta*.[3]

Sextus Aurelius Victor[4]

Life and Dates. As Eutropius and Festus would later, Aurelius Victor, too, belonged to a class of high-ranking administrators. An African

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[1] *Edition*: O. Seel, Lipsiae 1935, 2nd ed. 1956, repr. 1993; O. Seel (TrN, together with Trogus), Zürich 1972; for further information s. Trogus.

[2] S. Williams, Diocletian and the Roman Recovery, London 1985.

[3] A. Enmann, Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser und das Buch *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*. Quellenstudien, Philologus suppl. vol. 4, 1884; it was probably a brief chronicle for the time from the 2nd up to the end of the 3rd century with valuable information on the regions of the Danube; Enmann assumes that the work appeared under Diocletian; today it is rather placed after 337, provided its existence is not disputed.

[4] *Edition*: F. Pichlmayer, R. Gründel, Lipsiae 1911, 4th ed. 1970; P. Dufraigne (TTrN), Livre des Césars, Paris 1975; J.-C. Richard (TTrN), Les origines du peuple romain, Paris 1983; *bibl.*: H. Behrens, Untersuchungen über das anonyme Buch *De viris illustribus*, Heidelberg 1923; A. Momigliano, Some Observations on the *Origo gentis Romanae*, JRS 48, 1958, 56–73; G. Puccioni, La tradizione annalistica romana nell'*Origo gentis Romanae*, Firenze 1960; W. Den Boer, Rome à travers trois auteurs

by birth, he became *consularis Pannoniae secundae* in 361, *praefectus urbi* in 389 (Amm. 21. 10. 6), and *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* (Dessau I. 2945) under Theodosius. He published his brief survey of history soon after 360.[1] The *Epitome de Caesaribus* also draws on the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor himself.[2] In the 4th century an unknown editor united three works into one corpus, the subject matter of which extended from primeval Rome to A.D. 360, including the *Caesares* of S. Aurelius Victor. Dating the trilogy to Julian's reign (361–363) is well grounded, for there is no mention at all of Christianity.[3]

Survey of the Work. A history of the empire composed for the most part of short biographies from Augustus to Constantius II (d. 361), the work is composed of three parts: 1. The *Origo gentis Romanae* (from Saturn to Romulus), the author of which is unknown; 2. the anonymous writing *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*: 86 biographies of leading personalities from Proca, the king of Alba Longa, to Mark Antony; several non-Romans are treated as well, among whom Cleopatra; 3. the genuine work of Aurelius Victor, which is limited to the period after Augustus.

His *Sources* probably are: the so-called *History of the Emperors* alongside Suetonius; Tacitus (perhaps through florilegia); Marius Maximus, and perhaps also lists of the emperors (like those versified by Ausonius).[4] The *De viris illustribus* is derived from Hyginus' collection of biographies and as a historical source it is independent of Livy.

Literary Technique. The point of departure is biographic since Aurelius proceeds along a line of emperors and their tenures in office; at the

du IVe siècle, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 21, 1968, 256; T. D. Barnes, The Lost *Kaisergeschichte* and the Latin Historical Tradition, Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium 1968–1969, publ. 1970, 13–27; H. W. Bird, The Sources of the *De Caesaribus*, CQ n.s. 31, 1981, 457–463; H. W. Bird, Sextus Aurelius Victor. A Historiographical Study, Liverpool 1984 (with a good bibl. 165–170); P. Soverini, Note ad Aurelio Vittore, MCr 19–20, 1984–1985, 235–240; J. Fugmann, Königszeit und frühe Republik in der Schrift *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*. Quellenkritisch-historische Untersuchungen. I: Königszeit, Frankfurt 1990.

[1] A. Chastagnol, Emprunts de l'*Histoire Auguste* aux *Caesares* d'Aurelius Victor, RPh 41, 1967, 85–97.

[2] J. Schlumberger, Die *Epitome de Caesaribus*. Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jh. n. Chr., München 1974, 63–66.

[3] A. Momigliano, Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D., in: id., ed., The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, Oxford 1963, 96–97.

[4] H. W. Bird, S. Aurelius Victor. A Historiographical Study, Liverpool 1984, 16–23.

same time narrative sections (using historiographical techniques)[1] are mixed with moral aphorisms. Individual episodes are singled out as *exempla* and the remainder is disregarded.

Language and Style.[2] Aurelius Victor's *elocutio* is uneven, at times rhetorically turgid, at times anecdotal. Sallustian brevity alternates with long-winded officialese. Historical infinitives and frequentatives are also reminiscent of Sallust. The author of *De viris illustribus*, however, writes unpretentiously.

Ideas. In keeping with his senatorial viewpoint, Aurelius Victor condemns the supremacy of the military and welcomes the reestablishment of empire under Diocletian, Constantine and his sons. He accuses the senate of having lost political power out of indolence and avarice (37. 7).[3] He values highly a literary education (40. 13). Although he is obviously a pagan,[4] he says nothing against Christianity. Thinking in *exempla* is characteristic of the author of *De viris illustribus.*

Transmission.[5] The three writings of the corpus have come down to us in the Bruxellensis 9755–63 (15th century) and in the Oxoniensis Canonicianus 131 (A.D. 1453), which go back to a common source. In addition, the *De viribus illustribus urbis Romae* has another independent tradition. The *Epitome*, a parallel work to the *Caesares*, was handed down to us in two families of manuscripts; the shorter version was spared interpolations.

Influence. The *Caesares* are used in the *Historia Augusta.* Jerome consulted Aurelius Victor for his revision of Eusebius. Pushkin (d. 1837) refers to the above-mentioned (spurious) chapter on Cleopatra in his important narrative, *Egyptian Nights.*[6]

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[1] On interaction of history and biography: A. Momigliano, Il trapasso fra storiografia antica e storiografia medievale, RSI 81, 1969, 286–303.

[2] On language and style: H. W. Bird (quoted above, penultimate footnote) 90–99; *color Sallustianus*: E. Wölfflin, Aurelius Victor, RhM 29, 1874, 282–308, esp. 285–288; R. J. Penella, A Sallustian Reminiscence in Aurelius Victor, CPh 78, 1983, 234.

[3] *Dum oblectantur otio simulque divitiis pavent, quarum usum affluentiamque aeternitate maius putant, munivere militaribus et paene barbaris viam in se ac posteros dominandi.*

[4] J. M. Alonso-Núñez, Aurelius Victor et la Péninsule Ibérique, Latomus 41, 1982, 362–364.

[5] S. D'Elia, Studi sulla tradizione manoscritta di Aurelio Vittore: 1. la tradizione diretta, Napoli 1965.

[6] von Albrecht, Rom 242 with note.

Eutropius[1]

Life and Dates. Eutropius took part in the Persian campaign of Julian the Apostate (d. 363). As personal assistant (*magister memoriae*) to the moderately educated emperor Valens (364–378), he was commissioned to produce an abridged version of Roman history. He is most likely that senator Eutropius who held the consulate with Valentinian in 387.

Survey of the Work. The breviary *Ab urbe condita*, in 10 short books, is dedicated to the emperor. The 1st book reaches from Romulus to Camillus' victory over the Gauls. The 2nd book ends with the First Punic war, the 3rd with the Second. Further milestones are the victory over Jugurtha (book 4), the end of the civil war between Marius and Sulla (book 5), the death of Caesar (book 6), the end of Domitian (book 7), Alexander Severus (book 8), Diocletian (book 9) and Jovian (book 10). Thus the year 364 marks the conclusion. His promise to treat the present (10.18.3) is an empty topos.

Sources. Florus and an excerpt from Livy are used for the Republican period, Suetonius for the first twelve Caesars, and for the remainder the often quoted, unknown *History of the Emperors* as well as a history of the house of Constantine equally unattainable for us. Eutropius described the time of Julian and Jovian from his own experience. Handbooks might have been consulted for geographical and chronological data; chronology is more reliable in Eutropius than in his contemporaries' works.

Literary Technique. In his account of the Republican period, our author confines himself to wars and battles; individuals become more discernible in his treatment of the imperial period, where he also introduces anecdotes (7. 18). As he approaches his own time, his portrayal of characters becomes more sophisticated. His narrative is continuous and less desultory than Aurelius Victor's.

Language and Style are fluid and clear, somewhat sober, and as far from affectation as from formlessness. For his epoch Eutropius is doubtless a gratifying author.

Ideas. Well disposed to the senate, Eutropius (6. 25) considers Caesar a tyrant (while Aurelius Victor admires him). He sees a break in

[1] *Edition*: C. Santini, Leipzig 1979, repr. 1992; *bibl.*: M. Capozza, Roma fra monarchia e decemvirato nell'interpretazione di Eutropio, Roma 1973 (bibl. there 163–173); G. Bonamente, Giuliano l'Apostata e il *Breviario* di Eutropio, Roma 1986 (extensive bibl. 177–217); dating of the *Breviarium* 369/70: A. Chastagnol, quoted above, p. 1374, n. 1.

Roman history: The domination of the rough soldier Maximinus (235) ended cooperation between emperor and senate, which Eutropius considers crucial for the welfare of the state. With respect to Christianity Eutropius remains neutral; he does not mention the conversion of Constantine, but does pillory Julian as *nimius religionis Christianae insectator* (10. 16. 3).

Transmission.[1] The oldest manuscript is the Gothanus I 101 (9th century); the Bertinianus Audomarensis (St. Omer) 697 (11th century), and the Leidensis B.P.L. 141 (10th century) build another group. The text, which Eutropius' Greek translator Paeanius, a contemporary of the author, used, is of particular importance although its reliability is diminished by the fact that he translated freely and did not shrink from making additions (out of Cassius Dio).

Influence. Eutropius was read widely and translated twice into Greek,[2] an honor rarely conferred on a Roman author: not only the elite of Rome, who were supplemented with deserving members of provincial armies, needed tutoring in Roman history, but also Constantinople's senatorial class, the members of which were recruited from the municipal upper classes. Traces of Eutropius are found in Jerome, Orosius, and in the *Epitome* of Pseudo-Aurelius Victor (if we do not assume use of a common source here). Eutropius' influence was felt strongly in the Middle Ages. Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–799) drew on him and continued his history in six further books up to 553. Around 1000 Landolfus Sagax, following Paul's example, made his own additions.

The *editio princeps* appeared in 1471. Modern times dethroned Eutropius as a historian, but used him as a school author from time to time.

Festus[3]

Life, Dates. The *Breviarium* of Festus was, like that of Eutropius, inspired by the emperor Valens (364–378). In the Bambergensis Festus

[1] N. Scivoletto, La tradizione manoscritta di Eutropio, GIF 14, 1961, 129–162.

[2] Around 380 by Paeanius, around 600 by Capito.

[3] Most often (incorrectly) called 'Rufius Festus'. *Editions*: Sixtus Ruesinger, Romae 1468; J. W. Eadie (TC), London 1967; M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (TTr), Paris 1994; *Lexicon*: M. L. Fele, Hildesheim 1988; *bibl.*: B. Baldwin, Festus the Historian, in: B.B., Studies in Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature, and Language, Amsterdam 1984, 79–99; R. C. Blockley, Festus' Source on Julian's Persian Expedition, CPh 68, 1973, 54–55; J. M. Alonso-Núñez, Festus et la péninsule ibérique, Latomus 39, 1980, 161–164.

is referred to as a *vir clarissimus* and *magister memoriae*. The work was composed after 369. His identification with other personalities of the name Festus remains uncertain.

Survey of the Work. A survey of the Roman empire's growth up to the present (3–14) is followed by a review of Roman military campaigns in the East up to the time of Jovian (15–29). Irregular and desultory, the structure may in part reflect political bias (see below).

Sources are the *Epitome Liviana*, Florus, Suetonius as well as the *History of the Emperors*, which is conjectured by some researchers.

Literary Technique. One can hardly speak of a literary technique, since the work is extremely concise, and the clear, well-defined line of Eutropius is entirely lacking. There is no continuous historical narrative. For all this, the work was purposely divided into two parts in order to set earlier Roman victories over against less successful eastern campaigns. The growth of the Roman empire is depicted from a regional point of view. In the imperial period Festus emphasizes battles along the eastern border from Pompey and Crassus to Jovian.

Language and Style. Nor can Festus' style be compared with that of Eutropius. In his introduction he tells us, fittingly, that the emperor ordered him to be brief—a wish that he would gladly fulfill, since eloquence was not his forte. In practice, however, he attempts—as a diminutive Florus—to compensate for the meagerness of content by expressing himself elegantly.

Ideas. The compendium promoted Valens' eastern military campaigns. The leitmotif—the extraordinary difficulty of conducting any military operations in the East—was to bolster the emperor's reputation in the case of success and to serve as an excuse in the case of defeat. Festus' work is valuable for its list of dioceses and provinces under Emperor Valens and for several details on Aurelian's and Diocletian's wars in the East.

Transmission. The manuscripts fall into two groups. Within the first (which is preferable), the Gothanus 101[1] (9th century) and the Bambergensis E III, 22 (9th century) are superior.

Influence. Ammianus, Jordanes and Isidore read Festus. Jordanes (6th century) is in some instances useful for the settlement of the text.

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[1] M. Peachin, The Purpose of Festus' *Breviarium*, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 38, 1985, 158–161.

Julius Obsequens[1]

The *Liber prodigiorum* of Julius Obsequens is a collection of prodigies which relate to the years 190–11 B.C.

Sources. Like Eutropius, Julius Obsequens bases his information on a *Chronicon*, which in its turn had condensed an epitome of Livy.

Ideas. The author is a pagan who believes in prodigies; he considers expiation necessary and advisable for success. That belief is in keeping with the era of reactionary resistance on the part of pagan religion in the 4th century. Mommsen's assumption that Obsequens was a Christian is rejected today.

Transmission. No manuscripts have been preserved; the Aldina of 1508 is the basis for our text. Sometimes parallel passages from other authors, who use common sources, are helpful.

L. Septimius[2]
(the Latin translator of Dictys)

Life, Dates. L. Septimius was a grammarian who translated the Greek *Ephemeris belli Troiani* of Dictys into Latin. His dates are normally placed in the 4th century.[3]

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[1] *Edition*: A. Manutius, Venetiis 1508; O. Rossbach, Titi Livi Periochae, in his edition of Livy, vol. 4, Lipsiae 1910 (repr. 1973), 149–181; A. C. Schlesinger (TTr), edition of Livy, vol. 14, Cambridge, Mass., 2nd ed. 1967, 237–319; *lexicon*: S. Rocca, Iulii Obsequentis lexicon, Genova 1978; *bibl.*: P. G. Schmidt, Supplemente lateinischer Prosa in der Neuzeit. Rekonstruktionen zu lateinischen Autoren von der Renaissance bis zur Aufklärung, Göttingen 1964, 11–13; R. Frei-Stolba, Klimadaten aus der römischen Republik, MH 44, 1987, 101–117; C. Santini, Letteratura prodigiale e 'sermo prodigialis' in Giulio Ossequente, Philologus 132, 1988, 210–226.

[2] *Editions*: U. Zell, Coloniae 1470–1475; W. Eisenhut (together with the remains of the Greek original) Lipsiae 1958, 2nd ed. 1973; *bibl.*: A. Cameron, Poetae Novelli, HSPh 84, 1980, 127–175 (on the *Ephemeris*); E. Champlin, Serenus Sammonicus, HSPh 85, 1981, 189–212; W. Eisenhut, Spätantike Troia-Erzählungen—mit einem Ausblick auf die mittelalterliche Troia-Literatur, MLatJb 18, 1983, 1–28; A. Cameron, The Latin Revival of the Fourth Century, in: W. Treadgold, Renaissances before the Renaissance, Stanford 1984, 42–58; S. Timpanaro, Sulla composizione e la tecnica narrativa dell'*Ephemeris* di Ditti-Settimio, in: Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a F. Della Corte, Urbino 1987, 4, 169–215; A. Grillo, Tra filologia e narratologia. Dai poemi omerici ad Apollonio Rodio, *Ilias Latina*, Ditti-Settimio, Darete Frigio, Draconzio, Roma 1988; S. Merkle, Die *Ephemeris belli Troiani* des Diktys von Kreta, Frankfurt 1989 (*bibl.*); on Dictys and Dares cf. also a forthcoming article by S. Merkle, in: G. Schmeling, ed., The Novel in the Ancient World, Leiden 1996.

[3] Thus again S. Merkle 1989; a different view in: A. Cameron 1980 and E. Champlin 1981 (3rd century).

Survey of the Work. An introductory epistle to Q. Aradius Rufinus informs us that we are dealing with a translation of a Greek work on the Trojan War written by an eye-witness. The Cretan Dictys is said to have etched his journals in linden wood in Phoenician characters and enclosed them in a pewter casket to be buried with him. Allegedly, during Nero's thirteenth year in office shepherds found the journals, and their master turned them over to the emperor, who subsequently had them translated into Greek. Our Latin translator explains that he rendered the first five books describing the war in the same number of books and summarized the last four recounting the heroes' return in one book.

Sources. The report of the discovery of the original is, of course, fictitious; however, a Greek papyrus proves that a Greek version actually did exist. Septimius' work takes an independent position between its basic genre—historiography—Sallust[1] is among his important models—and different species of ancient novels (on adventures, love stories or Alexander's life).

Literary Technique. The account of the exhumation evokes older legends that had circulated in Rome. At places in the text which we can compare with the Greek model, the translation is free and less dry than the original. Septimius' narrative technique bears characteristics of both historiography and novel; however, in contrast to ancient novel, this work lacks a central hero. Love plays a major role, just as it had in the novel, but here it appears as a destructive force. This perspective is reminiscent of tragedy.

Language and Style. Our writer proves to be a true son of his century with respect to language and style; however, he had been thoroughly schooled in Sallust and Virgil. The language and style of the Latin translation raise higher literary claims than that of the Greek version.

Ideas. Unlike Virgil—and even Homer—the author is biased against Troy. The writer of the original, Dictys (probably of the 2nd century), being a Greek, had adopted a reserved attitude towards the Romans. The Trojan War demonstrated nonetheless the moral decline of the Greeks, whom the barbarians had forced to arm for war.

There is still another conceivable explanation for the author's anti-Trojan sentiment. It would be worth considering whether Dictys was using the Trojan War as a model for a struggle of the ancient cul-

[1] Sallust enjoyed particular interest in the 4th century: S. Merkle 1989, 276.

tural world against the Persians, who had grown stronger in the second quarter of the 3rd century. Did the author regard Achilles as a paradigm for the new Alexander (Severus)?

Transmission. The best manuscript is the Sangallensis 205 (9th–10th century). A manuscript found in Iesi in 1902 also contains the Latin Dictys (partly 10th and partly 15th century).

Influence. In the Middle Ages the Latin Dictys was widely disseminated as a substitute for Homer.

Virius Nicomachus Flavianus[1]

Under Theodosius Virius Nicomachus Flavianus received the *quaestura sacri palatii* and dedicated his *Annals* to the emperor; under the usurper Eugenius he became consul in 394 but later that same year paid the price of betrayal with his death. His son and grandson contributed greatly to the preservation of Livy's text. The historian Nicomachus also translated the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana.*

The Anonymi Valesiani[2]

There is a brief history of the Roman Empire under Constantine (*Excerptum Valesianum I*) in a medieval florilegium. The work is clear and precise; the author, who wrote shortly after the death of Constantine (337), is obviously a pagan (the few references to Christianity were taken from Orosius and inserted into the text). The fragment shows clearly how little of the historiography of late antiquity has survived and how cautious we must be in our judgment of the era. The *Excerptum Valesianum II*, which treats the time of Odoacer and Theoderic, smacks of an anti-Arian Christian (probably of the 6th century).

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[1] BARDON, Litt. lat. inc. 291–293; J. SCHLUMBERGER, Die verlorenen *Annalen* des Nicomachus Flavianus. Ein Werk über Geschichte der römischen Republik oder Kaiserzeit, in: J. STRAUB, ed., Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1982–1983, Bonn 1985, 305–329.

[2] *Edition:* J. MOREAU, V. VELKOV, Excerpta Valesiana, Lipsiae, 2nd ed. 1968; *bibl.:* S. J. B. BARNISH, The Anonymus Valesianus II as a Source for the Last Years of Theoderic, Latomus 42, 1983, 572–596; N. BAGLIVI, Su Anonymus Valesianus 1.3.7, Orpheus 9, 1988, 312–324; further bibl.: HLL 5, 1989, 195–196 (= § 535) and, in progress, HLL 6, § 725.

Ammianus Marcellinus

The most important historiographer of late antiquity, Ammianus Marcellinus, will be treated in a separate chapter.

In the time after Ammianus historiography became a Christian monopoly. The following author set a trend.

Jerome[1]

Jerome, who will be discussed later extensively, translated and revised the 2nd book of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

Jerome supplemented the *Chronicle* with Roman material from Eutropius, Suetonius' *De viris illustribus* and lists of Roman magistrates. He added his own account of the years 325–378. The result is a hastily arranged compilation. Hardly any work of Roman literature is so indispensable and at the same time so confusing to literary historians as that of Jerome. To make up for this, our Church Father pays meticulous attention to rhythmical clausulae.

Jerome's second historical work (*De viris illustribus*) was written in 392; it deals with 135 Christian authors from St. Peter to Jerome.

His main source is Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, but Jerome also includes—much to Augustine's displeasure—Jews and heretics. Of the pagans only Seneca has the honor of being admitted, on the basis of his (imputed) correspondence with St. Paul. This was an important sign of the times: Roman literature experienced a first great renaissance under Christian auspices, and it may be surmised that Jerome would also have included his beloved Cicero among the Christian classics (had chronology not prevented him).

This work exhibits a plain style; there are numerous errors in it, too, but it is still just as pioneering and indispensable as the preceding one.

Tyrannius Rufinus[2]

A friend and later enemy of Jerome, Tyrannius Rufinus of Concordia near Aquileia went to Egypt with Melania in 371, became a student

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[1] Hier. *chron. a Abr.*: separate edition: I. Knight Fotheringham, Londinii 1923; P. Nautin, La liste des œuvres de Jérome dans le *De viris illustribus*, Orpheus n.s. 5, 1984, 319–334; cf. also our chapter on Jerome (below, pp. 1646–1662).

[2] *Editions*: PL 21; PG 17, 615–632 (defence of his translation of Origen);

of Didymus and lived as a monk in Jerusalem from ca. 378 onward. During his last years, which he spent in his homeland, he translated works of Origen, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus into Latin.

Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia, inspired him to translate Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. Especially the documents cited by Eusebius fell victim to his cuts. He added two books which embrace the history of the years 324–395. The genre is an innovation in Roman literature. In addition to Eusebius, Rufinus relies on his own memory and on some Church Fathers of the 4th century. Language and style are plain and devoid of rhetoric. With respect to critical ability, Rufinus is inferior to Eusebius.

Sulpicius Severus[1]

Sulpicius Severus (ca. 363–400), a member of Gaul's educated nobility, studied at Bordeaux and was a friend of Paulinus of Nola. As an ascetic Christian, he emulated Martin of Tours whom he also glorified literarily.

The two books of his *Chronicle* cover the period from creation to A.D. 400. Here he concentrates essentially on biblical material and on ecclesiastical history. A man of wide reading, Sulpicius placed great value on documents; he drew mainly from Eusebius, but also from pagan historians (e.g. Tacitus). Schooled on Sallust among others, his style is correct but does not achieve Jerome's elegance. Of especial value is the information on his own time which he provides us.

M. SIMONETTI, Turnholti 1961 (= CC 20; with bibl.); K. ZELZER, Wien 1986 (*Basili Regula a Rufino Latine versa* = CSEL 86).

[1] *Edition*: C. HALM, CSEL 1, Vindobonae 1866; B. M. PEEBLES (Tr, sel.), Washington 1970; *Mart.*: J. FONTAINE (TTrC), 3 vols., Paris 1967–1969; A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN, J. W. SMIT (TC), Verona 1975; J. BERNAYS, Über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus, Berlin 1861; P. HYLTÉN, Studien zu Sulpicius Severus, diss. Lund 1940 (esp. on language and style); S. PRETE, I *Chronica* di Sulpicio Severo, Roma 1955; G. K. VAN ANDEL, The Christian Concept of History in the *Chronicle* of Sulpicius Severus, Amsterdam 1976; F. MURRU, La concezione della storia nei *Chronica* di Sulpicio Severo: alcune linee di studio, Latomus 38, 1979, 961–981; S. COSTANZA, I *Chronica* di Sulpicio Severo e le *Historiae* di Trogo-Giustino, in: La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità. Atti del convegno tenuto in Erice (1978), Messina 1980, 275–312; F. GHIZZONI, Sulpicio Severo, Roma 1983; C. STANCLIFFE, St. Martin and His Hagiographer, Oxford 1983; R. KLEIN, Die Praefatio der *Martinsvita* des Sulpicius Severus. Form, Inhalt und überzeitliche Bedeutung, AU 31, 4, 1988, 5–32; on Sulpicius Severus, see also p. 472–473 and p. 1288–1289.

Augustine

Augustine is assigned a key position among those who have contributed to an understanding of Roman history. He is treated in detail below.[1]

Orosius[2]

Life and Dates. Orosius (the first name Paulus is not certain) probably came from Bracara in Portugal but also felt at home in Tarraco (*hist.* 7. 22. 8). After a thorough education in rhetoric and theology, he left his homeland and traveled to Africa, where he introduced himself to Augustine, who sent him to Jerome in Bethlehem (Aug. *epist.* 166. 2). There he sided with Augustine in the Pelagian controversy. By 418 at the latest Orosius had completed his historical work, which had been inspired by Augustine (*hist.* 1 *prol.* 1–8; 7. 43. 20).

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[1] Some of his main ideas on Roman history: 1) Roman history is not merely replete with moral exempla. 2) There occurred just as many great catastrophes in the past as in the present. 3) The fall of Rome is a symptom of the sinful nature of man and has nothing to do with the virtues or vices of the Romans, who are no better or worse than any other peoples. 4) The Roman Empire was not a requisite for salvation but a transient phenomenon; on Augustine, see below pp. 1664–1708.

[2] *Editions: apol.*: G. Schepss, CSEL 18, Vindobonae 1889; *apol.; hist.*: C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5, Vindobonae 1882 (ed. major), repr. 1966; Lipsiae 1889 (ed. minor); *comm.*: K.-D. Daur, CC 49, Turnholti 1985, 133–163; *hist.*: A. Lippold (TC), A. Bartalucci, G. Chiarini (Tr), 2 vols., Firenze 1976; R. J. Deferrari (Tr), Washington 1964; A. Lippold-(TrN), with an introd. by C. Andresen, 2 vols., Zürich 1985–1986; M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (TTr), 3 vols., Paris 1990–1991; *bibl.*: J. Svennung, Orosiana. Syntaktische, semasiographische und kritische Studien zu Orosius, Uppsala 1922; F. Wotke, Orosius, RE 18, 1, Stuttgart 1939, 1185–1195; H. Hagendahl, Orosius und Iustinus, Göteborg 1941; A. Lippold, Rom und die Barbaren in der Beurteilung des Orosius, diss. Erlangen 1952; H. J. Diesner, Orosius und Augustinus, AAntHung 11, 1963, 89–102; B. Lacroix, Orose et ses idées, Montréal 1965; T. E. Mommsen, Aponius and Orosius on the Significance of the Epiphany, in: E. Rice, ed., Medieval and Renaissance Studies, New York 1966, 299–324; F. Paschoud, Roma aeterna, Neuchâtel 1967; E. Corsini, Introduzione alle *Storie* di Orosio, Torino 1968; S. Karrer, Der gallische Krieg bei Orosius, Zürich 1969; A. Lippold, Orosius, christlicher Apologet und römischer Bürger, Philologus 113, 1969, 92–105; W. Suerbaum, Vom antiken zum frühmittelalterlichen Staatsbegriff, Münster, 3rd ed., 1977; T. M. Green, Zosimus, Orosius and their Tradition. Comparative Studies in Pagan and Christian Historiography, New York 1974; F. Fabbrini, Paolo Orosio—uno storico, Roma 1979; H. W. Goetz, Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius, Darmstadt 1980; Y. Janvier, La géographie d'Orose, Paris 1982; D. Koch-Peters, Ansichten des Orosius zur Geschichte seiner Zeit, Frankfurt 1984; A. Marchetta, Orosio e Ataulfo nell'ideologia dei rapporti romano-barbarici, Roma 1987; P. A. Onica, Orosius, diss. Toronto 1987; R. Ampio, La concezione orosiana della storia, attraverso le metafore del fuoco e del sangue, CCC 9, 1988, 217–236.

Survey of Works

1. *Commonitorium de errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum.* Composed for Augustine.

2. *Liber apologeticus contra Pelagianos.* In his anti-Pelagian polemics Orosius even went so far as to state that even with God's help a man cannot be without sin (*apol.* 7. 2) and subsequently had to justify himself to the pope; he took refuge to alleged mistakes in translation and hearing.

3. Of special interest to us are the *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII.* They were finished in 417 (7. 43. 19; cf. 7. 41. 2).

The 1st book extends from the creation of the world to the founding of Rome, the 2nd to the sack of the city by the Gauls, the 3rd to around 280 B.C., the 4th treats the wars against Pyrrhus and Carthage. The 5th book covers the period from the destruction of Corinth (146) to the Slave War (73–71 B.C.), the 6th extends to roughly the turn of the era and the 7th to A.D. 417. Orosius presents Greek and Roman history in parallel.

Sources. At the beginning of the 3rd century, Sextus Iulius Africanus was the first writer to produce *Chronographies* which synchronized Old Testament and profane history. Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235) depended on him as a source. Eusebius' Χρονικοὶ κανόνες, which were translated and expanded by Jerome, are a standard work that builds upon the chronographic model. Augustine and Orosius used Jerome as a basic source for their works. Orosius, who appears not to have consulted Sulpicius Severus, places the founding of Rome (following Cato) in 752 B.C. He might have used a handbook for his geographical introduction.

The sources which he names, are mostly quoted at second hand, e.g. Palaiphatus and Phanocles.[1] We still possess most of his immediate sources: Florus, Eutropius, Justin and the *Periochae* to Livy. Orosius is a valuable historical witness for Livy's account of the period from 146 B.C. up to the first civil war and later for several passages in Tacitus' *Histories*, but especially for the time after 378.

Moreover, Orosius knew Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*; he made excerpts from Caesar's *Commentarii* (Orosius 6. 7–11) but took them for a work of Suetonius (as did Apollinaris Sidonius *epist.* 9. 14. 7). Occasionally he used the *Histories* of Tacitus; however, he was not

[1] In one instance, he unmasks himself by referring to *Valerius et Antias* (*hist.* 5. 3. 3), as if he had said 'William and Shakespeare'.

familiar with Sallust's *Histories*. Naturally he also availed himself of Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. In addition to narrative sources, Orosius might have taken advantage of chronographical[1] ones as well. He is rather careful in his use of sources.

Literary Technique. As a rhetor, Orosius intends to prove that the sufferings of mankind in the past were just as great as they are in the present (*hist.* 1, *prol.* 13–14). His account of world history serves this purpose. Orosius satisfied the demand for clarity of *narratio* by a perspicuous arrangement of his material. Within the books, at the conclusions of larger units, he inserts his own reflective commentaries which, as pauses, underscore the overall structure.

Language and Style. For its dry style, his geographical overview of the world (*hist.* 1. 2. 1–106) differs from the rest of the text. With the exception of the geographical introduction, his diction is refined, rich in aphorisms and antitheses, affected and even difficult. He strives for empathy and intensity (*hist.* 3: *praef.* 3 *vim rerum, non imaginem*, 'the significance of events, not their appearance').

Ideas. In contrast to Augustine, Orosius limits himself to secular history. The prophecies in the *Book of Daniel* (2. 31–45) provide the basis for a Christian interpretation of world history. They had been interpreted in terms of four empires:[2] the first had usually been identified with the Assyrian and the fourth with the Roman empire (cf. also Aug. *civ.* 20. 23; 18. 2). For Orosius the two middle empires were the Macedonian and the Carthaginian (*hist.* 2. 1. 4–6; cf. 7. 2. 1–7). In addition to this division into four empires, there was another one into six or seven periods of life (cf. Aug. *civ.* 22. 30); Orosius appears to ignore these. He also tries to discard revelation and to start from a philosophical belief in Providence (7. 1. 1), a feature that might reflect the fact that he was writing for the public.

While Augustine is also aware of the weaknesses of Christian empire and declared justice, not success, the main criterion (Aug. *civ.* 5. 24), Orosius glorifies the present (e.g., *hist.* 7. 35. 6) and believes that Roman history changed for the better since the rise of Christianity (7. 5. 3–4). He wants to incorporate the Germanic peoples into the Christian civilization of the Roman empire (7. 41. 7–9) and he is on

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[1] A. Lippold, Die Darstellung des ersten punischen Krieges in den *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* des Orosius, RhM n.s. 97, 1954, 254–286, esp. 261.

[2] On the theory of the four world empires: H.-W. Goetz, Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius, Darmstadt 1980, 71–79.

the whole more optimistic than Augustine.[1] He expresses his Roman pride by remarking that God did not simply want to become Man but a *civis Romanus* as well, and that Octavian and his *pax Augusta* had been predestined to make ready the way for God's incarnation (*hist.* 6. 22. 5–8).[2]

Transmission. The tradition is a rich one; the oldest of almost 200 manuscripts, the Codex Laurentianus pl. 65. 1, is from the 6th century.[3]

Influence. The chorography[4] of Orosius was used by the so-called Aethicus and by Isidore (d. 636). Clearly outlined and readable, the work was widely disseminated in the Middle Ages; Orosius' influence can be observed particularly in the *Chronicon* of Otto of Freising (d. 1158). In the 9th century King Alfred composed an abridged Anglo-Saxon translation with geographical supplements. Orosius was also translated into Arabic. This widely-read author's belief in a Roman empire, the survival of which would be ensured by Christianity, evoked the medieval idea of a *translatio imperii.*[5] The first edition appeared in Augsburg in 1471; there followed 24 editions up to the end of the seventeenth century.

The authority of Orosius lost ground as late as in the Age of Enlightenment when the doctrine of four world empires was abandoned once and for all.

The *Historia Augusta*[6]

Dates. Historia Augusta has been the title of a collection of thirty biographies of emperors from Hadrian to Numerianus (117–285) since

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[1] The differences between Orosius and Augustine (and the former's closeness to Eusebius and Jerome) are strongly emphasized by P. A. ONICA, Orosius, diss. Toronto 1987; cf. DA 48, 11, 1988, 2864 A–2865 A.

[2] K. SCHÖNDORF, Von der augusteischen zur christlichen Romideologie, Anregung 28, 1982, 305–311.

[3] D. J. A. ROSS, Illuminated Manuscripts of Orosius, Scriptorium 9, 1955, 35–56; A. D. VON BRINCKEN, Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising, Düsseldorf 1957; J. M. BATELEY, D. J. A. ROSS, A Check List of Manuscripts of Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag. libri VII*, Scriptorium 15, 1961, 329–334.

[4] Chorography: description of places and regions (on a larger scale than topography, but on a smaller scale than geographv).

[5] D. KOCH-PETERS 1984 (quoted above p. 1384, n. 2), 223.

[6] *Editions*: B. ACCURSIUS, Mediolani 1475; D. ERASMUS, Basileae 1518; I. CASAUBONUS, Paris 1603; D. MAGIE (TTr), 3 vols., London 1922–1932, repr. 1954; E. HOHL, vol. 1,

Isaac Casaubonus, who published it separately in 1603. The emperors of the period 244–253 are missing; perhaps there is another loss of text at the beginning, provided that the work had been conceived as a continuation of Suetonius.

1927 (2nd ed. 1965), vol. 2, 1927, with add. by W. SEYFARTH and C. SAMBERGER, Lipsiae 1965; A. BIRLEY (Tr of parts), Harmondsworth 1976; E. HOHL, E. MERTEN, A. RÖSGER (TrN), with an introduction by J. STRAUB, vol. 1, Zürich 1976, vol. 2, 1985; H. W. BENARIO (*Vita Hadriani*: C), Chico 1980; P. SOVERINI (TTrN), Torino 1983; A. LIPPOLD (*Vita Maximini*: C), Bonn 1991; J.-P. CALLU, A. GADEN, O. DESBORDES (*Vita Hadriani, Vita Aelii, Vita Antonini*: TTr), Paris 1992; R. TURCAN (*Vita Opilii Macrini, Vita Diadumeni, Vita Heliogabali*: TTr), Paris 1993; *lexicon*: C. LESSING, Lipsiae 1901–1906; *bibl.*: A. F. BELLEZZA, La letteratura degli *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* oggi, AALig 41, 1984 (1986), 253–273 (with an appendix by P. SOVERINI on some linguistic problems of the *Historia Augusta* 273–275); E. W. MERTEN, Stellenbibliographie zur *Hist. Aug.*, 4 vols., Antiquitas 4, 2, 1–4, Bonn 1985–1987; A. SCHEITHAUER 1987, esp. 13–18; 211–224; cf. the Bonn Colloquia on the Historia Augusta (ed. by J. STRAUB in the series Antiquitas, Bonn, from 1963 onward).

J. A. STRAUB, Heidnische Geschichtsapologetik in der christlichen Spätantike. Untersuchungen über Zeit und Tendenz der *Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1963; P. WHITE, The Authorship of the *Historia Augusta*, JRS 57, 1967, 115–133; R. SYME, Ammianus and the *Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968; G. KERLER, Die Außenpolitik in der *Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1970; H. W. BIRD, Suetonian Influence in the Later Lives of the *Historia Augusta*, Hermes 99, 1971, 12–134; R. SYME, Emperors and Biography. Studies in the *Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1971; R. SYME, The *Historia Augusta*. A Call of Clarity, Bonn 1971; F. KOLB, Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der *Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1972; R. SYME, The Composition of the *Historia Augusta*. Recent Theories, JRS 62, 1972, 123–133; B. MOUCHOVÁ, Untersuchungen über die *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Praha 1975 (1978); K.-P. JOHNE, Kaiserbiographie und Senatsaristokratie. Untersuchungen zur Datierung und sozialen Herkunft der *Historia Augusta*, Berlin 1976; J. BURIAN, *Fides historica* als methodologischer Grundsatz der *Historia Augusta*, Klio 59, 1977, 285–298; I. HAHN, Das 'goldene Jahrhundert' des Aurelius Probus, Klio 59, 1977, 223–236; H. SZELEST, Die *Historia Augusta* und die frühere römische Geschichte, Eos 65, 1977, 139–150; T. D. BARNES, The Sources of the *Historia Augusta*, Bruxelles 1978; R. SYME, Propaganda in the *Historia Augusta*, Latomus 37, 1978, 173–192; A. F. BELLEZZA, Prospettive del testo della *Historia Augusta*, Brescia 1979; I. MARRIOT, The Authorship of the *Historia Augusta*. Two Computer Studies, JRS 69, 1979, 65–77; B. BALDWIN, Tacitus, the *Panegyrici Latini*, and the *Historia Augusta*, Eranos 78, 1980, 175–178; D. DEN HENGST, The Prefaces in the *Historia Augusta*, diss. Amsterdam 1981; K.-H. STUBENRAUCH, Kompositionsprobleme der *Historia Augusta*. Einleitungen, der verlorene Anfang, diss. Göttingen 1982; R. SYME, *Historia Augusta* Papers, Oxford 1983; H. SZELEST, Die *Historia Augusta* und die frühere antike Literatur, Eos 71, 1983, 35–42; K.-P. JOHNE, Zum Geschichtsbild der *Historia Augusta*, Klio 66, 1984, 631–640 (bibl.); G. MARASCO, Ricerche sulla *Historia Augusta*, Prometheus 12, 1986, 159–181; J. BURIAN, Die Darstellung der Markomannenkriege in den *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Vita Marci*) und ihre Glaubwürdigkeit, LF 110, 1986, 114–118; T. HONORÉ, Scriptor Historiae Augustae, JRS 77, 1987, 156–176; F. KOLB, Untersuchungen zur *Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1987; A. SCHEITHAUER, Kaiserbild und literarisches Programm. Untersuchungen zur Tendenz der *Historia Augusta*, Frankfurt 1987; A. SCHEITHAUER, Die Bautätigkeit

Our tradition names the following alleged authors: Aelius Spartianus, Iulius Capitolinus, Vulcanius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. Diocletian is addressed in seven biographies, Constantine in six; others are directed to private persons. Today the work is normally assumed to be a forgery of a single author from a later time. Some scholars think of the epoch of Julian,[1] others prefer the turn of the 4th to the 5th century,[2] still others the period between 405 and 525. A late time of composition would explain the forgery: under Christian emperors it was no longer possible to circulate pagan propaganda directly and openly but only in the form of literary retrospection (this view is adopted here).

Sources.[3] As far as genre is concerned the author considers himself a successor to Suetonius (*Maxim. et Balb.* 4. 5; *Prob.* 2. 7). Scholars established six main sources: the first, which is not known by name, stretches to 217. Marius Maximus provides colorful details on Macrinus and serves as a main source in the *Life of Heliogabalus*; Herodian is the most important authority for the year 238 (and earlier); his information was supplemented out of the work of Dexippus, which served as a source for the subsequent years up to 270. The '*History of the Emperors*' is used for the period after 260 as it had been for the framework of the *Life of Alexander*; use of Eunapius is attested for the period after 270. These were joined by Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and perhaps Festus and Ammianus as well. Word of autobiographies of Hadrian and of Septimius Severus, as well as of works by Aelius Cordus and Phlegon, has piqued scholars' curiosity. Unfortunately, some cited documents and sources—primarily in the vitae of lesser known emperors—have simply been fabricated so that the reader is left with an irritating conglomeration of valuable information and outright lies.

Literary Technique. In its literary technique, the *Historia Augusta* follows Suetonius only in principle (cf. above), as the composition of

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der Kaiser in der *Historia Augusta*, WJA 14, 1988, 225–240; D. Baharal, Portraits of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus, Latomus 48, 1989, 566–580; J. B. Leaning, Didius Julianus and His Biographers, Latomus 48, 1989, 548–565; C. Bertrand-Dagenbach, Alexandre Sévère et l'Histoire Auguste, Bruxelles 1990; E. Wallinger, Die Frauen in der Historia Augusta, Wien 1990; W. J. Cherf, The Thermopylae Garrison of *Vita Claudii* 16, CPh 88, 1993, 230–236.

[1] N. H. Baynes, The *Historia Augusta*. Its Date and Purpose, Oxford 1926.

[2] Thus resolutely ('at the latest') D. Flach, Einführung in die römische Geschichtsschreibung, Darmstadt 1985, 278.

[3] T. D. Barnes, The Sources of the *Historia Augusta*, Bruxelles 1978.

the *Life of Pius* demonstrates. Unlike those of Suetonius, most of these biographies are structured neither chronologically nor systematically (per species). Where information is insufficient, it is helped along by anecdotes, accounts of miracles and novellistic elements. Although the author professes to reject irrelevant and unseemly gossip (cf. *Aur.* 3. 1; 6. 6; *Heliog.* 18. 4), there is ample proof to the contrary. His claim to strive for truthfulness and historical accuracy (*Trig. tyr.* 1. 2; 11. 6–7) is hard to swallow; though elsewhere he is modest enough to appeal honestly to *curiositas* (*Aur.* 10. 1). The work aims to entertain as well as instruct.

Language and Style.[1] There are little stylistic differences among the individual 'authors'; 'Flavius Vopiscus' and 'Trebellius Pollio' stand out for their strong rhetorical coloring. The question of whether the differences are big enough to refute the 'unitarian' theory should be taken up again.

Ideas. The author's senatorial bias does not admit any conclusions concerning his own social position. An apologetics of pagan history has been observed in the work; the tolerance that prevailed under the good emperors is praised—presumably in order to draw the attention of Christian emperors to their own intolerance.

Transmission.[2] All our tradition goes back to the Vaticanus Palatinus 899 (9th century) in two branches.

Influence. The *Historia Augusta* continued to find readers well into the Middle Ages.[3]

BARDON, Litt. lat. inc., vol. 2, 270–277; 291–293. * H. W. BIRD, Sextus Aurelius Victor. A Historiographical Study, Liverpool 1984 (also on Eutropius and on the *Historia Augusta*). * R. BROWNING, CHLL 732–754 (fundamental). * A. CHASTAGNOL, Emprunts de l'*Histoire Auguste* aux *Caesares* d'Aurelius Victor, RPh 41, 1967, 85–97. * W. DEN BOER, Rome à travers trois auteurs du quatrième siècle, Mnemosyne 4, 21, 1968, 254–282 (on Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Festus). * W. DEN BOER, Some Minor Roman Historians, Leiden 1972 (on Florus, Aurelius Victor I and II, Eutropius, and Festus). * D. FLACH, Einführung in die römische Geschichtsschreibung, Darmstadt 1985, 257–311. * W. HARTKE, De saeculi quarti exeuntis historiarum

[1] J. N. ADAMS, The Linguistic Unity of the *Historia Augusta*, Antichthon 11, 1977, 93–102.

[2] On the settlement of the text H. L. ZERNIAL, Akzentklausel und Textkritik in der *Historia Augusta*, Bonn 1986.

[3] C. BERTRAND, L'*Histoire Auguste* et son influence sur quelques auteurs au moyen âge, Liège 1982.

scriptoribus quaestiones, Lipsiae 1932. * F. HEINZBERGER, Heidnische und christliche Reaktionen auf die Krisen des weströmischen Reiches in den Jahren 395–410 n. Chr., diss. Bonn 1976. * M. HOSE, Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio, Stuttgart 1994. * E. MALCOVATI, I breviari del IV secolo, Ann. Univ. Cagliari 12, 1942. * A. MOMIGLIANO, Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D., in: id., ed., The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, Oxford 1963, 77–99. * J. SCHLUMBERGER, Die *Epitome de Caesaribus*. Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jh. n. Chr., München 1974 (also on Eutropius and on the *Historia Augusta*). * S. WILLIAMS, Diocletian and the Roman Recovery, London 1985.

SUETONIUS

Life and Dates

Born probably in Hippo Regius[1] (North Africa) around 70, C. Suetonius Tranquillus came from an equestrian family. Thus socially and geographically he belonged to two promising groups. He dedicated his work to the Prefect of the City, C. Septicius Clarus (Lydus *de magistr.* 2. 6), whom the illustrious Pliny had also honored by a dedication. The author of *Letters* and of the *Panegyricus* took Suetonius under his wing as a 'pupil',[2] encouraged him to publish a composition (*epist.* 5. 10) and secured for him under Trajan the *ius trium liberorum* (*epist.* 10. 94–95; around 112). Suetonius held the offices *a studiis, a bibliothecis*, and *ab epistulis*. In 122[3] he lost this position, for after the death of Plotina Hadrian dismissed many of Trajan's old supporters, to include Septicius Clarus (Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 11. 3). Our author seems to have been still active literarily around 130,[4] although the credibility of the evidence for that claim should not be overestimated.[5] Fronto mentions a Tranquillus (*ad Ver.* 1. 13, p. 117 V.D.H.) and Suetonius Tranquillus (*ad am.* 1. 13, p. 179 V.D.H.).

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[1] Inscription: Année Epigraphique 1953, 27–28 (no. 73); G. B. TOWNEND, The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius, Historia 10, 1961, 99–109.

[2] *Epist.* 1. 24. 1; cf. 10. 94. 1; *contubernalis* (milit. 'messmate') signifies a pupil living under the same roof with his master.

[3] Thus (not 121) SYME, Tacitus 2, 779; further bibl. in U. Lambrecht 1984, 23, n. 75; cf. R. SYME 1980, 113–114 (against the year 128).

[4] *Tit.* 10. 2; s. also SYME, Tacitus 780.

[5] Now s. B. BALDWIN 1983, 46.

Survey of Works

The surviving *De vita XII Caesarum libri VIII* embraces the biographies of the twelve Caesars from Julius Caesar to Domitian. On the basis of a dedication to C. Septicius Clarus as Prefect of the City, books 1–2 (and perhaps 1–6, too, up to and including Nero) might have appeared before 122. Books 7 (Galba, Otho, Vitellius) and 8 (the Flavians) could have been added later; however, the opposite view is held as well.[1] It is in any case questionable whether differences in vocabulary and documentation offer sufficient grounds for assigning different dates to the first two and the later Lives.

The *De viris illustribus*[2] originally included profiles of poets, orators, historiographers, grammarians, and rhetors. The Lives of grammarians and the beginning of the Lives of the rhetors have survived; the *vitae* of the poets are still partly preserved in the textual tradition of the respective authors (Terence, Horace, Persius); a Suetonian origin of the *vitae* of Virgil, Tibullus, and Lucan is disputed. The *De viris illustribus* perhaps appeared before the *Lives of the Caesars.*[3]

Numerous works (mostly on history or cultural history) have been lost; the Suda has transmitted a whole series of titles[4] to which we should add the following: *De regibus, De institutione officiorum,* Περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν, *De rerum naturis, De animantium naturis, De vitiis corporalibus, De rebus variis.* Many of these books might have been portions of the collection *Prata.*[5] The large scope of Suetonius' literary production and the titles of his writings reveal a polymath. It is important to keep that fact in mind in order to understand his idiosyncrasies as an author.

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[1] For the earlier composition of the six later *Lives of the Caesars*: G. W. Bowersock, Suetonius and Trajan, in: Hommages à M. Renard (Coll. Latomus 101) 1, 119–125; opposed: K. R. Bradley, The Composition of Suetonius' *Caesares* Again, JIES 1, 1973, 257–263.

[2] On the *De viris illustribus*: B. Baldwin 1983, 379–466; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 50–72.

[3] A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983.

[4] Suda 4. 581, 19–27 Adler, s.v. Τράγκυλλος· Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν βιβλίον α', Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β', Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ α', Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων α', Περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας α', Περὶ ὀνομάτων κυρίων καὶ ἰδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται, Περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη, Περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν βιβλία β', Συγγενικὸν Καισάρων . . . βιβλία η', Στέμμα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων.

[5] On the lost works: F. Della Corte, 2nd ed. 1967, 233–245; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 43–49; P. L. Schmidt, Suetons *Pratum*, ANRW 2, 33, 5, 1991, 3794–3825.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Suetonius has studied the *Fasti*, the *Acta senatus* and the *Acta diurna populi Romani*. In *Cal.* 8. 5 he convincingly plays off the *Acta* against literary sources. He has consulted the *Res gestae* of Augustus without slavishly relying on it. He brings in numerous letters of Augustus[1] and some writings and speeches of Tiberius (*Tib.* 28; 29; 32. 2; 67. 1; 67. 3–4). There have been different explanations for the decrease of epistolary documentation in the later *Vitae*. Surely Suetonius' fondness for Augustus played a role. Other possible reasons include haste and an attempt to move Hadrian to leniency through speedy publication. It has also been suggested that the later *Vitae* contain no imperial letters because Suetonius no longer (or: not yet) held his position at the palace and hence had no access to the archives.[2] Since, however, *literary* documentation also slackens in the later *Lives of the Caesars* and a systematic study of records cannot be proven anyway, we should not draw any hasty conclusions from the text.

Suetonius cites by name Tanusius Geminus (*Iul.* 9. 2), C. Oppius (*Iul.* 53), Pliny the Elder, Lentulus Gaetulicus (*Cal.* 8. 1–3), Q. Elogius (*Vit.* 1. 2), and Cassius Severus (*Tit.* 2. 1), the writings of the emperors themselves and Seneca the Elder (*Tib.* 73). It is certain that he used historians, whose works were widely read in his time, such as Cluvius Rufus, Pliny the Elder, and Fabius Rusticus. Twice he mentions Cremutius Cordus (*Aug.* 35. 2; *Cal.* 16. 1). Suetonius probably owes some Greek quotations to a certain Tiberius Claudius Balbillus.[3] In any case we should take seriously the wide readings of our author.

Suetonius' relationship to Tacitus and Plutarch is unclear. Perhaps he had heard segments out of Tacitus' *Annals* in the circle of Septicius,[4] but common sources could account for similarities. In the *Lives of the Caesars*, Suetonius differs from Plutarch with striking frequency.[5] Here also the reasons are still open to argument.

For his *Viri illustres* Suetonius used Varro (but not only *De poetis*), Nepos, Santra, Hyginus, Fenestella, Asconius Pedianus, and possibly

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[1] E.g., *Aug.* 71. 2–4; 86; 87. 1–3; *Tib.* 21. 2–7; *Cal.* 8. 4; *Claud.* 4; B. Baldwin 1983, 134–139, doubts direct consultation by Suetonius.

[2] G. B. Townend 1967, 87–91; criticized by L. De Coninck 1983.

[3] G. B. Townend, The Sources of the Greek in Suetonius, Hermes 88, 1960, 98–120, esp. 115–119.

[4] E. Cizek 1977, 46, n. 80.

[5] B. Baldwin 1983; A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 69–71.

the *Musae* of Opilius (-llus) as well. Moreover, he included letters of Augustus, Maecenas, Messalla Corvinus, Cicero, Ateius Philologus, the writings of the authors under discussion, senatorial and censorial decrees, inscriptions, and personal remembrances. Suetonius' scholarship, therefore, is founded on extensive research; it is regrettable that many of his writings are lost.

There was no distinct *genre* of biography. Generally it is difficult to make a distinction[1] between encomium and biography; in Suetonius, however, encomiastic elements are less prominent. Of his forerunners' works Nepos' *Life of Epaminondas* comes closest to the Suetonian pattern. F. Leo[2] tried to distinguish two forms of biography: the 'peripatetic', which proceeded chronologically, was artistically designed and treated public figures, and the 'Alexandrian', which proceeded by categories, was scholarly in nature and dealt with literary personalities. It would have been Suetonius, then, who brought the latter form to bear upon political personalities. However, we do have *vitae* of poets written in a highly literary style, and, on the other hand, it is hard to deny that before Suetonius there had been political biographies that were not mere eulogies. For example, the Peripatetic and contemporary of Theophrastus, Phaenias of Eresus (around 336 B.C.) wrote biographies of poets, philosophers and even Sicilian tyrants. These lives do not appear to have been panegyrics.[3]

The question of Suetonius' originality as creator of a genre cannot be addressed without considering the parallel problem in Nepos. The amount of lost material and the mediocre talent of the authors in question call for caution.

Be that as it may, the categories by which Suetonius proceeds are entirely in keeping with Roman thought:[4] lineage, family, birth, education, *toga virilis*, beginning of a political career, campaigns, private life, prodigies, death, and testament. Suetonius worked essentially from

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[1] W. Steidle, 2nd ed. 1963, 129–132; on encomiastic and biographical elements in the oldest Christian biographer Pontius: Berschin, Biogr. 1, 64.

[2] Leo, Biogr. 139–144.

[3] Cf. also Baton, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τυράννων; D. R. Stuart, Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography, Berkeley 1928, 132–134; R. Laqueur, Phainias, RE 19, 2, 1938, 1565–1591; W. Steidle, 2nd ed. 1963, 140–151; reserved: A. Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 78; negative: J. Geiger (quoted in our chapter on Nepos).

[4] W. Steidle, 2nd ed. 1963, 108–125; they were prefigured in collections of *memorabilia*, Roman *tituli* and *elogia*, Varro's *Imagines*, and perhaps biographies of Roman officials; see below, p. 1395, note 3.

facts that were accessible to him. Arrangement follows different principles of biographical and Roman historiographical tradition including chains of good and bad exempla. The result is a typically Roman form of biography.

Literary Technique

Suetonius presents historical material in a non-historical style. The biographer's literary intention is totally distinct from that of Tacitus, for example. The *Lives of the Caesars* differ from historiography[1] in structure, subject, and style.

Our author was presumably a *grammaticus*, that is: a teacher of literature obliged to explain the *facts* mentioned in his texts; that would account for his avid attention to detail.

On closer inspection it appears that Suetonius in the *Vitae* organized his material carefully.[2]

His arrangement by subject generally resembles Augustus' *Res gestae.* A Roman tradition of schematic, strictly arranged biographies of public officials may also be surmised.[3] The Suetonian biography reviews in detail first the public then the private life of the emperor so that an overall view emerges. Structure varies with each individual Vita. Even the inevitable sequence—family, father, birth, early years—avoids falling into a repetitive scheme. Rubrics also—descent of the emperors, naming of their spouses, mention of portents—do not conform to a fixed pattern in the various biographies.[4]

In the *Vita of Caesar* the portrayal of his early years (before his autocracy) is especially lengthy, for it had taken Caesar a long time to achieve supremacy. A 'portrait' of the ruler is placed at the end of many biographies; part of the *species* is postponed until after the emperor's death.[5] In the case of Vitellius (17), the portrait of his outward appearance is woven into the report of his death.

The composition of the *Vita of Titus* is peculiar. An overall picture is presented at the beginning; there follow two antithetic portraits:

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[1] A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 9–15; 122.

[2] G. Luck, Über Suetons *Divus Titus*, RhM 107, 1964, 63–75; H. Gugel 1970.

[3] On the prehistory of the *Liber pontificalis* (6th century): Berschin, Biogr. 1, 270–277; 2, 115–138.

[4] B. Mouchová 1968.

[5] *Ner.* 51–56; *Cal.* 21–22; *Otho* 12; *Dom.* 18–22.

that of his life before and that after his accession to the throne. While Suetonius normally discusses vices after virtues, here—corresponding to reality—he places a part with certain negative characteristics before an outright positive part.

In the *Vita of Claudius* both structure and appraisal are less clear than anywhere else. Such a structure fits—intentionally or not—the fickle character of Claudius (*Claud.* 15. 1).

Suetonius displays his art of composition in smaller rather than in larger units. At times he groups his material for dramatic effect,[1] for example, the account of Nero's last hours is gripping. He arranges his subject matter to serve its aim: a typically Roman principle of style.

Portents, reference to erotica, and *ultima verba* also form 'stock elements' in the biographies of the emperors.[2] Mention of *ostenta, omina,* and *prodigia* are in tune with the superstitions of the day (cf. Plin. *epist.* 1. 18), but their position within the text serves literary purposes: it helps to underscore certain chains of motifs such as Caesar's striving for kingship (*Iul.* 1. 3; 7. 2; 61), or his disregard for established ritual, which led to his death (*Iul.* 30. 3; 59; 77; 81; 4).

Suetonius is especially adept at citations, which in his texts act as thematic and interpretative markers;[3] examples are: Sulla's saying that in Caesar there are many Mariuses, and Caesar himself referring to his royal and divine origins (Suet. *Iul.* 1. 3; 6. 1), competing with Alexander (7. 1), and quoting his favorite line from the *Phoenissae* ('If there must be injustice, let it be for the sake of gaining the crown.' *Iul.* 30. 5; Eur. *Phoen.* 524–525; Cic. *off.* 3. 82). Likewise, in the *Vita of Domitian* there is a memorable utterance, which forebodes the fate of the emperor: *Condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat, quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis*, 'he used to say that the lot of princes was most unhappy, since when they discovered a conspiracy, no one believed them unless they had been killed'.

Leitmotifs and an artful 'weaving of the plot' have been found in the *Vita of Caesar.*[4] Similarly, in the *Vita of Augustus* each individual element has been shown to have a function in the development of

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[1] B. Mouchová 1968, 15 and 105–106.

[2] H. Gugel 1977, 23–103.

[3] U. Lambrecht 1984, 37–43; W. Müller 1972, 95–108.

[4] H. Gugel 1970, esp. 22.

the plot.[1] Moreover, there is a principle of gradation at work, under which the facts fall into a specific order;[2] for example, Suetonius arranges bits of erotic information to form a climax.[3] The emperors' *ultima verba* bring the basic theme of a given biography to conclusion.[4] Scholars speak of a progressive darkening (*noircissement progressif*),[5] which by imperceptible degrees instills a particular opinion into the reader's mind.

An important problem, which still awaits research, is the relationship of different biographies to each other.[6] The *Vita* of Galba merges into that of Otho, and their author maintains the chronological sequence of historical events.

In such cases, Suetonius unites biography with a continuous historical narrative.[7] Life story and historiography had been combined as early as Tacitus' *Agricola*, albeit in a much more sophisticated literary form than in Suetonius. It was not mere chance that in the imperial period biography to a large extent replaced the writing of history. To be sure, Suetonius cannot be considered an historian in the ancient sense of the word, if only for the difference of scope between historiography and biography. Since Suetonius prefers thematic grouping of facts to dramatic and self-contained narrative,[8] his goals are in sharp contrast to those of ancient historiography.

Language and Style

Suetonius' style is not consistent.[9] The merits of several purple passages have been ascribed to his sources; but differences in style are based rather on differences in content (rubrics, or narrative, respectively). While ancient historiography—in addition to political and military subject matter and chronological sequence—also demands rhetorical stylization, Suetonius does not intend to create a work of

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[1] R. Hanslik 1954, 99–144.

[2] B. Mouchová 1968, 43–47; 105; A. Pennacini 1984.

[3] H. Gugel 1977, 73–95, esp. 76.

[4] H. Gugel 1977, 95–103.

[5] E. Cizek, Sur la composition des *Vitae Caesarum* de Suétone, StudClas 3, 1961, 355–360, esp. 360.

[6] Hints in H. Gugel 1977, 143; B. Mouchová 1968, 65–77.

[7] H. Gugel 1977, 144.

[8] B. Mouchová 1968, 105.

[9] G. D'Anna 1954, 179–190 compares *Nero* 9 and 35 (short sentences) with 47–49 (more sophisticated).

literary prose. Stylistically he approaches the technical writers. Suetonius is one of those authors who look for the *proper word*; he strives, not for rhetorical pomp but for Caesarean *elegantia*—without Caesar's purism, though. Suetonius' stylistic sympathies are with the classical period (Cicero and Augustus). He does not archaize; he cultivates the plain style of ancient scholars. Pliny calls him a *scholasticus* (*epist.* 1. 24. 4); Joannes Laurentius Lydus, a *philologus* (Lyd. *de mag.* 1. 34, p. 35 Wü.); the *Suda* (4. 581. 18 Adler), a *grammaticus*.[1] The *Historia Augusta* praises Suetonius for writing 'not so much eloquently as factually' (*non tam diserte quam vere*);[2] the source may be unreliable but the thought is right. Characteristic of Suetonius are some 'scholarly' features foreign to formal classical historiography, especially his use of technical terminology,[3] Greek vocabulary, and rather extensive literal quotations from documents.

A typical procedure of Suetonius is the *divisio*, an announcement of points to be discussed. Originating from rhetoric, this method was also employed by encomiasts. Unfortunately, in Suetonius it does not always achieve its goal of clarifying the organization of his text.[4]

Suetonius is no great stylist. He takes pains, however, to write clearly, concisely, and correctly. After a time the reader gets the impression of coolness and lack of color. On the other hand, in some passages, e.g. in his *Iulius*, the structure of Suetonius' sentences corresponds to the content down to the last detail.[5] His manner of writing is therefore not merely simple, slipshod notation.[6]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Suetonius seldom comments on his literary intentions; if at all, he does so on the structure of individual biographies (e.g. *Aug.* 9; 61. 1). More information can be drawn from his remarks on style and on sociological aspects of literature.

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[1] F. Della Corte, 2nd ed. 1967, 29–30 cautions overestimation of these sources; still he proceeds from a notion of *grammaticus* that is too narrow.

[2] Script. hist. Aug. *Prob.* 2. 7.

[3] A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 20–21 with bibl.

[4] G. B. Townend 1967, 84–87.

[5] W. Steidle, 2nd ed. 1963, 125–126; on Suetonius' vocabulary also B. Mouchová 1966, 55–63.

[6] Leo, Biogr. 134, thought this could be said of Alexandrian scholarly biography.

Archaism, which would become fashionable in the 2nd century, was not yet standard for Suetonius. As his praise of Caesar's style (*Iul.* 56. 2) and that of Augustus (*Aug.* 86) show,[1] his stylistic ideal is *notus civilisque et proprius sermo*, 'familiar, unassuming speech using proper words', without obscurity (*obscuritas*) and bold metaphors (*audacia in translationibus: gramm.* 10. 7). He can thus be numbered with Quintilian and Pliny among the representatives of classicism under the Flavians and Trajan.[2]

In that respect, therefore, he does not share the literary preferences of Hadrian, who is said to have ranged Cicero, Virgil, and Sallust lower than Cato, Ennius, and Coelius (Script. hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 16. 6). During the Flavian period Valerius Probus was a forerunner in this direction: early Latin authors, who had been supplanted by classical authors in Roman schools, were still being read in the provinces (e.g. Syria), a fact which did not escape Suetonius' quick eye (Suet. *gramm.* 24. 2); in keeping with the shift in economic power, however, provincial tastes began to reverberate on those of the capital.

In matters of stylistic detail Suetonius' judgment is more reliable than in matters of literary value: for him Augustus' diction was *elegans, temperatum*, 'elegant and moderate', and free of the extravagances of fashion; in his opinion Emperor Claudius wrote *magis inepte quam ineleganter*, 'lacking in tact rather than in style' (*Claud.* 41. 3);[3] in fact, there could hardly be a more accurate description of that emperor's style.[4] Suetonius offers good reasons for denying the authenticity of certain works ascribed to Horace (*elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur*, 'the elegies are commonplace and the letter is besides obscure, which was by no means one of his faults': *Vita Hor.* 5). On the other hand, his approach to the Virgiliana—if he is indeed the author of the *Vita*—was less critical.[5] The choice of subjects in the *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* is at times arbitrary and the treatment is strikingly unbalanced: the great scholar Varro is missing, and his important teacher, Aelius Stilo, is all too scantily treated.

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[1] F. DELLA CORTE, 2nd ed. 1967, 35–36.

[2] Classicism and strong central administration should not be too closely connected; 'Neronian Baroque' and the 'Antonine Archaism' also emerged under monarchs.

[3] I.e., he takes the trouble to write correct Latin, albeit a Latin not free of scholarly ἀκαιρία.

[4] VON ALBRECHT, Prose 136–159.

[5] For Suetonius' authorship H. NAUMANN 1985.

Yet, Suetonius' view of literary patronage is critical and sober (*Vita Hor.* 2–3). Was this a result of his negative experiences with Hadrian? Suetonius is well aware of the emperor's key-position even in the domain of literature. He tells us that Augustus fostered literature (cf. *Aug.* 89. 3 *ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit*, 'he gave every encouragement to the men of talent of his own age'), and Tiberius took interest in it (*Tib.* 70). Domitian, however, is portrayed as non-poetic—probably to make striking the contrast to the emperor's own self-image. On the other hand, Suetonius does not approve of Nero's philhellenism. In his disdain for *Graeculi*, he shows himself to be a typical Roman (e.g. *Tib.* 11. 1; 56) not bowing to Hadrian's philhellenim.

Ideas II

Suetonius regards mystery religions and schools of philosophy with the coolness of a Roman public official. He accepts that philosophers should be expelled from Rome, and he cannot bring himself to tolerate Christians. Nor does he have a high opinion of Epicureanism (*gramm.* 8. 1): he deems Pompilius Andronicus, indeed, a genuine Epicurean, too lazy to give instruction. If characteristics of an 'intellectual' are to be sought in Suetonius, first of all, the academic 'probabilism' of Carneades[1] comes to mind, an attitude the author found in his beloved Cicero and Pliny. As a biographer he sought, as it were, the *probabile e vita*. The antithesis of *virtutes* and *vitia* vaguely recalls the method of *in utramque partem disserere*, typical of Academic skepticism. If Suetonius had any principle at all, it was doubt; thus, under the guise of a subtle behaviorism, he developed a contemporary notion of the principate. Nevertheless we must remain cautious in approaching these questions. Suetonius is in the end too Roman to be identified with any philosophical school.

The feeling that everything is predestined was congenial with imperial mentality;[2] portents were taken seriously; astrology, interpretation of dreams, and physiognomy were considered sciences; so a Tiberius would despise *religio* but believe in astrology (19; 69; 72. 1–2). Whereas in the historians prodigies enhance the dramatic quali-

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[1] E. Cizek, 1977; esp. 178; 192; 196–197.

[2] A. Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 192–193 with bibl.

ties of a report, in Suetonius they rather show that a disaster could be foreseen. The rise to imperial honor and to its forfeiture are credited to them.[1] Thus, portents interest Suetonius primarily not as aspects of Roman state religion but as foreshadowings of individual fate. However, the destiny of the emperor determined that of the state as a whole.

Suetonius' political attitude complements the usual senatorial outlook with that of an *eques*. For him 'good' rulers are those who hold senators and knights in esteem.[2] Showing Otho in a more favorable light than Tacitus does, Suetonius portrays him as a moderate Neronian, who wanted to reconcile all social classes and supported the *equites*. Tacitus sided with the senate, Suetonius with the knights.

Vespasian fostered both orders (9. 2), and Titus also shared the same sentiment. Our author is relatively well-disposed to Claudius, another patron of the knights; yet the picture he presents is ambivalent owing to the emperor's hostility towards the senate. The biographer emphasizes the knights' remarkable proficiency (*Tit.* 8. 4); he also treats women, freedmen and the plebs with less contempt than Tacitus (which, it is true, is not saying a great deal).

In Suetonius' lifetime the empire reached its greatest expansion; order and administration were at their heights. The fact that Caesar, not Augustus opens the series of biographies reflects the situation under Trajan, for that emperor was the first in a long time to venture wars of conquest and could thus be compared with Alexander and Caesar. As for criticism of contemporary issues,[3] it appears in Suetonius, if at all, indirectly and in the 'later' *vitae*: here the death of a predecessor is concealed in order to facilitate the change of sovereigns (*Claud.* 45; much more cautious *Aug.* 98. 5; *Tib.* 22); here an emperor is unpopular who, upon accession to the throne, high-handedly executed distinguished citizens (*Tit.* 6). Moreover there is criticism of the pullback of imperial borders (*Nero* 18), of the unbridled power of freedmen—under Claudius, of course—and of the concentration of administrative power in the hands of bureaucrats. All this amounts to an almost complete account of Hadrian's weak points. Is this accidental?

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[1] A. WALLACE-HADRILL 1983, 191–192.

[2] Positive: *Iul.* 41. 2; *Aug.* 40. 1; *Vesp.* 9. 2; negative: *Tib.* 51. 2; *Cal.* 26. 4; 30. 2; cf., however, *Dom.* 7. 2; 8. 3.

[3] E. CIZEK 1977, 182 with bibl.; a different view in K. R. BRADLEY 1976.

In general Suetonius avoids black and white portrayals, and his judgment of the *principes* is rather rich in shades. At first glance his emperors fall into four major categories: his opinions of Augustus, Vespasian, and Titus are almost entirely positive, of Caesar and Otho mainly positive, of Tiberius, Galba, and Domitian negative and of Caligula, Nero and Vitellius entirely negative; his picture of Claudius varies but tends to be unfavorable. Closer examination, however, reveals much refinement: already in Caesar a multifaceted personality can be observed. On the one hand, Caesar had become socially acceptable at court under Trajan—as the founder of Roman monarchy and as a Roman conqueror, and Suetonius acknowledged Caesar's *moderatio* and *clementia* (*Iul.* 75); on the other hand the murder of the all too ambitious dictator was justified by his *impotentia* and *arrogantia* (ibid.). Among his *honores nimii* Suetonius mentions *continuus consulatus* and *perpetua dictatura*, distinctions which Augustus considered unnecessary. *Ambitio*, too, in addition to his 'divine' nature, led to Caesar's autocracy. Suetonius measures him against the idea of *principatus.*

Granted, it is difficult to speak of a 'concept of principate'[1] in Suetonius. The *Lives of the Caesars*—if generalizations are admissible at all—seems to plead for a moderate monarchy. Power and principate are ineluctably bound together[2] but both are based on a *concordia ordinum* and on a pattern of Roman behavior implying *abstinentia* and *moderatio* and, above all, respect for the senate and its rights.

Borrowing from 'monarchic' topics (λόγος βασιλικός), Suetonius worked out the rulers' virtues and vices according to the mentality of his age (*clementia—crudelitas, liberalitas—avaritia, civilitas—superbia*). In a similar fashion Pliny (*paneg.* 3. 4) set contrasting qualities of a ruler over against each other. Did Suetonius wish to convey to Hadrian a particular image of the principate?[3] Portrayal based on 'virtues' and 'vices' actually anticipates the genre of 'prince's manual'.[4] Obviously we are not dealing with an articulated ideology but with criteria on which the author and his public tacitly agree.

For Suetonius the concept of *princeps* is embodied, not in the *libera res publica* but in Augustus essentially,[5] although the word *principatus*

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[1] U. Lambrecht 1984, esp. 78–83; 147–155.

[2] *Iul.* 29. 1 *difficilius se principem civitatis a primo ordine in secundum quam ex secundo in novissimum detrudi.*

[3] E.g., E. Cizek 1977.

[4] P. Hadot, 'Fürstenspiegel', RLAC 8, 1972, 555–632, esp. 568–610.

[5] U. Lambrecht 1984, 158.

does not occur in the *Vita of Augustus*. Certainly Augustus was *optimi status auctor*, 'creator of the best possible government' (*Aug.* 28. 2), a *saluber magis quam ambitiosus princeps*, 'a *princeps* who desired the public welfare rather than popularity' (*Aug.* 42. 1), who (*Aug.* 53. 1)—just as Tiberius later (*Tib.* 27)—would not allow himself to be addressed as *dominus*.[1] He exercised *clementia* and *civilitas* (*Aug.* 51) and combined *prudentia* with *pietas* (*Aug.* 31);[2] above all he respected the senate and traditional institutions. It is characteristic of Suetonius that any analysis of his views sounds more 'ideological' than his text; the author often lets the context communicate his values.

The 'outward appearance' of a person (often in portraiture at the end of a *vita*) sums up his character. Suetonius is a physiognomist[3] and probably familiar with the works in this field of his contemporary Polemon of Laodicea. In his literary portraits Suetonius sometimes appears to prefer his own general idea of the emperor in question to the pictorial evidence known to us. The description of Augustus, for example, dwells on features that the reader is supposed to associate with 'kingly' animals such as lions or eagles (*Aug.* 79); Caligula's handsome features are distorted: for Suetonius he resembles a goat (*Cal.* 50. 1); Vespasian, in turn, remains what he was: a fox (*Vesp.* 16. 3).

Suetonius does not share Tacitus' pessimism. Whereas the latter demonstrates how men are corrupted by power, Suetonius also shows positive examples: Augustus, Otho, Titus. It is the author's primary intention not to simplify the multiformity of life and of the emperors' personalities.

Although Suetonius does not intend primarily to design an historical panorama, he nevertheless correctly organizes his overall topic into historical epochs; he begins with Caesar, not with Augustus, for under the former the Republic came to an end; the author sees the importance of the year 69 for Roman history and recognizes the role of the Flavians in the consolidation of the empire (*Vesp.* 1. 1). He clearly differentiates between pretext and cause (*Iul.* 30. 2 and 31. 1). He is right to consider the crossing of the Rubicon the ἀρχή (*initium*) in Polybius' sense of the word (*Iul.* 31–33).

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[1] As opposed to Domitian (*Dom.* 13. 1–2).

[2] U. Lambrecht 1984, 36–43.

[3] E. C. Evans, Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography, HSPh 46, 1935, 43–84, esp. 61–70 and 77–79; J. Couissin 1953.

Strangely enough, on the other hand, in the *vitae* of slain emperors, the circumstances of the murder are described more objectively than in the immediately following *vita* of a successor who is suspected of the murder (Tiberius/Caligula; Claudius/Nero). Inconsistencies can also be found in the *De viris illustribus*.[1] Doubtless, Suetonius' works lack a certain depth of thought.

Despite all of his shortcomings, Suetonius stands out for his common sense. In contrast to some modern historians, he understands very well that human beings are able to rise above ideologies and alter institutions.[2]

A fundamental characteristic of Suetonius' creativity is his Roman realism.[3] The author wants the facts to speak for themselves and he dispenses with rhetorical and philosophical finery. To be sure, the intensity of his research weakens in the later *vitae*. Some of his assessments are incorrect: he wrongly claims that Tiberius neglected to defend imperial borders.[4] Rampant also in this biographer are contradictions,[5] which, however, do not necessarily reflect oversight; after all, his intention is to impart a complex picture of life.

Suetonius is a *grammaticus* and, as a public official, he is also a careful recorder. He selects material not for its historical but for its biographical significance. His uncritical predilection for anecdotes follows the taste of the times, which tended toward sensationalism, yet he avoids rhetorical display. Since Suetonius' gossip is founded on contemporary sources, many are ready to grant him greater credibility than the *Historia Augusta*, for example, which fills gaps in knowledge with forgeries. Most importantly, the biographer provides us with insights into affairs at the imperial court.

In Suetonius the life of a ruler becomes a barometer of society. The *princeps* does not live in isolation but is surrounded by distinguished Romans, who dine with him (often together with their families). Many of the later emperors had frequented the court in their youth: Galba and Titus.

Suetonius' *Vitae* reflect the Hellenization of Roman society. Augustus surrounded himself with Greek scholars, Tiberius with astrologers

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1 B. Baldwin 1983, 391.
2 B. Baldwin 1983, 339.
3 W. Steidle, 2nd ed. 1963.
4 *Tib.* 41; D. Flach 1972, 280–281.
5 E. Cizek 1977, 39; D. Flach 1972 passim.

and grammarians; even his 'register of sins' mirrored his interest in Hellenistic culture. In comparison with the times of Nepos (cf. Nep. *praef.* 1), music gained ground: Nero was an extreme case but not an exception; Caligula and Britannicus had also undergone training in music.

In the Flavian period philhellenism yielded to a Roman reaction. If the old aristocracy were bearers of Hellenization and moral decline, the new senators from the municipalities and provinces brought with them a more austere outlook to Rome. Nevertheless, Vespasian early on and even more so Domitian promoted rhetoric, poetry, fine art, drama, music, and libraries (*Vesp.* 18–19. 1; *Dom.* 4. 4; 20). Thus Suetonius concerns himself not only with the political and private side of the Caesars but also with the cultural side.

Suetonius assesses facts indirectly through the arrangement of his subject matter; a synchronic view prevails over a diachronic one. Characteristics of an individual are ordered in gradation and accordingly affect the reader: as a skillful psychologist the biographer suggests judgments without pronouncing them; hence, the reader is given an illusion of freedom. The author's 'world of ideas' is therefore hidden in and closely woven into the problematic form of his work.

Transmission

Since the extant manuscripts of the *Vitae Caesarum* share the same errors and omissions (above all, the lacuna at the beginning), they go back to a single archetype: perhaps to that codex which Lupus of Ferrières (d. 862) wanted to have sent to him from Fulda (A.D. 844; *epist.* 91. 4, ed. P. K. Marshall, Leipzig 1984); still he only received a copy, which subsequenly was also lost. The oldest extant manuscript is the Memmianus (M; written around 840 in Tours) = Paris. Lat. 6115 (from the collection of Henri de Mesmes);[1] the connection of this manuscript to the letter of Lupus is disputed. Fulda, where Einhart and, for a time, Lupus attended the famous cloister school, was important for the Carolingian reception of Suetonius.

Others include above all the Gudianus 268 Guelferbytanus (G; 11th century—overestimated by Bekker) and the Vaticanus 1904 (V; 11th–12th century).

The order of chapters in the editions (in its final form) is traced to Erasmus (Basel 1518); the Memmianus has a different division.

[1] Cf. W. Berschin, Medioevo greco-latino, Napoli 1989, 56 and 165.

Suetonius' *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* was discovered by Henoch d'Ascoli around 1450. It was transmitted along with the minor works of Tacitus (s. our chapter on Tacitus). Our text is based on copies from the Renaissance. On the tradition of the *vitae* of poets, see the editions of the respective poets.

Influence

Suetonius is among those Roman authors who have most influenced subsequent ages. Scholars of late antiquity (such as Censorinus, Isidore, Johannes Lydus, Servius, and Macrobius) seem to prefer his encyclopedic works to those of Varro.[1] The *Biographies of the Caesars* set a trend; a truly historical work would not be written again until that of Ammianus Marcellinus. Continuing in the wake of Suetonius were, among others, Marius Maximus, the so-called Aurelius Victor (second half of the 4th century), Eutropius in the *Breviarum*, and the *Historia Augusta*, in which he was called *emendatissimus et candidissimus scriptor.*[2] Possidius divided his *Vita of St. Augustine* (around 432) *per species* after the Suetonian example.[3]

From Fulda Suetonius' considerable influence reached Einhart (d. 840; *Vita Karoli Magni*) and Lupus of Ferrières (d. 862). Asser was inspired by Einhart in the adoption of the Suetonian form for his *Vita Alfredi.* William of Malmesbury (d. 1142) followed our author in the *Gesta Regum IV.*[4]

Suetonius' *Vitae* of authors were incorporated in the textual traditions of pagan grammarians and poets. As a work, they were as authoritative for Jerome as later for Gennadius of Massilia (5th century), Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and Ildefons of Toledo (7th century). Once and for all Suetonius set his stamp on the genre of biography.

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[1] Conte, LG 549.

[2] Script. hist. Aug. *Quadr. Tyr.* (*Firm.*) 1. 1.

[3] G. Luck, Die Form der suetonischen Biographie und die frühen Heiligenviten, in: Mullus. FS T. Klauser, Münster 1964, 230–241, esp. 240; Berschin, Biogr. 1. 226–235; J. G. Haahr, William of Malmesbury's Roman Models: Suetonius and Lucan, in: A. S. Bernardo, S. Levin, The Classics in the Middle Ages, Binghampton, N.Y. 1990, 165–173; on Suetonius in the Middle Ages, s. ibid.: index, s.v. Suetonius.

[4] G. B. Townend 1967, 107 with bibl.; cf. in general: L. Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen 2, München 1911, 133–134; 3, München 1920, 12; 231–233; 271–273; s. also the edition of the *Reliquiae* by Reifferscheid, who is still sometimes too optimistic.

His writings—including the encyclopedic ones—informed the most diverse authors, especially those of Christian antiquity and the Middle Ages. A Byzantine epitome of his works on expressions of abuse and on games was discovered on Athos in the 1860s.[1] Dante (d. 1321) developed his gripping vision of Caesar's 'vulture's glare' (*occhi grifagni: Inf.* 4. 123) from a Suetonian image (*Iul.* 45 *nigris vegetisque oculis*).

Our author has been read widely since the Renaissance; *aetas Suetoniana* and *Plutarchiana* alternated. For Petrarch (d. 1374), who possessed three *codices* of Suetonius, he was *auctor certissimus, curiosissimus rerum scriptor* but served rather as a source than as a model; his Lives of famous Romans[2] were intended to be historical, not biographical in the Suetonian sense. Boccaccio, too, was interested in the subject matter rather than in the style of Suetonius. Shortly before his death (1576), physician and natural scientist Geronimo Cardano wrote an autobiography in Latin. Like Suetonius he proceeded *per species* but he emphasized expressly his improvements upon his predecessor. Among the famous editors and commentators of Suetonius in modern times are the following: P. Beroaldus (Bononiae 1493; 1506); I. Casaubonus (Genavae 1595; Paris 1610), A. Reifferscheid (Lipsiae 1860).

The name Suetonius signifies the height of Roman biography at the threshold between the age of literature and that of scholarship. He was the first polyhistor among the Greek and Roman scholars of his time.

Compiling empirical observations is something Roman. 'In any case it is his aim to convey the total amount of experience in one field, not an overview or a general idea'.[3] The *Vitae* offer a wealth of reliable information on Roman society and its conventions, thus compensating, to a degree, for the biographer's well-known weaknesses: he is inaccurate, disregards historical continuity, separates facts that belong together and puts others into the wrong context.

If Suetonius did come from Hippo, he was one of the first Africans among Latin authors. Undoubtedly he was the first to represent the epoch of the Twelve Caesars as a unified and continuous whole[4]

[1] New edition by J. TAILLARDAT, Paris 1967.

[2] Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di F. Petrarca, ed. by G. MARTELLOTTI, vol. 2, Firenze 1964.

[3] H. KORNHARDT, Exemplum, diss. Göttingen 1936, 87.

[4] H. GUGEL 1977, 144–146.

in the form of successive imperial *vitae*. The significance of the emperors' personalities had also brought annalistic historiography closer to biography, a trend that was observable already in Tacitus; still it was not Suetonius' intention to blur the border between history and biography. By adhering to the 'principle of characterization through facts'[1] he supported a specifically Roman sense of the unique significance of each single event.[2] Suetonius allowed his readers more freedom of judgment than Tacitus, who gave them more guidance, forcing them to submit to the power of his talent.[3]

Editions: I. A. CAMPANUS, Romae, August 1470. * Io. ANDREAS, Bishop of Aleria, Romae, December 1470. * F. A. WOLF (together with the *Animadversiones* by Io. A. ERNESTI and the commentary by I. CASAUBONUS), 4 vols., Lipsiae 1802. * D.C.W.(= Gu.) BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS (TC, good ind.), 3 vols., Lipsiae 1816–1818. ** *Quae supersunt omnia*: C. L. ROTH, Lipsiae 1858. * *Vitae Caesarum, De viris ill.*: A. STAHR, W. KRENKEL (TrN), Berlin 2nd ed. 1985. * *Vit. Caes.*: M. IHM, Lipsiae 1907 (ed. maior). * M. IHM, Lipsiae 1908 (ed. minor), repr. 1992. * H. AILLOUD (TTrN), 3 vols., Paris 1931–1932 (and reprints). * J. C. ROLFE (TTrN), London (1914) 1951. * R. GRAVES (Tr), M. GRANT (introd.), Harmondsworth 1980. * A. LAMBERT (TrN), München 1955, 4th ed. 1983. * M. HEINEMANN (Tr), R. TILL (introd.), Stuttgart 1957, rev. by R. HÄUSSLER 7th ed. 1986. * O. WITTSTOCK (TTr), Berlin 1993. * *Iul.*: H. E. BUTLER, M. CARY, with add. by G. B. TOWNEND (TC), Bristol 2nd ed. 1982. * *Aug.*: E. S. SHUCKBURGH (TC), Cambridge 1896. * J. M. CARTER (C), Bristol 1982. * *Tib.*: J. R. RIETRA (TC), Amsterdam 1928; M. J. DU FOUR (TC), Philadelphia 1941 (both reprinted together in 1979). * K. W. VOGT (C), diss. Würzburg 1975. * *Cal.*: D. W. HURLEY (C), Atlanta 1993. * D. WARDLE (C), Bruxelles 1994. * *Claud.*: J. MOTTERSHEAD (TC), Bristol 1986. * *Claud., Nero*: W. KIERDORF (TC), Paderborn 1992. * *Nero*: B. H. WARMINGTON (TN), Bristol 1977. * K. R. BRADLEY (C), Bruxelles 1978. * *Galba, Otho, Vit., Vesp., Tit., Dom.*: G. W. MOONEY (TTrC), Dublin 1930, New York 1979. * *Galba, Otho, Vit.*: D. SHOTTER (TTrC), Warminster 1993. * *Vesp.*: A. W. BRAITHWAITE (TC), Oxford 1927. * *Tit.*: H. MARTINET (C), Königstein 1981. * *Dom.*: F. GALLI (TrC), Roma 1991. * *gramm., rhet.*: F. DELLA CORTE (TTrC), Genova 1947, Torino 3rd ed. 1968. * G. BRUGNOLI, Lipsiae 1960, 3rd ed. 1972. * M.-C. VACHER (TTr), Paris 1993. * R. A. KASTER (TTrC), Oxford 1995. * *Reliquiae*

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[1] W. STEIDLE, 2nd ed. 1963, 102.
[2] W. STEIDLE, 2nd ed. 1963, 47 and 69 with bibl.
[3] 'There is something solidly authentic about Suetonius' emperors', G. B. TOWNEND 1967, 93.

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FLORUS[1]

Life and Dates

It is practically impossible to reconstruct Florus' *vita* because we do not know whether the poet, the rhetor, and the historian called Florus are identical. Should they be one and the same, we have a colorful picture—perhaps too colorful. Nevertheless, among scholars there are numerous 'unitarians'.[2]

The graceful treatise *Vergilius orator an poeta*, of which there remains only a preface, introduces us to a rhetor with a true-to-life character: a native African, young Florus was humiliated by Domitian during a contest for poets. After that he traveled much; in Spain he worked as a teacher. If we consider the rhetor's poetic ambitions, it is not altogether inconceivable that he was that poet 'Florus', who later engaged in lively intellectual exchanges with Hadrian; several short poems have been handed down to us in the *Historia Augusta* and also in the *Anthologia Latina*; hardly anything remains of the letters to Hadrian. The historian's rhetorical and poetic style could point to the same author. The *Pervigilium Veneris*, however, probably came from another writer.[3]

The *Rhetorical Treatise* was written under Trajan, the short *poems* (in hexameters, ionic dimeters and *versus quadrati*) under Hadrian. Florus' *Epitome of Roman History* was probably composed towards the end of Hadrian's time.[4] Others place it in the reign of Trajan,[5] primarily because it reveals a 'conquering' spirit, which, however, dominates

[1] The poet is called Annius, the rhetor P. Annius, and the historian L. Annaeus (or Julius) Florus.

[2] Recently J. M. ALONSO-NÚÑEZ 1983, 1 with bibl.

[3] R. SCHILLING, ed., *Pervigilium Veneris*, Paris 1944, intr. pp. xxii–xxxiii; I. CAZZANIGA, Storia della letteratura latina, Milano 1962, 727–729.

[4] P. JAL, edition, p. clv.

[5] P. ZANCAN 1942, esp. 66–67.

only the first part of the work; there is also a dating—though not a compelling one—to the time of Antoninus Pius.[1]

Survey of the Work

The 1st book of Florus' historical work deals with the time before the First Punic War; book 2 extends to the destruction of Numantia, book 3 to the eve of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and book 4 to Augustus.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Florus draws his material—above all for early Roman history—from Livy (or from an abridged version of him). His errors, which are glaring at times, are based partly on his sources,[2] e.g. he takes Augustus to be *dictator perpetuus* (as did Eutropius and the author of the *De viris illustribus*, who probably used the same source). It is curious that he does not place the 'delaying action' of the Cunctator until after Cannae (so does Ampelius, but not Eutropius, Orosius and the *Periochae*). Nevertheless, Livian influence should not be denied completely.[3] On the contrary Florus in some instances seems to intend a *retractatio* of Livy.[4] He groups his subject matter differently and is more approving of Augustus than Livy is.

Parallels in content to the *De viris illustribus* and Ampelius suggest the use of a common source (Hyginus, *Exempla; De vita rebusque illustrium virorum*). However, Florus also used Caesar (1. 45 = 3. 10) and Sallust (1. 36 = 3. 1; 2. 12 = 4. 1), the latter heavily influencing his conception of history in any case; in addition, he was familiar with the works of Tacitus.[5]

Parallels with Lucan had been traced back earlier to the historical work of the elder Seneca.[6] It is open to debate whether his periodic

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[1] L. HAVAS, Zur Geschichtskonzeption des Florus, Klio 66, 1984, 590–598 (Florus' basic concepts agree neither with Trajan's nor with Hadrian's politics).

[2] L. BESSONE 1978, esp. 422–426.

[3] As did P. ZANCAN 1942, 61–62.

[4] P. JAL 1965, 367.

[5] On Sallust: A. NORDH 1952, esp. 127–128; on Tacitus: P. JAL, edition, p. xxx, n. 3.

[6] O. ROSSBACH, De Senecae philosophi librorum recensione et emendatione, Breslauer Philol. Abhandlungen 2, 3, 1888, 162–173, esp. 169–170; on Virgil and Lucan: P. JAL, edition, p. xxix, n. 8; p. xxx, n. 1.

organization of history by ages goes back to Seneca the Elder[1] or the Younger[2] (cf. Lact. *inst.* 7. 15. 14–16). Although Lactantius does cite only Seneca the Younger, the philosopher himself did not write a historical work. Seneca the Rhetor, therefore, cannot be ruled out as a source.[3] It is even possible, however, that the Church Father merely mistook Annaeus Seneca for Annaeus Florus. Varro could have made use of the 'analogy of ages' in his *De vita populi Romani* before Florus.

As far as genre is concerned, we are not dealing with a simple school text—though the work later served as such. The author's failure to mention a series of important battles and major commanders and his nebulous chronology, for example, are evidence to the contrary. Florus wrote for a public fond of rhetorical declamation. This panegyrist of the Roman people was less concerned with facts than with emotional comment. On a possible bias of the work, s. Ideas.

The book *Vergilius orator an poeta*, the main body of which is lost, probably dealt with the relationship between poetry and oratory; it belongs to the same genre as Cicero's *De oratore*, the *Dialogus* of Tacitus and the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix (cf. also Gell. 18. 1. 2–3).

Literary Technique

Florus' work is a panegyric to the Roman people rather than a book of history in the strictest sense.

Our author does not want to give a chronicler's account but to shape individual episodes into artistic miniatures.[4] He does not strictly adhere to chronology and is not striving for completeness. For artistic effect he allows himself to alter historical facts.[5] His narrative is charged with emotion.[6] The Roman people are the 'hero' of his work. Generals are no more than instruments; hence, the author is less concerned with their names. In the 2nd book, the *populus Romanus* no longer plays a major role; in its place Augustus enters the stage in the spotlight.

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[1] L. Castiglioni, Lattanzio e le *Storie* di Seneca Padre, RFIC 56, 1928, 454–475, esp. 474–475.

[2] R. Häussler 1964, esp. 315–319; today Häussler is for Seneca the Elder.

[3] J. M. Alonso-Núñez 1982, 9–10.

[4] A. Klotz 1940, 115.

[5] A. Klotz 1940, 116.

[6] The reader is invited to compare Flor. 1. 38. 16 = 3. 3. 16 with Appian 6. 12; or even Flor. 2. 22 = 4. 12.

Typical are summaries and intermediate prooemia, which relate a given historical situation to the 'pattern of ages' and thus contribute to the unity of the opusculum.

Language and Style

Florus has a cultivated style; he does not give in to the tendency towards archaism. He strives for brevity throughout and so prefers, e.g., the ablative absolute. The rhythm of clausulae is close to rhetorical, not historical models: the cretic followed by a trochee appears even more often than in Cicero, whereas the ditrochee is less frequent.[1]

Florus knows how to captivate his readers through metaphors: Antonius *fax et turbo sequentis saeculi*, 'fire and storm of the succeeding age' (2. 14. 2 = 4. 3. 2); *emptio frumenti ipsos rei publicae nervos exhauriebat, aerarium*, 'the purchase of corn was a drain on the treasury, the very life-blood of the State' (2. 1. 7 = 3. 13. 7). His slightly oversophisticated elegance transforms things familiar into things unusual, sometimes revealing poetic qualities.[2] Stylistically, Florus distances himself from Livy and comes closer to the pointed style of Seneca and the brevity of Tacitus, e.g. *igitur breve id gaudium*, 'therefore, this joy was short-lived' (2. 30. 30 = 4. 12. 30); or: *cum ille—o securitas!—ad tribunal citaret*, 'when he (such was his confidence!) was actually summoning them to appear before his tribunal' (2. 30. 34 = 4. 12. 34). He applies antitheses effectively: *difficilius est provincias obtinere quam facere; viribus parantur, iure retinentur*, 'it is more difficult to retain than to create provinces; they are won by force, they are secured by justice' (2. 30. 29 = 4. 12. 29); or: *Germani victi magis quam domiti erant*, 'the Germans had been defeated rather than subdued' (2. 30. 30 = 4. 12. 30). Florus' work is a Roman history '*mise en pointes*'.[3]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

It was Florus' intention to describe the 'life story' of Rome and to contribute to the glory of his people; he envisioned a fusion of the

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[1] P. JAL, edition pp. lvii–lxix.
[2] Cf. Influence: Leopardi.
[3] R. PICHON, Histoire de la littérature latine, Paris 1898, 701.

tasks of the orator, the biographer, and the historian.[1] His perception of his role as an author also explains his specific literary methods.

Ideas II

Florus' work outlines Roman development in its entirety and so reveals at least the rudiments of a philosophical approach to history. Like Appian, Plutarch and Aristides, Florus extolls the universal role of the Roman Empire. Rome is the culmination of an historical process. One of the author's main goals is to portray *magnitudo imperii* (1 *praef.* 1).

Florus' work is structured after the scheme of ages.[2] Contradictions inherent in the work are explained by the fact that in the prooemium on political grounds he states the beginning of a 'second youth' under Trajan. The 'analogy of ages' takes on a more profound meaning through the antithesis *fortuna-virtus* (1 *praef.* 2) and the *libertas* theme. *Virtus* also includes other values: *pietas, fides, modestia, iustitia,* and *clementia.* Greek authors, in addition, refer to the doctrine of the succession of world empires,[3] which is not to be found in Florus.

Imperialism is glorified in the 1st book, peace in the 2nd. Nevertheless, no analytical conclusions can be drawn from these facts,[4] for we are dealing with a polarity that had always been inherent in Roman thought. *Virtus* fostered Rome's growth, and lack of *virtus*, its fall. During Rome's decline,[5] *fortuna* took center stage, leading to degeneration and *senectus. Libertas* had been closely linked to *res publica* (and to essentials like annuity, collegiality, *leges*, and *auctoritas*). Along with

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[1] His perception of himself as a writer cannot be separated from his perception of himself as an historian.

[2] Against attempts to maintain the traditional numbers in the prooemium, R. Häussler 1964 considers the emendation necessary. Passages on the comparison of ages: Flor. *prooem.* 4–6; Lact. *inst.* 7. 15. 15–16; Hist. Aug. *Car.* 2; Amm. 14. 6. 3; H. Fuchs, Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt, Berlin 1938, 88; cf. also J. Scholtemeijer 1974, esp. 82 and 92–93.

[3] Herodotus 1. 95; 1. 130; Plut. *mor.* 317 F–318 A; App. *praef.* 8–12; Ael. Aristid., *Praise of Rome* 15–27.

[4] A different view: O. Hirschfeld, Anlage und Abfassungszeit der *Epitome* des Florus, SPAW 1899, 542–554 (= Kleine Schriften, Berlin 1913, 867–880).

[5] On *fortuna* and *virtus* in Cicero, Sallust, and Seneca: A. Nordh (1952); cf. also Liv. 9. 17–19; different from Plutarch (*De fortuna Romanorum* 317 B–C), who attributes the success of the Romans to Tyche rather than to Arete, Florus emphasizes the role of *virtus* above all in the period of expansion.

virtus, libertas went missing. The emperors before Trajan had been guilty of *inertia*, a feature typical of old age (Cic. *off.* 1. 123).

Livy furnished the basic material, and Sallust some leading ideas. In contrast to Sallust, however, Florus' stance is aristocratic. For Livy the *urbs* is of central importance, for Florus it is *imperium* and the *populus Romanus*.[1] Thus the *Cunctator* becomes both 'the shield of empire' (not of Rome, as Posidonius and Plutarch wrote) and an *exemplum* for (Hadrian's) politics of defence. Calamity emerges from prosperity: *Causa tantae calamitatis eadem quae omnium, nimia felicitas*, 'the cause of this great calamity was the same which caused all our calamities: namely, excessive good fortune' (2. 13. 8 = 4. 2. 8), a Sallustian theme.

Hannibal misses his chance to take advantage of the Roman defeat at Cannae (1. 22. 20 = 2. 6. 20). Among the reasons cited are Rome's destiny for world domination (*fatum urbis imperaturae*) or Hannibal's lack of initiative (*aut ipsius mens mala*) in conjunction with divine wrath against Carthage (*et aversi a Carthagine di*). In the footsteps of Livy, Florus reckons with Rome's claim to hegemony, which is based on a divine calling.

There are only hints at 'philosophical' elements in the work. Alexander's ἁρμονία becomes *pax Romana*. Some scholars[2] have found 'Stoic' impartiality in Florus. In fact, he sympathizes with the defeated Carthaginians, condemns the gruesome victory in Numantia and is ready to concede Roman errors in other cases as well. Nevertheless he repeatedly expresses his contempt for the barbarians.[3]

Being a rationalist, he does not attach much importance to prodigies.[4] Florus reflects the mentality of senators and *equites*; he attests to the average educated Roman's view of history.[5] The eighth poem, if it comes from the same author, is interesting from the standpoint of cultural history; it certainly shows the advanced stages of Hellenization: the usual lip service to Roman values is unmasked as hypocrisy. The author dares to declare himself for Greek culture. This position, too, fits the time of Hadrian.

The historical work is no mere summary of Livy. It is a *tabella* (*praef.* 3) of the history of the Roman people. On the one hand,

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[1] 2. 34. 61 = 4. 12. 61; world peace 2. 34. 64 = 4. 12. 64.

[2] V. Alba 1953, 62; 71.

[3] 2. 26. 13 = 4. 12. 13; 2. 27. 17 = 4. 12. 17; 2. 29. 20 = 4. 12. 20; 2. 30. 30–31 = 4. 12. 30–31.

[4] V. Alba 1953, 56–57.

[5] W. Den Boer 1965, 367.

Florus praises the conquests from Romulus to Augustus, on the other, he points out the risks of a continuing expansion.[1] Thus the work is also a document of Hadrian's epoch.

Transmission[2]

The most important manuscript is the Codex B = Bambergensis E III 22 (9th or 10th century), which represents an independent strand of transmission (together with Jordanes' *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, which was drawing on Florus).[3] The remaining numerous manuscripts together form a second class; one of its main representatives is the Lorsch Nazarianus N = Palatinus Latinus Heidelbergensis 894 (9th century).

The quality of B (the reliable product of an uneducated scribe) was perhaps somewhat overestimated after its discovery at the beginning of the 19th century (be that as it may, it is the only one that contains 2. 18. 2–6 = 4. 8. 2–6); the other class offers a smoother text, the beauty of which at times happens to be treacherous. Errors common to both classes of manuscripts prove their derivation from a single copy (of late antiquity).[4]

Influence

Numerous authors have been influenced by Florus:[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, Festus (*Breviarium rerum gestarum populi R.*), Orosius, Jordanes, and Malalas. Probably his work was translated even into Greek and was known in Byzantium. The *exempla* from Roman history discussed by Christians, were influenced by Florus. Augustine struggled not only against Livy but also against the minor historians, among them Florus.[6]

Thoughout the Middle Ages and well into the 18th century,[7] Florus was used as a school author and admired for his *brevitas*.

Petrarch's (d. 1374) high opinion of Florus' style was shared by Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540): *Flori opusculum, quo nihil potest fingi in illo*

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[1] P. JAL, edition, pp. xli–xliii.

[2] M. D. REEVE, The Transmission of Florus, *Epitome de Tito Livio* and the *Periochae*, CQ n.s. 38, 1988, 477–491.

[3] Ed. by T. MOMMSEN, MGH: Auctores antiquissimi 5. 1, Berlin 1882, repr. 1961.

[4] P. K. MARSHALL in Reynolds, Texts 164–166.

[5] W. DEN BOER 1965, 369–370.

[6] Flor. 1. 1. 13 *apud* Aug. *civ.* 3. 13; Flor. 2. 9. 14–16 = 3. 21. 14–16 *apud* Aug. *civ.* 3. 27 *fin.*; Augustine was thinking of authors like Florus in *civ.* 3. 19.

[7] W. DEN BOER 1965, 367; J. STRAUB 1977, 137; P. JAL, edition p. xxxvii.

genere vel acutius vel lepidius, 'nothing more sagacious nor more charming can be imagined than Florus' little book'.[1] Justus Lipsius (d. 1606) had a similar estimation of him.[2] Joseph Scaliger (d. 1609) called Florus 'un très bel auteur'.[3] Between 1638 and 1674 six editions appeared in the Netherlands alone. F. N. Cœffeteau (d. 1623) produced a French translation. Florus was studied in Spain as well.[4] Cervantes (d. 1616) used our author as a source for his *Numancia*, while Racine (d. 1699) consulted him for his *Mithridate*. Patriotic Polish historians imitated Florus in Latin[5] and indulged in applying his aphorisms to the history of their country.

In his *Essai sur le goût* Montesquieu (d. 1755) appreciated especially the critique of Hannibal: *cum victoria posset uti, frui maluit*, 'when he might have exploited his victory, he preferred the enjoyments which it offered' (Flor. *epit.* 1. 22. 21 = 2. 6. 21). In his *Esprit des Lois* he commented pertinently on the sentence *hic erit Scipio qui in exitium Africae crescit* ('this youth was destined to be that Scipio who grew up to be the conqueror of Africa', Flor. *epit.* 1. 22. 11 = 2. 6. 11): 'Vous croyez voir un enfant qui croît et s'élève comme un géant'.[6]

Ego nolo Caesar esse/ambulare per Britannos, 'I've no mind to be a Caesar,/Strolling round among the Britons'. Goethe knew these lines of Florus as well as Hadrian's reply: *Ego nolo Florus esse,/ambulare per tabernas*, 'I've no mind to be a Florus,/Strolling round among the drink-shops'. One should read the opening of the 15th *Roman Elegy* and afterwards *Auerbach's Keller* (*Faust* 2095–2096.) again: 'For my part, I deem it a great advantage that I am not an emperor.'[7]

Leopardi (d. 1837) pondered Florus in the *Pensieri*. He saw in the author a poet, who had mastered rhetoric,[8] and he appreciated the poetic qualities of Florus' style.

Leopold von Ranke (d. 1886) preferred Florus' version of the battle in the Teutoburg Forest to other reports (today Cassius Dio is given

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[1] *De tradendis disciplinis*, cited in V. Alba 1953, 157.

[2] V. Alba 1953, 157.

[3] Scaligerana, ed. des Maizeaux, Amsterdam 1740, 2, 377.

[4] V. Alba 1953, 160–161.

[5] Thus in 1641 Joachim Pastorius published a *Florus Polonicus seu Polonicae Historiae epitome nova*; on this, I. Lewandowski, Florus w Polsce, Warszawa 1970.

[6] V. Alba 1953, 161; cf. also the recognition of Florus' style in the *Essai sur le gout*, Ed. de la Pléiade 2, p. 1257; Flor. *epit.* 1. 5. 8 = 1. 11. 8 *Idem tunc Faesulae quod Carrhae nuper, ... Tiberis quod Euphrates.*

[7] Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 16. 3–4; R. Jakobi, Eine verkannte Reminiszenz an die *Hadrian-Vita* in Goethes *Faust*, Arcadia 24, 1989, 67–68.

[8] V. Alba 1953, 164–165.

more credit). Well into the most recent times Florus' portrait of Marius has left a profound impression; the same is true of his view of Spartacus. The modern idea of the elephant as 'tank of antiquity' is inspired by Florus. In reality, however, elephants served the defence; the cavalry could hide behind the beasts' backs and prepare for attacks.[1]

In Florus' work history as 'Life of the Roman People' becomes the object of a rhetorical encomium. The analogy of ages can be regarded as a humble attempt at a 'philosophy of history'. The author's lasting influence demonstrates that, despite factual errors, his verve and conciseness, and the vividness of his images were not lost on his readers.

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[1] W. Den Boer 1965, 384.

* P. Jal, Nature et signification politique de l'œuvre de Florus, REL 43, 1965, 358–383. * A. Klotz, Der zweite Punische Krieg bei Florus, RhM 89, 1940, 114–127. * S. Lilliedahl, Florusstudien. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des rhetorischen Stils der Silbernen Latinität, Lund, Leipzig 1928. * E. Malcovati, Studi su Floro, Athenaeum n.s. 15, 1937, 69–94; 289–307; 16, 1938, 46–64. * A. Nordh, *Virtus* and *Fortuna* in Florus, Eranos 50, 1952, 111–128. * E. Paratore, Leopardi e la letteratura latina post-augustea, in: Leopardi e il mondo antico, Atti del 5 Convegno Internazionale di Studi Leopardiani (1980), Firenze 1982, 211–221. * J. Scholtemeijer, L. Annaeus Florus, 'n analise van strukturele temas; 'n nuwe perspektief, AClass 17, 1974, 81–100. * R. Sieger, Der Stil des Historikers Florus, WS 51, 1933, 95–108. * P. Steinmetz, Untersuchungen zur römischen Literatur des 2. Jh. n. Chr., Wiesbaden 1982, 121–164. * J. Straub, Imperium-Pax-Libertas, Gymnasium 84, 1977, 136–148. * J. Straub, Reichsbewußtsein und Nationalgefühl in den römischen Provinzen. Spanien und das Imperium Romanum in der Sicht des Florus, JRGZ 25, 1978, 173–195. * P. Zancan, Floro e Livio, Padova 1942.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Life and Dates

In his day Ammianus Marcellinus was not the only Greek to become a Latin author (cf. Claudius Claudianus). This does not necessarily attest to the intellectual inferiority of the West[1] during that period; we can also interpret this development as an indication that in the 4th century Latin won back the intellectual and literary predominance which it had lost in the 2nd century. Although more and more authors were emerging from the provinces—rhetoric, for example, was being cultivated in Gaul, and law in the East—Rome had not yet abdicated its position as the center of cultural life.

Ammianus' birthplace, Antioch in Syria, was an important hub for commerce (14. 8. 8) and trade. The first community of pagan converts to Christianity also originated here (*Acts* 11. 26). As an Antiochian, Ammianus did not particularly sympathize with Constantinople; he held Rome—though not the Romans of his time—in higher esteem.

Born not long before 333, Ammianus hailed from a well-to-do family (cf. 19. 8. 6); he regretted that distinguished citizens were

[1] Norden, Kunstprosa 2, 573.

compelled to be enrolled in the order of aldermen (25. 4. 21; cf. 21. 12. 23). He entered the imperial corps of bodyguards (*protectores domestici*) early and from 353 served as a subordinate to the commander of the cavalry in the East, Ursicinus, whom Caesar Gallus recalled from Mesopotamia to Antioch to preside over trials of high treason. After Gallus' execution, Ammianus accompanied his superior Ursicinus further to Milan (354). There the latter escaped prosecution and was assigned by Constantius II (337–361) to depose the usurper Silvanus in Cologne. Afterwards he remained in Gaul in order either to protect Julian or to keep an eye on him.

In the summer of 357 Constantius ordered him to Sirmium (Mitrovica) and transferred him to the East; in Amida, Armenia, Ammianus had the opportunity to observe the entire Persian deployment while he was on a bold reconnaissance patrol (18. 6. 20–22). Soon thereafter he was an eyewitness to the seige and fall of Amida (359). He fled via Melitene to Antioch. Ursicinus was discharged in the year 360 (20. 2. 5); Ammianus then took part in Julian's Persian campaign (books 23–25). Between 363 and 380 he lived and wrote in Antioch and from there traveled to Egypt, Greece, and Thrace. He finally settled in Rome, where he gave a series of public readings from his historical work and enjoyed applause from senatorial circles (Libanius, *epist.* 983). His connection to the Symmachi and the Nicomachi should not be overemphasized. He cannot be assigned to any of the influential groups of his time: he was neither a Christian nor a senator nor a Teuton. His education distinguished him from many soldiers just as his moral restraint distinguished him from many members of urban Roman society. It is a stroke of luck that we may see Julian's era through the eyes of this solitary observer.

For a dating of the *Res gestae* we have the following clues: remarks in the 14th book (14. 6. 19) suggest that the expulsion of foreigners from Rome (383) had taken place not long before the time of writing. The praise of the Serapeum in Alexandria (22. 16. 12) must have been written before the destruction of this temple (391) unless Ammianus passed over it on purpose or because he was unaware of the event. Libanius (ibid.) attests to the publication of the first part of the work around 391. The consulate of Neoterius (390: 26. 5. 14) and the death of Probus (with certainty after 389: 27. 11. 14) are also mentioned. Ammianus refers to Theodosius as an emperor 'very successful later on'—not the 'present' emperor (29. 6. 15). Therefore, the work was completed after this ruler's death (and certainly before 400).

Survey of Work

The *Res gestae* consisted of 31 books. Continuing where Tacitus' *Histories* left off, they treated Roman history from Nerva (96) to the death of Emperor Valens in the battle against the Goths at Adrianople (378). The first thirteen books, which covered the years 96 to 352, are lost. The extant books (14–31) treat only the years 353–378, a period shorter by a factor of ten. Numerous excursuses make the work more entertaining; hence it acquires its 'encyclopaedic' character. The beginnings of books 15 and 26 open important new pages of history.

The entire work is divided into three parts: 1–14 (from 96 to 354), 15–25 (from 354 to 364), 26–31 (from 364–378). A hiatus of three years precedes book 31; there is a smaller piece of text missing in book 24. 7.

Sources, Models, and Genres

We can no longer determine which historical sources Ammianus used for the lost account of earlier times.

The extant books are based on the author's own experience. He quotes documents (16. 12. 70); the correspondence of Constantine and Sapor II must also be based on original letters (even if Ammianus may have changed their style). Dates are often remarkably precise; they must be based on official journals. The historian had also questioned witnesses. A memoir of Julian on his campaigns against the Alemanni and other Germanic tribes was used by Ammianus and Libanius (*or.* 18). Sources also include panegyrists whom Ammianus mentions in 31. 10. 5.

Unlike the historical accounts the excursuses are based on second-hand information and therefore not reliable. For his geographical lore the historian appears to have used not a handbook but the official Roman (and Ptolemaic) lists of districts and cities. He probably took the historical notes he placed in his excursuses from the chorographically oriented historical work of 'Rufius' Festus; he was also familiar with the *Chorographia Pliniana* and with individual Greek topographies.

Ammianus names his models only in part: thus Cicero is cited 34 times by name. For various pieces of information, our author was indebted to Gellius, Valerius Maximus, Florus, and Sallust. Ammianus is well read; he is fond of Greek literature, especially poetry, to which he quite often refers.[1] It would however be simplistic to categorize

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[1] 14. 6. 7 Simonides; 14. 6. 8 *vates Ascraeus*; 14. 6. 21 Homer; 25. 4. 19 Aratus; list of '*Sententiae* in form of Quotations' in R. C. Blockley, Appendix G 195.

him as a Greek historiographer who happened to write in Latin.

It is difficult to define the genre of the work, for it swings from historiography to biography, to memoir, to encyclopedia.

Ammianus knows the works of Livy, Sallust and all those of Tacitus except the *Dialogus.* The linguistic influence of the *Histories*, which our historiographer continues, is particularly noticeable in the openings of the books. Although the influence of Tacitus is not so pronounced that the author could be regarded as 'Tacitean',[1] the fact remains that the historical genre and the writings of his predecessor were among his starting-points. Ammianus undoubtedly learned from Tacitus how to portray characters; his work is reminiscent of the *Annals* in that it concentrates on the emperors. His use of excursuses resembles Sallust's. In contrast to Tacitus and Dio, however, Ammianus is not a senator; in any case the problem of freedom was no longer the order of the day.

It is rewarding, too, to compare[2] our author with his contemporaries—Julian, Libanius, and Themistius—as well as with the Latin panegyrists and with parallel historical accounts—like those of Zosimus (around 500). Ammian's criticism of his age recalls satire and, even more, Lucian.

Still more significant are Ammianus' references to Plato and Cicero, which recur throughout his work. Like Augustine, Ammianus is a reader who treasures Cicero not for his form but for his content.

Literary Technique

His choice of the Latin language was probably inspired by patriotism; moreover, there was no Latin work on Julian's exploits.

After Tacitus, Roman historiography had been reduced to collections of anecdotes and the writing of compendia; within the limits of his epoch and his social position, Ammianus restored the old dignity of the genre.

According to his sources of information, there are shifts in balance and perspective. Circumstances with which the author was familiar personally are allotted more space than they deserve. His work shares

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[1] L. E. Wilshire is critical: Did Ammianus write a Continuation of Tacitus?, CJ 68, 1972/73, 221–227; H. Tränkle 1962, esp. 25–26; L. R. Roselle stresses dependence on Tacitus: Tacitean Elements in Ammianus Marcellinus, Thesis Columbia Univ. 1976.

[2] G. Sabbah 1978, 241–372.

this feature with 'memoirs'. His subject matter, too, compels him to modify traditional structural patterns: the great number of different places of action scarcely allowed an annalistic arrangement of events. As Tacitus often did, Ammianus groups his huge material according to content and dramatic requirements.

In principle, excursuses are part and parcel of ancient historiography. The Rome excursuses (14. 6; 28. 4) offer social criticism and, again and again, brilliant satire. The large number of geographical digressions are reminiscent of Sallust's *Histories*. Deviating from the tradition of historians, Ammianus does not avoid digressions of a technical and scientific nature. His excursuses follow his own structural scheme.[1]

His attractive use of the first person plural in his accounts also contradicts historiographic tradition; its roots have been sought in narrative folklore of the Greek-speaking East. In eyewitness accounts, however, this form is quite natural, even inevitable. These reports, in which Ammianus avoids Xenophon's affected use of the third person singular, lend a personal touch to the work.

Ammianus wanted to write a history of empire. Since he felt it impossible to separate such an account from the person of the emperor, he allowed biographical elements to mingle with historical tradition. Still Ammianus dwells less on unessential, private details than biographers do. Literary portraits, which are inserted on occasion of the deaths[2] of emperors, are—just as we would expect from the tradition of biography—organized systematically—e.g., *genus, forma, mores*. In the case of Julian the author proceeds from *virtutes* and *vitia*[3] (a picture of his outward appearance is then appended). References to shortcomings—even those of his beloved Julian (25. 4. 16)—indicate a departure from encomium,[4] to which there is nevertheless a close formal relationship.

Alternation between praise and censure might recall Suetonius, but there is more conciseness of form and a more systematic order, enlivened by a keen sense of psychology and of style.

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[1] T. Mommsen, Ammians Geographica, Hermes 16, 1881, 635–636 (= Gesammelte Schriften 7, 424).

[2] Thus the obituaries for Constantius, Julian, and Valentinian. Cassius Dio had placed such sections at the beginning; cf. Leo, Biogr. 236–240.

[3] In Valentinian the *vitia* are placed before the virtues.

[4] Cf. Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Nepos' *Atticus*.

His historical narrative tries to reconcile chronological with geographical principles. To be sure, Ammianus dates events for the most part by consuls; however, the size of the empire makes it almost impossible to adhere to a strict chronological arrangement and forces the author to proceed from setting to setting, just as Tacitus had already done in some passages.

Reports of battles are carefully structured: preparation, the battle itself, retreat and pursuit, results. Ammianus is not above resorting to rhetorical and even epic[1] techniques in his battle scenes. In this respect he continues the tradition of Roman historiography. The battle at Strasbourg in 357 is one of his great paintings (16. 12). In the course of the narrative anecdotal insertions[2] may crop up.

In keeping with historiographical tradition—and with Neoplatonic concepts[3] as well—Ammianus uses omens, dreams and prophecies as literary devices; *prodigia* foreboding death especially contribute to dramatic effect.

Speeches are elaborate and, as was usual in antiquity, to a great extent freely invented: thus, Julian's last address (25. 3. 15–20) offers the quintessence of his achievements in synthetic form right before an analytical assessment, which is arranged according to subject. From the 28th book on there are no more speeches. Was Ammianus anxious to conclude his work?

To enhance the importance of his heroes our eloquent author, of course, refers to Greek (25. 3. 8) and Roman *exempla* (25. 3. 13); still he applies rhetorical devices only where they do not detract from historical accuracy.[4]

Language and Style

Ammianus avails himself of the literary language of historiography created by Sallust and Tacitus. He exhausts the potential of this highly artificial Latin and is lavish with his own innovations. His vocabulary is rich and colorful. Under these circumstances it goes without

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[1] Thus in his depiction of the siege of Amida.

[2] E.g., 16. 5. 11; 12; 16. 10. 16; 22. 4. 9; 29. 3. 3; 29. 3. 4.

[3] And e.g. with Julian's beliefs.

[4] G. Calboli 1976; R. C. Blockley (1975) offers a list of *exempla*, Appendix F 191–194.

saying that his use of political terminology[1]—interesting as it may be—is inexact. The old soldier even applies military parlance wittily to civilian matters (14. 6. 17). Syntax and style are patterned on Greek models: characteristic is his unrestrained use of participles (including present and future participles)—a linguistic device which earlier Latin writers had applied only in small doses.

Although it is definitely helpful to translate difficult passages back into Greek, such a noble and refined style nevertheless resists a mechanical reduction to 'foreigners' Latin'. Rather, Ammianus—like other great authors—awakened in the Latin language dormant potentialities, the range of which can be determined more exactly by thoroughgoing studies of early and late Latin. Metaphors are rich and multifarious.[2] The conventional label 'baroque' is hardly appropriate since it diverts attention from the essential matter-of-factness of Ammianus' language. We simply have to recognize that we are dealing with an exceedingly original writer of prose.[3]

Unlike Tacitus—but in keeping with Suetonius' practice—Ammianus weaves Greek quotations into his Latin text: for example, Menander's profound words on the tutelary spirit of man (21. 14. 1), a prophecy (31. 1), a satirical folk verse (25. 4. 17), and even the Greek translation (17. 4. 17–23) of an inscription on an obelisk.

Ammianus' prose rhythm is based exclusively on word accent, not quantity.[4] Reinterpreting the old quantitative clausulae in terms of word accent, our author prefers the following types: cursus planus: /xx/x (*clausulas esse*); cursus tardus: /xx/xx (*clausulas fecimus*); cursus velox: /xx xx/x (*clausulas feceramus*). The *clausula*/x xx/x (*esse videatur*) also appears. The step from classical to medieval literary prose has been made.

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[1] W. Suerbaum, 3rd ed. 1977.

[2] Cf. F. W. Jenkins, Theatrical Metaphors in Ammianus Marcellinus, Eranos 85, 1987, 55–63; I. Ulmann, Metaphern in den *Res gestae* des Ammianus Marcellinus, diss. Berlin 1975; R. C. Blockley 1975, Appendix B (animal metaphors).

[3] A worthwhile analysis of style: E. Auerbach, Mimesis, Bern 1946, 56–81 (on Amm. 15. 7).

[4] A. M. Harmon, The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus, New Haven, Conn. 1910.

Ideas I
Literary Reflection

Veritas (31. 16. 9), as tradition demands it, is an historian's guiding-star. The author perceives that withholding facts, too, is a way of distorting the truth (ibid.). This laudable principle, however, does not prevent him (no more than his predecessors) from error and partiality;[1] still his knowledge of military affairs deserves recognition.[2] His comments on the special qualities of historical writing show that he is consciously following in the footsteps of the great historiographers. He clearly distances himself from pettifoggers who blame him for omitting what the emperor said at supper. To name all bureaucrats or every small outpost would be 'counting atoms'. His goal is *discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines*, 'to run through the highlights of events' (26. 1. 1; cf. 27. 2. 11).

Restriction to essentials, which had been a principle in Roman historiography since Cato, was something unusual for his time. Dissociating himself in that respect from biography and chronicle, Ammianus wants to write serious history.

He accurately describes his own technique for writing epilogues (30. 7. 1): *actus eius discurrere per epilogos breves nec vitiorum praetermisso discrimine vel bonorum, quae potestatis amplitudo monstravit, nudare solita semper animorum interna*, 'run through his deeds in a brief epilogue, without omitting to distinguish his faults or his good qualities, brought to light as they were by greatness of power, which is always wont to bare a man's inmost character'. Here he does borrow from biographical techniques, for he is aiming at inner qualities. Still his goal is rather a Tacitean one: the psychology of the princeps is revealed because it determines politics.

Not uninterested[3] in linguistic problems, Ammianus expounds the high standards of style which he sets for himself and for others. *Procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos*, 'I encourage them to train their tongues on more distinguished pens' (31. 16. 9). This advice given to his

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[1] The ethical contrast between Julian and emperors like Gallus and Constantius is made sharper for the sake of clarity, but Ammianus himself, who also sees Julian's errors, has provided in part the material for correction (positive achievements of Constantius II: 17. 12–13).

[2] N. J. E. Austin 1979.

[3] G. Viansino 1977.

successors indirectly illustrates his unique position within the historiography of late antiquity.

Ideas II

Ammianus' work owes its special point of view to the unusual attributes of an author, who addresses his readers in all humility as *miles quondam et Graecus*, 'an ex-soldier and a Greek' (31. 16. 9)—thus neither senator nor Roman. His comment can be taken positively: as a soldier he is often an eyewitness and, moreover, one of the few ancient historians who report competently on matters of strategy and tactics. Granted, he probably knows less about activity on the forward edge of battle than about seiges and intelligence-gathering; he shows how a shortage of soldiers and the undermining of discipline through mutinies made it impossible for the Roman army to solve its logistical problems. His military perspective also explains his interest in geography. Furthermore, as a soldier he enjoys a close relationship to the emperor, to the empire, and to its language, Latin. On the other hand, as a Greek he is sympathetic with Julian's philhellenism, and the first to write on him in Latin; as a Greek he appreciates Julian's high regard for education, trying to pass it on and to maintain a certain intellectual standard. The great importance he attaches to the unity of Greek and Roman culture is manifest, for instance, in his admiration of Cicero.[1]

His attitude to Christian religion is neutral. Tolerant with respect to religious matters, he adopts an abstract monotheism without being a philosopher. His approach to the ancient gods is a rationalist's; *genii*—the guardian spirits of an individual—have religious importance for him. He also respects the cult of emperors. A son of his times—and a follower of Roman historiographical traditions—he believes in portents (e.g. 23. 1. 7) and miracles (28. 1. 42). Loyalty to Rome[2] and emperor is for him an incontestable principle (which probably contributed to his decision to write in Latin). *Miles et Graecus*, he holds the language of the army, of administration and of empire in especially high esteem.

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[1] C. J. Classen 1972.

[2] His Roman patriotism stands out when one compares his report with parallel texts (e.g., 16. 12 .65; Libanius *or.* 18. 62).

Freedom of the individual is a central theme for Ammianus. Man has control over his fate; divine justice punishes evil doing. The causes of Rome's decline are moral in nature, rooted as they are in the personal behavior of individuals;[1] hence Ammianus dwells on the ethical contrast between Gallus and Julian. As the virtuousness of the emperor is a cure for what ails the state, Julian gains an exemplary function in our author (not just his personal preference should be considered here); for the same reason he shows the figure of this emperor against an especially rich Greek and Roman background. While Ammianus' insistence on *virtutes* and *vitia* has a literary side, it is not merely a literary compensation for his inability to gain an insight into imperial life at court (an insight our author is not at all interested in).

Ammianus' high esteem of education is supported by his use of *exempla.* Julian's catalogue of virtues recalls Polybius' account of Scipio's upbringing and reflects Ammianus' Roman ideology. In our author's view Julian consciously imitates the gods and follows in the footsteps of earlier good emperors. Yet to regard these features as the causes for that emperor's failure[2] is to misunderstand Ammianus' intention. Without his educational background our author would not have become an historian. Since his study of the ethical behavior of emperors served to determine the causes of political events, a characterization of Ammianus as a 'moralist' is too narrow. As an historian he is conscious of the fact that history is made by persons and that man's identity rests on his intellectual and moral faculties.

Ammianus agrees with Plutarch and Florus, among others, in maintaining that Rome owed its greatness to the combined influence of *fortuna* and *virtus* (14. 6. 3). Even his criticism of Roman society may be read as an indirect expression of his faith in *imperium.* Still he is well aware that the Eternal City—after Florus' conception of history—has meanwhile gone through all of the stages of life from childhood to old age.[3] He gives the simile an appropriate new turn: now

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[1] Just as in Tacitus, morality and politics are closely connected: the relationship between Constantius II and Julian resembles that between Domitian and Agricola. A structural problem in the society of the principate is worked out here.

[2] H. Drexler 1974, 124–136.

[3] Seneca (probably after Varro) in Lact. *inst.* 7. 15. 14–17a; Flor. *epit. praef.* 4–8; Symm. *rel.* 3. 9; R. Häussler in: Actes du VIIe congrès de la FIEC, vol. 2, Budapest 1983, 183–191; A. Demandt, Der Fall Roms. Die Auflösung des Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt, München 1984; P. Archambault, The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World. A Study of Two Traditions, REAug 12, 1966, 193–228.

the aging metropolis has handed over her administration to her sons, the Caesars (14. 6. 4–5). This means that an anthropocentric scheme has replaced the biological one.

Transmission

From Rome Ammianus' work reached Gaul, where members of the senatorial aristocracy possessed vast holdings. There the books dedicated to Julian met with great interest since Julian had done much for Gaul; this explains why these books have survived. A copy of books 14–31 came to the Hersfeld monastery from Gaul. A copy which was made for the Fulda monastery is our only textual source from that early time (Fuldensis, Vaticanus Latinus 1873, V; 9th century). Gelenius, the editor of the edition published in 1533 by Froben in Basel had used the (later lost) Hersfeld manuscript, which at that time went up to 30. 9. This edition replaces the Hersfeld manuscript for us; what is more, it is the sole witness for passages lacking in the Fuldensis—above all for the complete Greek text of the obelisk inscription. In 1875 six pages of the Hersfeldensis (Fragmenta Marburgensia, M) were discovered; they had served as bindings for files in the village of Friedewald near Hersfeld. All other manuscripts are neither old nor independent.

The restoration of the text is based therefore on the Fuldensis, which is to be complemented by the edition of Gelenius.

Influence

Ammianus' influence is already noticeable in the *Historia Augusta*[1]—if we accept a late date (around 395 or later) for that concoction.

The literary legacy of Ammianus is interwoven with Emperor Julian's charisma in two ways: first, the historical work owed its preservation to readers who held the acts of Julian in high esteem; later, however, the suggestive image designed by Ammianus inspired, in its turn, the imaginations of European authors.

In late antiquity Christian Prudentius (*apoth.* 449–454), who would have been obliged to reject the Apostate as a new Judas, used surprisingly laudatory expressions which echoed Ammianus' admiration for the emperor as a commander, legislator and patriot. Our author's account of imperial virtues influenced anew the early modern period;[2]

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[1] R. Syme 1968; against this view: A. Momigliano, Ammiano Marcellino e la *Historia Augusta*, AAT 103, 1968–1969, 423–436.

[2] H.-G. Nesselrath, Zur Wiederentdeckung von Julian Apostata in der Renaissance. Lorenzo de'Medici und Ammianus Marcellinus, A&A 38, 1992, 133–144.

in his Julian drama Jesuit H. Drexel sought to do justice to the hero. With rare unanimity the deeply religious but astonishingly impartial historian of heretics Gottfried Arnold (d. 1714) and the cool rationalist Voltaire (d. 1778) freed Julian from the stigma of being an apostate. In the 19th century, on the contrary, the romantic shimmer of apostasy seemed to make the hero more attractive: Fouqué dedicated poems (1816) and a novella (1818) to him, Eichendorff an epic (1853), Felix Dahn a novel (1893). Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (d. 1898) struggled with the emperor's farewell address (*Der sterbende Julian*;[1] cf. Amm. 25. 3. 15–20); like Ammianus he kept himself remarkably free from the then current obsession with demonic elements. Discovering in Julian a highly ethical man of the spirit, Meyer was one of the few readers who understood the ethos of Ammianus. Henrik Ibsen's (d. 1906) drama *Emperor and Galilean* (1873) often follows Ammianus' text word for word, and the historian even becomes a character in the play. Ibsen sought to fuse pagan and Christian images of Julian on the one hand by paralleling the apostate with Cain and Judas and on the other by reviving a philosophical view of history synthesizing antiquity and Christianity to form a 'third' *imperium*. Inspired by that concept, Merezhkovsky (d. 1941) wrote his novel *Julian the Apostate* (1895), as part of the trilogy *Christ and Antichrist*. Gore Vidal's *Julian* (1962/1964) is proof that interest in the figure of the emperor has not waned in the 20th century.

Ammianus' influence as a moralist persisted independently of his portrayal of Julian. Our author's psychological perspicacity and his interest in ethics did not fail to impress Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592). Anecdotes of Ammianus continue to spread and crop up unexpectedly.[2]

Ammianus was again writing history after a long period during which others had produced only imperial biographies. In literature he survived as a moralist, as a creator of an ideal ruler, and as a dramatic narrator. The fact that not only pagans and poets, but also devout Christians and even critical historians could not resist the fascination of his portrait of Julian is itself testimony to his creative abilities regardless of the question of accuracy.

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[1] F. Kempter, ed., Leuchtende Saat, Engelberg 1951, 68–69; F. Kempter, C. F. Meyers Ringen . . ., Engelberg 1954, 28–29; Meyer's dependence on Ammianus seems to have been hitherto overlooked.

[2] G. Javor, Lincoln, Grant, and Whiskey, American Notes and Queries 10, 1971, 42–43 (on Amm. 16. 5. 8).

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B. ORATORY AND EPISTOLOGRAPHY

FRONTO

Life and Dates

M. Cornelius Fronto from Cirta in Africa earned a brilliant reputation as a lawyer, orator and author. He was admitted to the senate during the reign of Hadrian. Under Antonius Pius he held the consulship in 143 and was appointed tutor to Princes Marcus and Verus, who later remained devoted to him. For reasons of ill health he was unable to assume the office of proconsul for which he was selected. He outlived his wife, five daughters and one grandchild.

Survey of Works

The corpus of *Letters* consists of various small groups of texts and appendices. His correspondence with Emperors Marcus, Verus, and Antoninus is at the heart of the work; in addition we find several letters to other friends. There is a touching literary self-portrait on the occasion of his grandson's death (235). Elaborate letters treat rhetorical (135 V.D.H.) and historical subjects (*De bello Parthico* 220 V.D.H.). Parerga include e.g. *Principia Historiae* (202 V.D.H.) and humorous pieces such as *Laudes fumi et pulveris* (215 V.D.H.) and *Laudes neglegentiae* (218 V.D.H.); furthermore there is a rendering of the Arion myth (241 V.D.H.), and a fable on the creation of sleep (231 V.D.H.). Several letters are written in Greek.

Of the lost speeches, the most important was one directed *Against the Christians.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

At that time teachers and pupils frequented libraries where they could read works of Cato the Elder, but they also used notebooks containing phrases from early Latin authors (34; 253). Greek stories could be retold in Latin (thus Herodotus is the source for the Arion myth).

Literary Technique

Refinement of expresssion became a way of thinking and a way of life. Conventional concepts such as *prooemium* and *narratio* gained intrinsic value and a personal meaning for the inspired and inspiring teacher (how disappointing for him when his pupils later put away childish things like rhetoric!). Diverse styles and literary forms were cultivated eagerly and playfully. Fronto's diction was pictorial, emotional, and vivid. His practice as a writer must be examined in detail against the background of rhetorical theory, which he had thoroughly mastered. His works are a living expression of his teachings.

Language and Style

Fronto's archaism is a parallel phenomenon to Greek Atticism, which is to be observed in the same period;[1] in fact, our author writes like an Atticist when he is writing Greek.

The principle of appropriateness determines the diversity of stylistic levels which Fronto has at his command: in forensic orations the tone is unaffected; in epideictic, pompous; for the writing of history, Sallust served as a model (207–210 V.D.H.).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

'Antipathy towards philosophy' and 'archaism' as catch phrases do more to obfuscate than to clarify the essence of Fronto's pedagogics.

Fronto's Roman sense of cultivated literary form explains his disapproval of Marcus Aurelius' conversion to philosophy.[2] This reveals not only the old antagonism of philosophy and rhetoric but also a tacit remonstrance of the Latin mind with its preference for the beautiful surface of life against the first dawnings of an age of abstractions.

Fronto recommends *colorem vetusculum appingere*, 'to add a patina of age' (150 V.D.H.); he is sorry not to find archaic words in Cicero

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[1] Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 361–362 with n. 2.

[2] Fronto 141–149; 151–152 V.D.H. Evidence on the old conflict between philosophers and teachers of rhetoric in Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 250, 2; After all, Marcus honestly took trouble to study Cato's speeches.

(57 V.D.H.), and Seneca's modern style is not congenial to his taste (153 V.D.H.). These sides of Fronto are well known and have sometimes been over-emphasized to the point of caricature.

It is less known that Fronto praised his pupil for *not* having used archaic vocabulary in a political speech. This gives proof of good taste and common sense.

Archaism is not an aim in itself but an upshot of the significant overall principle of *delectus verborum*.[1] Everything is a question of subtle shades of meaning (e.g. 260–261 V.D.H.). Fronto has an especially high opinion of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* for the purity of their language. His ultimate goal is to find in each case the proper word (*verba propria* 159 V.D.H.). He is, therefore, an earnest defender of a moderate Atticism.

Ideas II

Despite the ludicrous tone of some of his writings he is deadly serious about rhetoric as a path of education, he even deems rhetoric *the* form of *paideia* worthy of man (171 V.D.H.). Granted that philosophy is 'divine': so let us leave it to the gods. The uncompromising dedication of his pupil Marcus Aurelius to philosophy is beyond him. The situation recalls Ausonius' correspondence with Paulinus who had become a monk.

There is an encounter of two worlds: averse to doctrinaire pedantry, Fronto tries to grasp reality by means of language in its literary form, not by means of the abstract language of philosophy. In this regard our master of beautiful speech is deeply rooted in classical Roman traditions, whereas Emperor Marcus Aurelius is the harbinger of a new epoch which, with more intransigence, will place truth higher than beauty.

Transmission

What remains of Fronto's writings and letters was discovered by A. Mai in 1815. This was the same palimpsest (6th century) which contained fragments of Cicero's *De re publica* (see Cicero). Leaves of it are found in Milan and in the Vatican.

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[1] 57–58; 88; 104. 8–9; 136. 1–2; 144. 18–19; 146. 18; 150. 10; 151. 25; 159; 228. 3; 42. 18 V.D.H.

Influence

The recognition which Fronto found among his contemporaries and later generations is somewhat surprising. It was largely owing to his pedagogic impetus. He was said to be inferior only to Cicero, nay to equal him as *alter, non secundus* (*paneg.* 8 [= V] 14. 2). However, the appearance of Fronto's name in an exemplary verse in Diomedes is not necessarily indicative of personal reading.[1]

The first part of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix may contain material from Fronto's book against the Christians, to our knowledge the only Latin text of this kind.

Editions: A. Mai, Mediolani 1815 (ed. princ.), Romae 2nd ed. 1823 (augmented). * B. G. Niebuhr, Berolini 1816. * S. A. Naber, Lipsiae 1857. * C. R. Haines (TTrN), 2 vols., London 1919–1920. * M. P. J. Van Den Hout, Lugduni Batavorum 1954. * Id., Lipsiae 1988. * R. B. Rutherford (selection TrN, in: A. S. L. Farquharson's Tr of Marcus Aurelius), Oxford 1989. ** *Indices*: F. Garrone, M. Mattea, F. Russo, Index verborum mit statistischen Aufstellungen zu *De eloquentia* und *De orationibus* von M. C. Fronto, Hildesheim 1976. * R. Fontanella, M. Olivetti, M. R. Votta, Index verborum mit statistischen Aufstellungen zu *De nepote amisso, De feriis Alsiensibus, Arion, Laudes fumi et pulveris, Laudes neglegentiae* von M. C. Fronto, Hildesheim 1981.

G. W. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire, Oxford 1969, 124–126. * D. Brock, Studies in Fronto and his Age, Cambridge 1911. * E. Champlin, The Chronology of Fronto, JRS 64, 1974, 136–159. * E. Champlin, Fronto and Antonine Rome, Cambridge, Mass. 1980. * P. V. Cova, I *principia historiae* e le idee storiografiche di Frontone, Napoli 1970. * P. V. Cova, Marco Cornelio Frontone, ANRW 2, 34, 2, 1994, 873–918. * P. Frassinetti, L'orazione di Frontone contro i cristiani, GIF 3, 1949, 238–254. * R. Hanslik, Die Anordnung der Briefsammlung Frontos, CV 1, 1935, 21–47. * R. Marache, La critique littéraire de langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au IIe siècle de notre ère, Rennes 1952. * R. Marache, Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle, Paris 1957. * M. Mattea, Statistical Researches in the Verbum Lexical Field on the Frontonian Rhetorical Works *De orationibus* and *De eloquentia*, Revue d'organisation intern. pour l'étude des langues anciennes par ordinateur 1975, 3, 35–48. * T. Mommsen, Die Chronologie der Briefe Frontos, Hermes 8, 1874, 199–216, repr. in: Gesammelte Schriften 4, Berlin 1906, 469–486. * Norden, Kunstprosa 1, 362–367. * Peter, Brief 124–

[1] Norden, Kunstprosa 1, addendum to p. 367.

135. * L. Polverini, Sull'epistolario di Frontone come fonte storica, in: Seconda miscellanea greca e romana, Roma 1968, 437–459. * A. Ramírez de Verger, Frontón y la segunda sofistica, Habis 4, 1973, 115–126. * G. P. Selvatico, Lo scambio epistolare tra Frontone e M. Aurelio: Esercitazioni retoriche e cultura letteraria, MAT 5, 5, 4, 1981, 225–301. * P. Soverini, Aspetti e problemi delle teorie retoriche frontoniane, ANRW 2, 34, 2, 1994, 919–1004. * S. Timpanaro, Il *ius osculi* e Frontone, Maia n.s. 39, 1987, 201–211. * J. J. Westerman, Archaïsche en archistische Woordkunst, diss. Amsterdam 1939. * J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Ad amicos* 1, 5 and 6 and the Date of Fronto's Death, in: C. Deroux, ed., Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History, vol. 1, Bruxelles 1979, 475–482. * J. E. G. Zetzel, The Subscriptions in the Manuscripts of Livy and Fronto and the Meaning of *emendatio*, CPh 75, 1980, 3–59.

THE *PANEGYRICI LATINI*

Dates

The *Panegyrici Latini* are typical historical evidence for the century from 289 to 389, especially for the years 289–321. If not particularly abounding in truthfulness, these texts at least are genuine documents of their age, although the collection was compiled later (s. below). The authors were high officials or literati who had enjoyed a rhetorical education; in fact, teachers of rhetoric were close to the imperial court and had access to offices like *magister memoriae*. Even so, as can be seen in Gaul, they often preserved a lasting attachment to their schools, coming back or making donations to them.

Survey of Works

With his famous speech on Trajan, the noble senator Pliny leads off, being by far the earliest author. There follow—in reverse chronology—Pacatus (on Theodosius: 389), Mamertinus (on Julian: 362), and Nazarius (on Constantine: 321).

Next, there is a sequence of eight shorter anonymous *panegyrici* which are numbered separately; this second collection was probably compiled in late antiquity. The speeches of this group are arranged in reverse chronology as well (A.D. 311–289); as for their provenance, the focus is on Gaul (Autun and Trier).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Along with Pliny the Younger, the classic of the *panegyricus*, the authors rely on Cicero and also on Fronto. The genre is determined by the λόγος βασιλικός.

Literary Technique

The *inventio* of the *panegyrici* is based on the categories provided by classical speeches on kings: origin, education, early exploits, regal virtues—such subdivisions are reminiscent of biography which, however, is more recent as a genre and does name vices along with virtues. Some of these categories may be passed over by way of a *praeteritio*. Examples drawn from history or myth are an integral part of the literary *ornatus*.

Today the literary quality of the *panegyrici* is appreciated rather highly; without these predecessors Claudian could not have written his brilliant poetic *panegyrici*. Although he left those orators far behind him, the *panegyrici* are a typical phenomenon of Roman literary history at the intersection of prose and poetry.

Language and Style

The Latin of the *panegyrici* is refined. Typical are exalting or derogatory circumlocutions like *maiestas tua, mediocritas mea* (e.g. *paneg.* 6 [VII] 1. 1): documents of the courtly roots of our modern craze for titles. Under the auspices of emotional rhetoric poetic elements increasingly penetrate into prose; the next step would be the adoption of verse form. The technique of prose rhythm is elaborate.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The intention to offer exemplary speeches tells from the entire collection, especially from the initial position of Pliny's speech on Trajan. It is the declared aim of published *panegyrici* not only to praise the emperors but also to convey a patriotic attitude to students. Even if this had not been told expressly, nobody would fail to recognize the propagandistic character of these texts.

A speech (9, V) of Eumenius (A.D. 298) documents the rhetor's view of his function and his awareness of having a cultural mission: after years of successful service at the imperial court, he became the headmaster of his former school at Autun. Now he asks to be allowed to donate his salary (which has been doubled) for the reconstruction of his school. At the end of the speech the rebirth of the school is linked to that of the empire. In fact, the importance of the schools of Gaul can be measured by their influence on Latin literature during that epoch. Indirectly the schools benefited from the ambitions of emperors who surrounded themselves with literati.

Ideas II

It is tempting to condemn morally and aesthetically the courtly flattery and the insincere verbosity of many a *panegyricus*. One should try, however, to do justice to these texts as historical sources and as rhetorical artifacts. A speech may acknowledge and idealize given circumstances, but also, in the way of 'handbooks for princes', hint at the expectations of the people. A thorough study of the ruler's virtues selected in each particular case may be rewarding. Conventional formulas may reflect an emperor's intentions, a religious legitimation of his power, the *damnatio* of his adversary, the idea of Rome, his vision of the barbarians, the great theme of *conservatio rei publicae*, and, more generally, the moral attitude promoted by the imperial court. Moreover the speeches again and again allow the reader to get a glimpse of conditions of life in Gaul. Nevertheless it is fully understandable that later generations took little interest in these ephemeral products which are more flattering for the addressees than for their authors.

Tradition

Three independent strands of tradition are traced to one archetype.[1]

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[1] R. A. B. Mynors, edition 1964, Praefatio.

Influence

In the Middle Ages the *Panegyrici* were rarely copied. Even after the dawn of the Renaissance they were outshone by Claudian's brilliance.

Editions: Ae. Baehrens, Lipsiae 1874. * W. A. Baehrens, Lipsiae 1911. * E. Galletier (TTrN), 3 vols., Paris 1949–1955. * R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1964. * V. Paladini, P. Fedeli, Roma 1976. * Cf. also W. J. G. Lubbe, Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto dictus, Lugduni Batavorum 1955. * A. Chauvot (TTrC), Procope de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée. Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase Ier, Bonn 1986. ** *Concordance*: T. Janson, A Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics, Hildesheim 1979. ** *Bibl.*: P. L. Schmidt 1989 (s. below).

U. Asche, Roms Weltherrschaftsidee und Außenpolitik in der Spätantike im Spiegel der *Panegyrici Latini*, diss. Bonn 1983. * W. A. Baehrens, Panegyricorum Latinorum editionis novae praefatio maior, diss. Groningen 1910. * G. G. Belloni, La bellezza divinizzante nei Panegirici e nei ritratti monetali di Costantino, CISA 7, 1981, 213–222. * C. Castello, Il pensiero politico-religioso di Costantino alla luce dei panegirici, in: Accademia romanistica Costantiniana, Perugia 1975, 49–117. * F. Del Chicca, La struttura retorica del panegirico latino tardo imperiale in prosa. Teoria e prassi, AFLC 6, 1985 (1987), 79–113. * T. Janson, Notes on the Text of the *Panegyrici Latini*, CPh 79, 1984, 15–27. * D. Lassandro, La demonizzazione del nemico politico nei *Panegyrici Latini*, CISA 7, 1981, 237–249. * D. Lassandro, Inventario dei manoscritti dei *Panegyrici Latini*, InvLuc 10, 1988, 107–200. * M. C. L'Huillier, La figure de l'empereur et les vertus impériales. Crise et modèle d'identité dans les *Panégyriques latins*, in: Les grandes figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité (Besançon 1984), Paris 1986, 529–582. * V. Loi, Struttura e topoi del panegirico classico nei *Sermones de sanctis* di S. Agostino, Augustinianum 14, 1974, 591–604. * S. Mac Cormack, Latin Prose Panegyrics. Tradition and Discontinuity in the Later Roman Empire, RE Aug 22, 1976, 29–77. * W. Portmann, Geschichte in der spätantiken Panegyrik, Bern 1988. * B. S. Rodgers, The *Panegyrici Latini*. Emperors, Colleagues, Usurpers and the History of the Western Provinces, diss. Berkeley 1978. * B. S. Rodgers, Divine Insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*, Historia 35, 1986, 69–104. * G. Sabbah, De la rhétorique à la communication politique. Les panégyristes latins, BAGB 1984, 363–388. * P. L. Schmidt, HLL 5, 1989, § 528 (fundamental). * R. Seager, Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics. The Demands of Propaganda and the Dynamics of Literary Composition, PLLS 4, 1984, 129–165.

SYMMACHUS

Life and Dates

Q. Aurelius Symmachus (ca. 345–402) descended from a distinguished and well-to-do family. After a brilliant rhetorical training in Gaul he held important offices.[1] Being the most eminent orator of his age he became the defender of the Roman senate, many members of which adhered to paganism, against the Christian emperors. In 382 Emperor Gratian banished him from Rome for having protested against the removal of the altar of Victory from the Curia Julia.[2] The sudden death of this sanctimonious and cruel emperor, combined with poor harvests and ensuing famine (383) encouraged the pagan opposition, which was still powerful. In 384, therefore, Symmachus (*rel.* 3) asked Emperor Valentinian II to reinstall the altar and to renew the privileges of pagan priests. He underrated, however, the firm determination of Bishop Ambrose. Thereupon, Symmachus took the part of the usurper Maximus; after the latter's death (388) he saved his life by writing a *panegyricus* on Theodosius. In 391 he became consul.

He exchanged ideas with Ausonius who dedicated to him a poem on the number three.

Survey of Works

Speeches: We have remains of eight speeches, among which two on Emperor Valentinian I and one on Gratian when a youth.
Epistulae (nine books).
Relationes: These are missives, which the *praefectus urbi* sent to the emperor; they may justly be called the 10th book of his letters (cf. Pliny's collection of letters).

Sources,[3] Models, and Genres

Symmachus' knowledge of Greek authors is limited; of Latin authors, he especially relies on those read in classrooms—Terence, Virgil,

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[1] *Pontifex maior, proconsul* in Africa, *praefectus urbi* (384–385), *consul* (391).

[2] This altar, where the senators offered incense and wine, had been inaugurated by Augustus in 29 B.C., removed by Constantius II, re-established by Julian, and taken away again by Gratianus.

[3] W. Kroll, De Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis Graecis et Latinis, Breslau 1891.

Sallust, Cicero—and, to a lesser degree, Horace and Lucan. Historical examples are usually drawn from Valerius Maximus, less frequently from Cicero, Livy,[1] and Pliny the Elder. Moreover, he knows Ovid, Silius, Juvenal as well as Tacitus, Fronto, and probably Gellius. The influence of Pliny the Younger is considerable, as is evinced not only from the *panegyrici* but also from the collection of his letters, down to the number of books (9 + 1).

Literary Technique

In his letters Symmachus adheres to the principle of brevity; neither treatises nor longer narratives are found there. He bestows much care upon style. There is an unobtrusive elegance in his artful variations of the topics of congratulation, consolation, and thanksgiving. His letters are less colorful and personal than those of Cicero or Pliny. The well-being of his daughter and the career of his son are almost the only subjects to elicit some sentiment from the writer. Nevertheless, it is rewarding to muse over the subtle network of personal and political relationships behind the exquisite politeness and careful avoidance of concrete data in Symmachus' correspondence.

The letters are not arranged chronologically but, in the main, according to addressees (especially in books 1–7).

In the *Relatio*, Symmachus' literary art rises to the heights of sublimity. The great speech of Roma personified asking for tolerance is valid at all times: 'what all revere, that must be the One. We look up to the same stars, we have the heaven in common, the same world holds us. What does it matter, which way each one chooses to find the truth? Too great is the mystery, that a single path should lead to it' (*rel.* 3. 10).

Language and Style

The vocabulary of the letters is strictly limited; despite the presence of archaic and contemporary elements Symmachus makes an effort to write classical Latin. For all pretended ease and homeliness, his letters are carefully polished.

The style of his speeches is more colorful. Macrobius defines it as

[1] The literary interests of the Symmachi gave rise to a revision of Livy as well.

pingue et floridum ('well-nourished and flowery') and ranges it with that of Pliny the Younger (*Sat.* 5. 1. 7).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Symmachus is aware of the fact that, in letters, words establish communication, even if there is nothing to communicate:[1] we had rather not talk of 'words without content'. His theoretical remarks show that he is open to fashionable rhetoric as well as to archaism. He pertinently teaches his son how to distinguish the familiar tone of letters from the rhetorical array of public speech: on the one hand, there is *maturum aliquid et comicum* and a certain *neglegentia*, on the other, *aculei orationis* and *arma facundiae* (*epist.* 7. 9). The stylistic differences between letters and speeches, therefore, are based on a conscious choice.[2]

Ideas II

The intellectual horizon of Symmachus reveals a senator's greatness and limits: his attention is focused on problems of the city and of his class; he overestimates the importance of Rome and its senate to world politics. Senatorial bias explains his mistrust of the new 'aristocracy' of court officials[3] and his courageous resistance to the restoration of censure. We cannot exclude that in his defence of old religion[4] some material interests in priestly offices were involved; however, the financial significance of pagan cults during that period was negligible. Hence in this respect the luster of his reputation is not obscured. Unlike the unified phalanx of the Christians in the senate, the pagan group was far from unanimous, although in those days the defenders of old Roman religion and the adherents of oriental cults could not be clearly distinguished. Symmachus, therefore, for reasons of tactics, had to be satisfied to find some common ground

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[1] *Epist.* 1. 15; 2. 35. 2; 2. 69; 3. 10; 6. 37.

[2] *Epist.* 3. 11; 3. 44.

[3] However, since Valentinian and Gratian, there was a mixed career, allowing even senators coming from Rome to participate in the administration of the empire.

[4] Symmachus even advocated the punishment of a guilty Vestal according to the *mos maiorum.*

for the divergent opinions. Not surprisingly, then, he tends to minimize the fact that the problem of the altar of Victory was a question of principle. Since confrontation is not his aim, he dwells less on the conflict between old and new religion.

Along with old Roman traditions—like the ideal of liberty and the belief in the authority of Roman history—Neo-Platonism was a further possible basis of a consensus. The idea of tolerance inherent in Neo-platonism had been played off in favor of Christianity by Constantine. Now, Symmachus, in his turn, vainly conjures up the Neo-Platonic view of a plurality of intellectual paths: *Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum*, 'not by one avenue only can we arrive at so tremendous a secret' (*rel.* 3. 10). This does not compel us however to turn Symmachus into a philosopher; in an old Roman vein, he breaks off the theoretical discussion: *sed haec otiosorum disputatio est*, 'but this is a matter of discussion for idlers' (10).

Transmission

Orationes: The remains of the speeches are found in the same Bobiensis rescriptus (6th century) to which we owe Cicero's *De re publica* and Fronto as well. The 27 folios relevant for Symmachus are preserved at Milan (Ambrosianus E 147 inf.) and Rome (Vaticanus Lat. 5750).
Epistulae: Only the Parisinus 8623 (9th century) contains the complete titles and the division into books. Among the other manuscripts the Vaticanus Palatinus 1576 (11th century) stands out. Furthermore, there are *florilegia*.
Relationes: There are three basic witnesses: Tegurinus Monacensis 18 787 (11th century), Mettensis 500 (11th century) and (to replace a lost codex) the edition of S. Gelenius, Basileae 1549. The 3rd *relatio* is transmitted in the manuscripts of Ambrose as well.

Influence[1]

The influence of the 3rd *relatio* was especially furthered by the detailed response of Ambrose, to which Symmachus' speech was annexed.

The celebrated orator, whose letters were much sought after by his contemporaries, won a certain recognition even with Christian

[1] G. Polara, La fortuna di Simmaco dalla tarda antichità al secolo XVII, Vichiana n.s. 1, 1972, 250–263.

authors; examples are his belated poetic opponent, Prudentius, and Sidonius, who would imitate him in his correspondence.[1]

Editions: orat.: A. MAI, Mediolani 1815 (the Milanese fragments) and (together with the Vatican fragments) in: Scriptorum nova collectio, Romae 1825 (editiones principes). * B. G. NIEBUHR, Berolini 1816. * O. SEECK, MGH, AA 6, 1, Berolini 1883. * A. PABST (TTrC), Darmstadt 1989. * F. DEL CHICCA (TTrC), *Laudatio in Valentinianum Seniorem Augustum prior*, Roma 1984. * *epist.* and *rel.*: J. SCHOTT, Argentorati 1510. * S. GELENIUS, Basileae 1549. * O. SEECK (s. above). * *epist.*: J. P. CALLU (TTrC), vol. 1 (*books 1* and *2*), Paris 1972; vol. 2 (*books 3–5*), 1982. * *Book 4*: A. MARCONE (TTrC), Pisa 1987. * *Book 5*: P. RIVOLTA TIBERGA (TTrC), Pisa 1992. * *Book 6*: A. MARCONE (TTrC), Pisa 1983. * *Book 9*: S. RODA (TTrC), Pisa 1981. * *rel.*: R. H. BARROW (TTrN), Oxford 1973. * D. VERA (TTrC hist., indices; appendix on 10. 1–2), Pisa 1981. * *rel. 3*: R. KLEIN (TTrC), Der Streit um den Victoria-altar. Die dritte Relatio des Symmachus und die Briefe 17, 18 und 57 des Mailänder Bischofs Ambrosius, Darmstadt 1972. ** *Concordance*: V. LOMANTO, Concordantiae in Q. Aurelii Symmachi opera, Hildesheim 1983. A. H. ARMSTRONG, The Way and the Ways. Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the Fourth Century A.D., V Chr 38, 1984, 1–17. * R. BADALÌ, Premessa ad uno studio sulla natura delle clausole simmachiane, RCCM 8, 1966, 38–52. * M. BERTOLINI, Sull'atteggiamento religioso di Q. AURELIO Simmaco, SCO 36, 1986, 189–208. * G. W. BOWERSOCK, Symmachus and Ausonius, Paris 1986. * F. CANFORA, Simmaco e Ambrogio o di una antica controversia sulla tolleranza e sull'intolleranza, Bari 1970. * A. CHASTAGNOL, Le sénat dans l'œuvre de Symmaque, in: Colloque genevois sur Symmaque, Paris 1986, 73–96. * F. DEL CHICCA, Sull'*abundantia sermonis* nelle orazioni di Simmaco, BStudLat 8, 1978, 63–75. * S. CHRISTO, Q. Aurelius Symmachus. A Political and Social Biography, diss. New York 1974. * A. DIHLE, Zum Streit um den Altar der Viktoria, in: Romanitas et Christianitas, Studia J. H. WASZINK, Amsterdam 1973, 81–97. * G. HAVERLING, Studies on Symmachus' Language and Style, Göteborg 1988. * T. HÖLSCHER, Victoria Romana, Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jh., Mainz 1967. * R. KLEIN, Symmachus. Eine tragische Gestalt des ausgehenden Heidentums, Darmstadt 1971, 2nd ed. 1986. * R. KLEIN, s. also Editions. * R. KLEIN, Die Romidee bei Symmachus, Claudian und Prudentius, in: F. PASCHOUD, ed., 1986, 119–144. * H. O. KRÖNER, Die politischen Ansichten und Ziele des Q. Aurelius Symmachus, in: Politeia und Res Publica, Gedenkschrift R. STARK, ed. by P. STEINMETZ, Wiesbaden 1969, 337–356.

[1] Prud. *c. Symm.* 1. 632 *o linguam miro verborum fonte fluentem*; Sid. Ap. *epist.* 1. 1 *Q. Symmachi rotunditatem.*

* J. F. MATTHEWS, Symmachus and the Oriental Cults, JRS 63, 1973, 175–195. * J. F. MATTHEWS, The Letters of Symmachus, in: J. W. BINNS, ed., Latin Literature of the Fourth Century, London 1974, 58–99. * P. MELONI, Il rapporto fra impegno politico e fede religiosa in Simmaco e Ambrogio, Sandalion 1, 1978, 153–169. * F. PASCHOUD, Réflexions sur l'idéal religieux de Symmaque, Historia 14, 1965, 215–235. * F. PASCHOUD, ed., Colloque genevois sur Symmaque à l'occasion du mille-six-centième anniversaire du conflit de l'autel de la Victoire, Paris 1986. * S. RODA, Simmaco nel gioco politico del suo tempo, SDHI 39, 1973, 53–114. * D. ROMANO, Simmaco, Palermo 1959. * D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, Critical Notes on Symmachus' Private Letters, CPh 78, 1983, 315–323. * K. THRAEDE, Sprachlich-Stilistisches zu Briefen des Symmachus, RhM 111, 1968, 260–289. * J. WYTZES, Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom, Leiden 1976.

C. NOVEL

PROSE FICTION OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

The reader should refer to our preliminary remarks on the Roman novel (above pp. 1205–1211). There are links to historiography (s. especially the novels on Troy and on Alexander) and to hagiography, especially in the literary form created by Jerome. Apuleius' work influenced even the serious type of autobiography created by Augustine.

APULEIUS

Life and Dates

Apuleius from Madauros in Numidia was proud of his home town, in which he and his father were the most respected citizens (*apol.* 24); no less did he cherish Carthage as an important cultural center (*flor.* 20). These mere facts are indicative of new developments; as seminal minds and upholders of civilization, Gauls and Spaniards now find rivals in Africa. Two generations after Pliny and Tacitus a great author had no longer to rely on Rome as a place where to make a name for himself; cultural provinces emerged, more and more independent of Rome.

Having spent some years of apprenticeship at Carthage (*flor.* 18. 86; 20. 97), he continued his studies in Athens (*apol.* 27). In Greece he was initiated into various religious mysteries (*apol.* 55. 8). Extended travels into the Orient swallowed up his father's fortune (*apol.* 23; *met.* 11. 27–28). He made a short stay in Rome where he seems to have practised as a lawyer.[1]

He returned to Africa; in 158 he was put on trial in Sabratha: he had married a rich widow in Oea and found himself accused of

[1] Apul. *met.* 11. 26; 28; 30; *flor.* 17. 77.

having won her affections by magic arts. His brilliant *Apologia*, which has come down to us, secured his acquittal. After this, Apuleius moved from Oea to Carthage. He never held any public office, but he was a priest of the emperor (*sacerdos proviciae*, Aug. *epist.* 138. 19) and a priest of Isis. He was a famous itinerant orator. Statues were erected to him in his lifetime; later generations deemed him a magician and miracle-worker. Apuleius was bilingual; yet, we possess only his Latin works.

The *De magia* was delivered under Emperor Antoninus Pius (*apol.* 85) and the proconsul Claudius Maximus (perhaps in 158). At that time Apuleius had already composed speeches, *ludicra carmina*, and scientific works.

The parts of the *Florida* we can date fall on the sixties under Marcus Aurelius and Verus.

Among other reasons for assigning a late date to the *Metamorphoses* (between 180 and 190)[1] there is the fact that an important motif in the story of Psyche (6. 2. 6; 6. 4. 5; 6. 7. 4) was inspired by a rescript of Emperors Marcus and Commodus (*dig.* 11.4. 1–2; A.D. 177).[2]

The philosophic writings are almost devoid of chronological hints; Apuleius wrote them perhaps in his early years.

Survey of Works

Metamorphoses[3]

1: On his way from Corinth to Thessaly, the country of witches, Lucius, full of curiosity, listens to several magic tales.

2: At Hypata he stays at Milo's home. After a drinking bout (where horrific stories were told) he stabs to death three suspicious subjects.

3: After a capital trial the victims turn out to be wine-skins. Lucius observes the metamorphosis of his host's wife into an eagle owl and asks her maidservant Fotis to change him into a bird as well. She takes the wrong ointment and turns him into an ass. Burglars lead him away as a pack animal.

4: He overhears, among other stories, the tale of Amor and Psyche (4. 28–6. 24) told by the robbers' mother:

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[1] P. G. Walsh 1970, Appendix II.

[2] G. W. Bowersock, Zur Geschichte des römischen Thessalien, RhM 108, 1965, 277–289, esp. 282, note 31.

[3] *The Golden Ass* (Aug. *civ.* 18. 18. 1) may be a laudatory title coined by readers; Augustine considered it authentic.

5: Psyche is not allowed to see her divine husband (allegedly a monster). Her envious sisters goad her into watching him while asleep and, should he be a monster, killing him. Oil dripping from her lamp wakes him up, and he must leave her.

6: Only after hard trials inflicted on her by Venus, her mother-in-law, is Psyche permitted to return to Amor.—In vain the ass tries to flee together with Charite, a girl kidnapped by the robbers.

7: Tlepolemos, Charite's bridegroom, rescues her and the ass by a stratagem. Soon, however, the ass is compelled to turn a mill. The main narrative is interpersed with pranks.

8: After the dreadful deaths of his benefactors the ass falls prey to various cruel masters; his life becomes slightly better among the depraved priests of Cybele, whose idol he has to carry.

9: The ass escapes several dangers. Episode: A wife betrays her husband with the would-be 'buyer' of a barrel. The ass moves from a miller to a gardener, who loses him to a soldier.

10: Episode: A stepmother's love unrequited by her virtuous stepson. The ass leads a life of idle luxury with two brothers, a cook and a confectioner. The master of the two buys him off and has him learn how to behave at table. A lady even falls in love with him. The ass flees to avoid a public exhibition of sodomy.

11: On the shore of Corinth he wakes up at midnight, prays to Isis, the queen of the heavens, and, finally, is redeemed: from a priest of Isis he receives the roses which save him (cf. p. 1455) and he devotes himself to the service of the goddess.

In the first three books Lucius is repeatedly warned against possible consequences of his curiosity (*curiositas*); books 4–10 describe his punishment; book 11, his redemption. The tale of Amor and Psyche is the most significant of the numerous inserted episodes.

The *Apologia* or *De magia* is a speech for the defence against the charge of magic. After an introduction, Apuleius proves that he has not exercised magical practices (29–65) and that there was no reason for having recourse to magic (from 66 to the end). For us this speech is valuable evidence on Apuleius' life and ancient magic.

Florida is the title of 23 showpieces from the speeches Apuleius had delivered as a sophist. Supposedly, an epitomator compiled these extracts out of four books.

The *De Platone et eius dogmate* combines Platonic and later doctrines, perhaps in the wake of Albinus or his teacher Gaius. A biographical sketch is followed by a discussion of physics (book 1) and ethics (book 2). For the loss of the section on logic, the dubious *Peri hermeniae* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας), which has been transmitted separately, is small comfort. Its content is Aristotelian and Stoic.

The *De deo Socratis* is moulded as a speech. It treats of good demons, which range between gods and men.[1]

The *De mundo* is on cosmology and cosmography, including the problem of the governor of the universe. It is a translation, though not a flawless one, of the Pseudo-Aristotelian περὶ κόσμου. Augustine (*civ.* 4. 2) thinks that Apuleius is the author.[2]

The authenticity of the *Peri hermeniae* is disputed (s. above on the *De Platone*). It is a textbook of formal logic, discussing the theory of assertory syllogism.

Lost are poems, among which Latin and Greek hymns on Aesculapius, a novel entitled *Hermagoras*, historical works, speeches, works on science, fish, trees, agriculture, medicine, astronomy, arithmetic, music, and a translation of Plato's *Phaedo*. We do not know if Apuleius wrote an encyclopedia,[3] but the encyclopedic character of his úuvre may be taken for granted.

Spurious works

The *Asclepius*, the translation of a Hermetic revelation, mingles Greek and Egyptian ideas and announces the fall of pagan religion. Augustine read the *Asclepius* as a work of Apuleius. Lactantius used the Greek original.[4]

Sources, Models, and Genres

The extant examples of long picaresque novels are mostly written in Latin.[5] The *Metamorphoses* is the oldest voluminous Latin novel to have been preserved completely. The Greek parallel text *Lucius or the ass*, which has come down to us among Lucian's writings, is much shorter; in all probability, however, it is traced to a lost Greek original of larger dimensions,[6] which was used and reshaped by

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[1] On the subject matter: Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*; Aug. *civ.* 8. 14–22; for the literary form: Max. Tyr. *or.* 8–9 Hobein.

[2] In favor of authenticity: F. Regen 1971; hesitating J. Redfors 1960.

[3] O. Jahn, Über römische Encyclopädien, BSG 1850, phil-hist. Kl. 2, 263–287, esp. 282.

[4] Other spurious works: *De herbarum medicaminibus (virtutibus); De remediis salutaribus; Physiognomonia.* Yet, Apuleius is familiar with physiognomy (*flor.* 3; 15).

[5] The Iolaus fragment opens new perspectives, s. N. Holzberg 1986, 75–77; 126; s. now S. Stephens, J. Winkler, Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments, Princeton 1995 (*Iolaus* is on pp. 358–374); P. G. Walsh 1970 deems the Greek *Lucius* the immediate source of Apuleius and draws rather far-reaching conclusions on Roman originality.

[6] 'Lucius of Patrae' (in Photius, *cod.* 129); H. van Thiel (1971, 40–42) thinks that the author belonged to the Second Sophistic movement of the mid-second century A.D. (perhaps Phoenix or Phylax of Hypata); Lucian is favored by B. E. Perry, followed by N. Holzberg, Apuleius und der Verfasser des griechischen Eselsromans, WJA 10, 1984, 161–177.

Apuleius as well,[1] but had no religious ending.

Apuleius adorned this basic stock by adding *Milesian tales*. The relevant work of Aristides of Miletus[2] (around 100 B.C.) had been Latinized by Cornelius Sisenna; such trivial literature was found in 53 B.C. in the luggage of the soldiers killed in the battle of Carrhae (Plut. *Crassus* 32). Such books contained funny tales like those known to us from Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Poggio's *Facetiae*. The most significant episode, the fairy tale of Amor and Psyche, may originate in folklore.

In antiquity, novels—like comedies—used freely invented plots; they were 'fiction' (πλάσμα), as opposed to the rest of classical literature, which was mostly based on myths. Integral parts of the formal aspect of the genre are a miraculous main plot (e.g. the story of the ass) and short stories of the Milesian type (*met.* 1. 1) inserted as episodes. As for the organization of a large-scale narrative, novelists could rely on the experiences of epic poets and historians, most notably the *Odyssey* (*met.* 9. 13) and Herodotus. The satirical element is rooted in Cynic philosophy, but also in a typically Roman tradition.

At first glance the work presents itself as an entertaining novel with an inorganic and alien religious ending. This impression is belied, however, by a closer study of Apuleius' literary technique. The polarity of magic transformation into an ass and religious salvation suggests that we consider the *Metamorphoses* an allegorical 'wondrous news' at the service of religious propaganda and an allegorical autobiography; to be sure, this explains only one facet of the work. In any case the *Metamorphoses*, despite their autobiographical disguise, cannot be explained as a novel of 'personal development', since in the ass no signs of moral progress are perceivable.[3]

Moreover, Apuleius alludes to juridic[4] sources: his age was the heyday of Roman jurisprudence.

He translated Plato's *Phaedo*; his speech for the defence followed

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[1] The fact that 'Lucius of Patrae' entitled his work *Metamorphoseis*, is no proof of his priority, of course. Yet, in the Greek *Lucius*, there are several obscure points which are only clarified by the Apuleian context. W. Dilthey (Festrede Univ. Göttingen 1879, 12) held the unconventional view that Apuleius had been the author of the long Greek novel, too.

[2] On the novel: Phot. *cod.* 166. 111 b; Macr. *somn.* 1. 2. 8; the four stories of adultery in book 9 were probably taken from Aristides.

[3] Misleading E. Paratore, La novella in Apuleio, Palermo 1928; W. Wittmann 1938; H. Riefstahl 1938, esp. 33–36 and 95–125.

[4] On the jocular character of such features: H. Maehler 1981.

Plato's *Apology* up to the title; the *Timaeus* ultimately lurks behind the cosmological part of the *De Platone*, although it is immediately rooted in the scholastic tradition of middle Platonism. The same applies to the *De deo Socratis*.

The *De mundo* is a free translation of a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise. The model itself is impregnated with an edifying Stoicism redolent of Posidonius. Chapters 13–14 on the winds are an insertion from Gellius (2. 22). Furthermore, the author adorns his translation with quotations from Virgil.

The *Peri hermeniae*, the authenticity of which is contested, is ultimately based on Aristotle, but also shows familiarity with later Peripatetic and Stoic logic.

Literary Technique

The technique of first-person narrative suggests an illusion of personal experience, thus enhancing 'credibility'. Moreover, the affinity between the author and the narrative ego confers on the novel an 'autobiographical' note which prepares the serious ending. Lucius is described with sympathy; he is not merely an object of derision. His simplicity is not emphasized explicitly (as happens with Psyche, his nobler counterpart) but it is implied.

There are more devices contributing to make Apuleius' narrative believable: the careful self-portrayal of the narrator, the testimony of independent witnesses, and the graphic vividness (ἐνάργεια) maintained throughout the work up to the precision of the geographical and chronological framework. Descriptions both add to *evidentia* and illustrate the deeper meaning of the story: in contradistinction to Ovid (*met.* 3. 138–252), Apuleius in one of his descriptions uses the Actaeon myth to emphasize *curiositas* (*met.* 2. 4–5), the central theme of his story.[1] Further descriptive insertions are the palace of Amor (*met.* 5. 1) and the den of thieves (*met.* 4. 6): the dark place of captivity and the divine abode form a contrast, in harmony with the function of the tale of Amor and Psyche, which is meant to comfort an abducted Charite.

Apuleius interspersed his novel with about twenty short stories. They are related to the main plot. The most substantial of them, the

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[1] A. Wlosok 1969, 73–74.

tale of Amor and Psyche, is shaped to reflect Lucius' error,[1] suffering and redemption to the last detail.

A leading theme connecting various scenes of the novel is the failure of man's effort to redeem himself: the ass' endeavors to get hold of the roses of salvation on his own have no less disastrous consequences than Psyche's impatience to see the god (*met.* 5. 22–23). The contrast between fruitless attempts (like *met.* 3. 27) and actual deliverance (*met.* 11. 12–13) is devised with a good writer's forethought.

Roses are a recurrent element of imagery.[2] There are two sides to it: an erotic and a mystic one. Roses are attributes of the feast of love (*met.* 2. 16. 2) and of Venus herself (*met.* 6. 11. 2), and *roseus* refers to feminine charms (*met.* 2. 8. 13; 2. 17. 5; 4. 31. 2). The third book, which contains the metamorphosis, starts with the mention of Aurora's rosy arms.[3] On the other hand, Lucius is supposed to be delivered by eating roses. Between his abortive bid for seizing the roses by force (3. 27) and the real salvation with the assistance of the priest (11. 12–13) there are cases when the ass voluntarily renounces the roses, in order to save his life (3. 29.16; 4. 2). This motif, subtly interwoven with the main action, is also reflected in the inserted fairy-tale: there is Psyche's rose-coloured blood (5. 23. 6) and there are the roses of the heavenly marriage (6. 24. 7).

In his narrative technique Apuleius rivals historians and epic poets even in detail: the parody of the traditional epic horse simile is indeed delightful (7. 16; cf. esp. Verg. *Aen.* 11. 492–497). Parody borders on travesty, when the ass acts as a substitute for nobler mythic animals: the bull of Dirce, the ram of Phrixus, the dolphin of Arion, and even Pegasus (6. 27–30).

The Latin novel eschews the sentimental dimension typical of the Greek genre and gives a subtle, slightly ironical twist to traditional themes. This is not the kind of irony meaning the contrary of what is said; it is just a way of calling things into question. Our notion of parody is sometimes too straightforward as well: it is true that Apuleius' novel is, among other things, a dialogue with the literary tradition but it is not limited to parody.

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[1] Also *curiositas: met.* 5. 6. 6; 5. 19. 3; 6. 20. 5; 6. 21. 4.

[2] von Albrecht, Prose 172–173, n. 18.

[3] On the symbolism of such beginnings: Heinze, V.e.T. 366–370 (Engl. ed. 293–295).

Lucius' relationship with Fotis is a good illustration of a narrative art proceeding step by step and of indirect character portrayal. First, Apuleius summarizes the favorable impression Lucius got of the girl and merely hints at dark forebodings (2. 6). In a second phase physical attraction is verbalized in a more explicit, if indirect way; Fotis playfully warns Lucius (2. 7). Next follows a description of her head and hair, a kiss on her forehead and a further warning on the part of Fotis; finally a hug accompanied with the ominous word *perii* and an appointment for the evening (2. 8–10).

Such scenes—amusing, thrilling, and even risqué—are standard ingredients of the literature of religious entertainment and propaganda in late antiquity; there are even Christian examples.[1] Apuleius raises this trivial genre to the rank of literature.

In his *Apologia* and *Florida* Apuleius shows his mastery of rhetoric. Rhetoric is not even absent from the *De deo Socratis* which has been justly called a 'piece of rhetoric'.[2] No matter who compiled the selection, the *Florida* is an important step towards a new literary genre: the essay.

Language and Style

Latin is Apuleius' native tongue; we should not take at face value the narrator's remark that he finds difficulty in handling a foreign language (*met.* 1.1). A rare delight in and command of words (reminiscent of Plautus) allowed Apuleius to create a highly sophisticated language with an especially rich vocabulary—there are over 250 neologisms. Colloquialisms appear along with archaic and poetic words. Examples of popular usage are *manduco* (*met.* 6. 31 'glutton'), or *corium crassum* (*met.* 6. 26 'thick skin'). *Examurcare* is an especially graphic metaphor (*met.* 4. 14): to obtain good oil, it is important to remove the dregs. A military metaphor is curiously applied to a matron (*met.* 7. 6 *decimo partus stipendio*, 'ten terms of childbearing'). Likewise, juridic metaphors preserve their original meaning. When compelled to choose the path on which to escape, the ass and the girl strive, as it were, at law about the right way (*viae herciscundae*, *met.* 6. 29). An epithet worth mentioning is *morsicantes oculi*, 'twinkling eyes' (*met.* 2. 10). All stylistic devices are subject to definite literary aims on different

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[1] Cf. the *Acts of Saints Paul and Thecla*.

[2] J. Tatum 1979, 130.

levels—graceful, serious, or comic. Archaisms, for instance, confer a 'rustic' character on Psyche's encounter with Pan (*met.* 5. 25).[1]

Words gain multiple resonances; irony is omnipresent, though not always as easy to grasp as when robbers are called *mitissimi homines* (*met.* 6. 26). Often we have to realize the Platonic meaning of a word; to give an example, *permulcere* (1. 1) literally refers to entertainment (cf. Macr. *somn.* 1. 2. 8), but also may be understood as a soothing incantation (ἐπᾴδειν) in the sense of *Phaedo* 77 e.[2] Lucius and Fotis are telling names related to each other; with slight irony they allude to the symbolism of light typical of initiation (whereas Pseudo-Lucian is sensuous enough to call the girl 'Palaestra'). In the last book, expressions used in mystery cults abound (particularly in *met.* 11. 23). Traditional notions are reinterpreted in terms of religion: service as true freedom (*met.* 11. 15), external and inner light and darkness (*met.* 11. 22 *noctis obscurae non obscuris imperiis*, 'one dark night in lucid commands').

The style of the *Metamorphoses* is unified, it excels in richness of imagery and sonority.[3] The second Sophistic movement,[4] that strange mixture of rhetoric and philosophy, here creates a particularly colorful, 'Asianic' style: after the classicism of Domitian's age a new phase of efflorescence. Apuleius is the author 'most fond of rhymes in antiquity'.[5] Antitheses are not rare; they may convey a religious message: *neque vocatus morari nec non iussus festinare deberem*, 'that I must be neither delaying when I was summoned nor hastening unbidden' (*met.* 11. 21. 5). Prose rhythm is strongly marked.[6] Many features of Apuleius' style come together in the self-glorification of Isis (*met.* 11. 5).[7] Compared to Isis-hymns,[8] the text of Apuleius exhibits a strong influence of the structural principles of prose artistry.

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[1] L. Callebat, L'archaïsme dans les *Métamorphoses* d'Apulée, REL 42, 1964, 346–361; C. Roncaioli, L'arcaismo nelle opere filosofiche di Apuleio, GIF 19, 1966, 322–356; on language and style s. also P. Neuenschwander, Der bildliche Ausdruck des Apuleius von Madaura, diss. Zürich 1913; P. Médan, La latinité d'Apulée dans les *Métamorphoses*, Paris 1925; M. Bernhard 1927; L. Callebat, *Sermo cotidianus* dans les *Métamorphoses* d'Apulée, Caen 1968; von Albrecht, Prose 167–176; K. Krautter 1971, 115–122; L. Callebat, La prose d'Apulée dans le *De magia*. Eléments d'interprétation, WS n.s. 18, 1984, 143–167; C. Strub 1985.

[2] C. Schlam 1970.

[3] M. Bernhard 1927, 255–258.

[4] Norden, Kunstprosa 600–605.

[5] K. Polheim, Lateinische Reimprosa, Berlin 1925, 206.

[6] M. Bernhard 1927, 249–255.

[7] J. Tatum 1979, 156–157.

[8] W. Peek, Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte, Berlin 1930; V. F. Vanderlip, The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis, Toronto 1972.

Apuleius' style considerably varies from one work to another;[1] the clear diction of the *Apologia* is sometimes reminiscent of Cicero; the cultivated technical prose of the philosophical writings is often quickened to adopt the spirited pace of rhetoric, though remaining, on the whole, much more matter-of-fact than the style of the novel, let alone the *Florida*. The divergencies of style complicate the problems of authenticity.

Scholars found some evidence of a development from 'un-classical' *clausulae* based on word accent in the philosophical writings—provided that they have an early date—to a stricter method in the novel (which was certainly written in his later years).[2] The study of chronological and generic differences is still in the early stages.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

As an author, Apuleius admits to striving for perfection. In the ninth part of the *Florida* he emphasizes the importance of being careful and conscientious in intellectual creativity, all the more as his, Apuleius', intellectual output is greater than the mechanical output of Hippias. It is a glaring understatement, therefore, that, in the introduction to the *Metamorphoses*, he puts himself on a level with the trivial *Milesian Tales*.[3] What he has in mind is the transference of a Greek genre into Latin. It is his aim to cause both astonishment (ἔκπληξις) and pleasure (*laetaberis: met.* 1. 1; ἡδονή). Only the last book will definitely reveal that entertainment is not his sole purpose.

Ideas II

Is there some coherence in our author's thought? In the *Apologia*, he distinguishes two kinds of love, one of them earthly, heavenly the other. The former binds, the latter releases. This idea allows an approach to the *Metamorphoses* as well.

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[1] Löfstedt, Syntactica 303–305.

[2] F. Regen, GGA 229, 1977, 186–227, esp. 188 with n. 9–10; on 'accentuating' aspects of his prose rhythm: B. Axelson, Akzentuierender Klauselrhythmus bei Apuleius, *De Platone* und *De mundo*, Lund 1952 (with bibl.).

[3] C. S. Wright, 'No Art at All'. A Note on the Prooemium of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, CPh 68, 1973, 217–219.

It is true that Apuleius is not a philosopher in the academic acceptance of the word. His philosophical writings, which are not strictly scientific, document the influx of religion into philosophy. The author is a representative of the second Sophistic, a mixed being, made up of a *homo religiosus*, an 'African Socrates',[1] and a showman. Since the days of Cicero, Platonism had changed: skepticism declined, faith gained ground. Religion became the fulfilment even of philosophical search.

Apuleius considers himself a *philosophus Platonicus* (*apol.* 10; 64. 3; *flor.* 15. 26). The narrator of his novel claims to be, from the mother's side, a descendant of Plutarch the 'famous philosopher' (*met.* 1. 2). By his *curiositas* Lucius is drawn into all-too-earthly things; he tries to penetrate into domains of knowledge hidden from man. In the preserved Greek *Lucius or The Ass*, *curiositas* (περιεργία) is a mere means of characterization,[2] whereas Apuleius makes it a *leitmotif* of the entire novel. Fotis plays the part of a magic mystagogue in a negative sense; the metamorphosis into an ass is the perversion of an initiation. The hero's thirst for knowledge is initially focused on magic, the presumed key to the other world. The story condemns this conviction.[3]

The religion of Isis appears as *sobria et purissima religio*, 'austere and purest faith'; according to Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* 352 a–c) it is free from superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) and presumptuous inquisitiveness (περιεργία; *curiositas*). Isis is the seer who illuminates men (*met.* 11. 15). In the initiation into mysteries—after some period of contemplation—philosophy comes to fruition.[4] For both Plutarch (ibid. 382 cd) and Apuleius (*met.* 11. 23 *nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*, 'in the middle of the night I saw the sun flashing with bright light') initiation has the character of a flash of illumination reminiscent of Plato's *Seventh Letter* (344 b); Apuleius describes Plato's experience of God as a sudden blaze of light in the dead of night (*Socr.* 3). It is uncertain whether Apuleius already tried to come to terms with Christianity.[5]

Hitherto we have said little about a god, who for Apuleius is one of the most important ones: the *deus Risus*. Apuleius thinks highly of

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1 J. Tatum 1979, 105–134.
2 Though, in important moments (15; 45; 56).
3 P. G. Walsh 1970, 180.
4 A. Wlosok 1969, 72–73 (*curiositas*); 81–84 (philosophy).
5 Cf. *met.* 9. 14; *apol.* 56. 3–4; cf. M. Simon 1974.

humor. His work is liable to belie a prejudice common among northerners saying that philosophy and religion exclude pleasure.

Transmission

Boccaccio laid hands on a codex from Monte Cassino, today Mediceus Laurentianus plut. 68, 2 (F), 11th century which contained, along with Tacitus (*ann.* 11–16; *hist.* 1–5) three main works of Apuleius. For us, this manuscript is the archetype of the transmission of *met.*, *apol.*, and *flor.* As the *subscriptiones* show, it is traced back to a 4th century codex.

Another group is formed by *Socr.*, *Ascl.*, *Plat.*, and *mund.* The archetype of these works is lost. Precious are the Bruxellensis 10 054/6 (B), 11th century, from Cues and the Nederlandensis Leidensis Vossianus 4° 10 (N), 11th century; in the main, the manuscripts fall into three classes, among which the first has no absolute claim to primacy.[1]

Influence

The bipartite structure of the tradition found its match in the history of influence: the broader tradition of the philosophical writings—including the apocrypha—reflected their importance in the Middle Ages, whereas the preservation of the novel (which is more attractive for modern readers) hung by a thread.[2]

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[1] S. now J. Beaujeu, ed., Apulée, opuscules philosophiques... et fragments, Paris 1973, xxxv–xlv; moreover, G. Augello, Studi apuleiani. Problemi di testo e loci vexati delle *Metamorfosi*, Palermo 1977; F. Regen, Der codex Laurentianus, pluteus 51, 9. Ein bisher vernachlässigter Textzeuge der Apuleischen Schrift *De deo Socratis*, Göttingen 1985; cf. also L. Pepe, Un nuovo codice di Apuleio del sec. XI (Bibl. comun. Assisi n. 706), GIF 4, 1951, 214–225.

[2] Together with the *Golden Ass*, Tacitus' major works would have been lost; parallel cases of meager tradition are other favorites of the modern age: Lucretius and Catullus; on Apuleius' influence: E. H. Haight, Apuleius and his Influence, New York 1927; P. Bruneau, Illustrations antiques... de Lucien (and Apuleius), BCH 89, 1965, 349–357; C. Dempsey, The Textual Sources of Poussin's *Marine Venus* in Philadelphia (Apuleius), JWI 29, 1966, 438–442; K. Krautter 1971 (on Beroaldus); C. Moreschini, sulla fama di Apuleio nella tarda antichità, in: Romanitas et Christianitas. Studia J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam 1973, 243–248; A. Scobie, The Influence of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* on Some French Authors 1518–1843, Arcadia 12, 1977, 156–165; V. C. López, Apuleyo y Cervantes. Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo, Actas del VI congreso español de studios clásicos (Sevilla 1981), Madrid 1983, vol. 2, 199–204; J. F. D'Amico, The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism, Renaissance Quarterly 37, 1984, 351–392; L. Boccolini Palagi, Suggestioni apuleiane nella *Mandragola* di Niccolò Machiavelli, A&R n.s. 31, 1986, 159–170.

In late antiquity and during the Middle Ages Apuleius was taken in earnest as a Platonic philosopher[1] so much so that Macrobius (*somn.* 1. 1) was astonished that the same man had written a novel. There is no doubt that Apuleius paved the way for the acceptance of Platonism in the western world. Not enough that he wrote readable Latin adaptations; his way of integrating Platonism into a mystery religion could be easily understood and emulated by Christians. In the domain of literature, by combining autobiographical form and religious confession in the *Metamorphoses*, he became an important model for Augustine's *Confessiones*.

The demonology of the *De deo Socratis* irrisistibly attracted Christian readers in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages; Augustine seriously maintained that metamorphoses like that of Lucius into an ass could be explained—not physically but psychologically—as a deception practised by demons (*civ.* 18. 18).[2]

The *Peri hermeniae* attributed to Apuleius is a link of the chain transmitting formal logic from the school of Aristotle and the Stoics to the Latin-speaking west.

John of Salisbury (d. 1180) began his survey of classical philosophy with Pythagoras and ended it with Apuleius (*Policraticus* 7). In the 12th century, when scholars tried to understand nature more deeply, Bernardus Silvestris, in many instances, drew philosophical lore from Apuleius.[3]

Boccaccio (d. 1375) knew the literary works of Apuleius and took some risqué short stories over into his *Decameron*.[4] Thus, at the dawn of the modern age, instead of the philosopher, Apuleius the storyteller came to the fore.

Even his style found followers, though for a short time. Contrary to Ciceronianism or to Quintilian's eclecticism, Beroaldus the Elder (d. 1505) heralded an archaizing—'Apuleian'—fashion.

Boiardo (d. 1494) translated the *Metamorphoses* into Italian; there followed translations into French (by Guillaume Michel, 1517, publ.

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[1] E.g. Aug. *civ.* 4. 2 (on *mund.* as a work of Apuleius); 8. 14–18 (on *Socr.*); 8. 23–26 (on *Ascl.* as a work of Apuleius); 18. 18 (on *Met.*); s. also our chapters on Church Fathers.

[2] The *phantasticum* (the sensitive soul, which leaves the body while deeply asleep) appears to others as a phantom.

[3] *De mundi universitate*; s. B. Stock, Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century, Princeton 1972, 20.

[4] *Dec.* 7. 2 (*met.* 9. 5–7); 5. 10 (*met.* 9. 22–28).

1522), into German (by Johann Sieder, 1538), and into English (by T. Adlington, 1566). Inevitably, Apuleius influenced the picaresque novel: Cervantes' (d. 1616) *Don Quijote* experienced an Apuleian adventure with wine skins, Grimmelshausen's (d. 1676) *Simplicissimus* exhibited Psyche's simplicity already in the title, Lesage's (d. 1747) *Gil Blas* was captured by robbers like Lucius. In his *Contes et nouvelles en vers*, La Fontaine (d. 1695) put into verse the Apuleian type of funny short story (cf. especially *met.* 9. 5–7); he gracefully ridiculed some weaknesses of the fair sex in his verse novel in dialogue form (*Les amours de Psyché et Cupidon*). Shackerley Marmion (d. 1639) put the fairy tale (1637) into English verse. In a tradition of allegorical interpretation of the tale of Psyche, Johann Ludwig Prasch (d. 1690), a Lutheran neo-Latin author from Regensburg, presented Psyche as an image of the soul which, having stood the trials of the world, goes to heaven.[1] Goethe's contemporary, August (von) Rohde (d. 1837) made a translation of the *Metamorphoses*, which is popular to this day.

Alexander Pushkin (d. 1837) coined the household word: 'I glady read my Apuleius,/but Cicero I left unread.' In central and northern Europe, many readers discovered in Amor and Psyche their own inner conflict between Christian asceticism and pagan sensuality; there was often interaction between literature and art (Canova, Thorwaldsen). Psyche inspired lyric poets like Heinrich Heine (d. 1856) and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (d. 1898), dramatists like the Dane Frederik Paludan-Müller (d. 1876), and the epic poet Robert Hamerling (d. 1889). The rescue of a swimmer in Theodor Storm's (d. 1888) short story *Psyche* is based on *met.* 5. 25. In England the same fairy tale fascinated illustrious minds: Elizabeth Barrett Browning (d. 1861), William Morris (d. 1896),[2] and Walter Pater (d. 1894).[3] Gustave Flaubert (d. 1880) found in Apuleius the 'odor of incense and of urine, bestiality linked with mysticism'.[4] Honoré de Balzac's (d. 1850) *Peau de chagrin* is less indebted to Apuleius than the short novels ('*The Ass in Love*' and *Psyche*) of Louis Couperus (d. 1923), the Dutch prince of poets, whose sophisticated, highly musical mastery of language has a genuine affinity to Apuleius.[5]

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[1] *Psyche cretica*; German ed. Leipzig 1705.
[2] *The Earthly Paradise.*
[3] *Marius the Epicurean.*
[4] CONTE, LG 569.
[5] Karl Mickel's adaptation of *Das Halsgericht* should be mentioned as well.

Our author's impact extends from the heights of literary artistry to folklore. With the dissemination of books and compulsory education, secondary influences of Apuleius on folklore increased, which drive to despair scholars who want to reconstruct the sources of this fairy-tale.

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D. TECHNICAL AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORS

1. THE AUTHORITIES OF THE SCHOOLS

TECHNICAL WRITERS OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

Grammarians and Metricians

Grammarians made an important contribution to the continuity of education through antiquity and Middle Ages. Therefore their efforts deserve to be mentioned in a history of literature. The famous scholars of the 4th–6th centuries who became the pillars of school tradition relied on a series of predecessors, who in their turn were linked to scholars of early empire and late Republic.

L. Caesellius Vindex studied early Latin, probably under Hadrian; extracts from his *Antiquae lectiones* (a work composed in alphabetical order) are known from Cassiodorus.

Q. Terentius Scaurus was the most famous grammarian of Hadrian's era. Among other works, he wrote commentaries on Horace. Unfortunately only two small treatises *De ortographia* have come down to us. Scaurus was influenced by Varro. We do not possess his polemics against Caesellius.

Velius Longus' work on orthography has been preserved.

C. Sulpicius Apollinaris of Carthage was one of Gellius' teachers. His learned disquisitions in the form of letters are lost, whereas his *Periochae* to Terence survived.

Some grammarians not mentioned in Gellius but respectfully quoted by later generations must probably be dated towards the end of the 2nd century:

Aemilius Asper's (probably end of the 2nd century) commentaries on Terence, Sallust, and Virgil are lost. The *Artes* ascribed to him are spurious. Donatus, Ausonius, and Augustine hold him in high esteem.

One of his contemporaries was Flavius Caper. The opuscules ascribed to him were hardly written by him in the present form. He

served as a bridge between Probus and his user Julius Romanus. Still Priscian would appreciate him.

Statilius Maximus, who lived towards the end of the 2nd century, emended the text of Cicero's speeches and noted words occurring only once (*Singularia*) in Cicero and Cato.

Helenius Acro (probably about 200) was used by Julius Romanus and Porphyrio. We do not have his commentaries on Terence (*Ad.; Eun.*) and Horace. The extant scholia on Horace by Pseud-Acro supplement Porphyrio from Suetonius and other sources, among which probably the real Acro.

Pomponius Porphyrio (probably early 3rd century) is the author of a scholastic commentary on Horace an abridged version of which is known to us. The commentator is less concerned with realia than with delivery, grammatical construction, and poetic beauty. This work gives us a glimpse of the understanding of literature taught in ancient classrooms.

C. Julius Romanus (ca. 3rd century) is one of Charisius' sources; the lost 'Αφορμαί discussed parts of speech, cases, and orthography. In each case general rules were followed by alphabetic lists of words with references. Charisius, who seems to have been the only one to use him, owes a great deal of erudition to him.

Sacerdos (end of the 3rd century) in his preserved texts treated grammar and meter; he seems to have exerted a formative influence on compendia of grammar and metrics in late antiquity.[1] Juba's work on metrics (not earlier than the end of the 2nd century) perished.

One of Sacerdos' students was Cominian[2] who enriched the pattern of school grammar (the like of an extract from Scaurus) with elements from Remmius Palaemon in order to satisfy both beginners and advanced students. Cominian's work was incorporated into Charisius' who under Cominian's name exerted an influence on the Middle Ages.

Nonius Marcellus

Nonius Marcellus, an African, lived after the 2nd and before the 5th century; he used Apuleius and Gellius and is metioned by Priscian.

His collection *De compendiosa doctrina* consists of twenty books[3] or

[1] P. L. Schmidt, HLL 5, § 522, 3.
[2] P. L. Schmidt, HLL 5, § 523, 1.
[3] 20 books are found elsewhere: in Festus, Gellius, and Isidore.

chapters of unequal length. It is evidently unfinished and perhaps was published posthumously. It falls into a long section on language (books *1–12*) and a shorter section on realia (books *13–20*). Book *16* (on shoes) is lost.

In the first part book *4* is especially voluminous; it fills alone the central volume of the tripartite Teubner edition. It discusses multiple meanings of words. These are arranged alphabetically (*per litteras*), as is the case with books *2* and *3*.

The second part shows a preference for thematic arrangement: ships (*13*), clothes (*14*) and their colors (*17*), vessels (*15*), food and beverages (*18*), weapons (*19*), terms of kinship (*20*); this book is the shortest; it fills no more than half a page.

Lemmata are usually defined or explained by synonyms; then follow (except for book *20*) references from an exquisite series of early Latin authors[1] (among whom Virgil is admitted for his slightly archaizing language, while Catullus, the 'modernist', is omitted). Although Nonius is sometimes negligent, we are indebted to him for precious citations, especially from Lucilius, Varro, and the dramatists. Unfortunately, given the lexicographical character of the work, the fragments are mostly very short. Gellius is one of Nonius' intermediate sources.

Nonius'[2] much blamed indolence is not without its bright side: in the sequence of authors he excerpted there are found surprising regularities. A keen investigation into his rather consistent method[3] even allowed scholars to pinpoint the position of the quoted passages within their original context. In each chapter Nonius first followed special grammatical writings and took from them his lemmata and

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1 Plautus, Lucretius, Naevius, Accius, Pomponius, Novius, Lucilius, Ennius, Turpilius, Pacuvius, Cicero, Varro, Sallust, Afranius, Virgil, Terence, Sisenna, and several grammarians.

2 *Fatuus ille* (R. Bentley to Hor. *sat.* 1. 2. 129); Schanz, LG 4, 1, 143, 2 calls book *9* 'especially instructive as to the stupidity of Nonius', probably because at the very beginning the genitive plural with *-um* is described as 'singular accusative used instead of plural genitive'. But Nonius is not an Indo-Europeanist.

3 *Edition:* W. M. Lindsay, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1903; *Bibl.:* W. M. Lindsay, *praef.* xv–xix; W. M. Lindsay, De fragmentis scriptorum apud Nonium servatis, RhM 57, 1902, 196–204; W. M. Lindsay, De citationibus apud Nonium Marcellum, Philologus 64, 1905, 438–464; W. Strzelecki, Zur Entstehung der *Compendiosa doctrina* des Nonius, Eos 34, 1932–1933, 113–129; W. Strzelecki, RE 17, 1936, 882–897; A. Coucke, Nonius Marcellus en zijn *De compendiosa doctrina*, diss. Louvain 1936–1937; L. Rychlewska, Tragica II, Wrocław 1954, 124–141; W. Strzelecki, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenbenutzung des Nonius, ADAW 13, 1959, 81–90; M. Folkerts, KlP 4, 1972, 153–154 (bibl.); P. L. Schmidt, forthcoming in HLL 6, § 615.

some references. Then he completed the lemmata from 41 editions of Roman authors, among whom are grammarians.

In accordance with an old Roman tradition, Nonius' work was intended for the instruction of his son. His very choice of authors shows that Nonius is an archaist.

Atilius Fortunatianus

The metrical treatise of Atilius Fortunatianus[1] is a compendium written for an educated young man who wants to become an orator. The author draws on Caesius Bassus as a source.

Marius Victorinus

Given his general importance (extending to philosophy and theology), C. Marius Victorinus will be treated in a separate chapter (pp. 1616–1627).

Aelius Donatus

Aelius Donatus[2] (Rome, mid-4th century) is perhaps the best known Latin grammarian. He has become a *praeceptor Europae*, last but not least owing to his student Jerome, to whom he succesfully transmitted the bacillus of classical education.

The 1st book of the *Ars Donati* (the so-called *Ars minor*) is an elementary course on the eight parts of speech (sorts of words) in the form of questions and answers. The next three books (books *2–4: Ars maior*) are more detailed: they discuss phonetics, parts of speech (this section overlaps with the *Ars minor*), deficiencies and beauties of speech.

Correspondences with Diomedes and Charisius are traced to common sources.

The *Ars*, which became *the* Latin textbook for late antiquity and the Middle Ages, owes its lasting success above all to its formal perfection.[3] Not a single word in it is contingent. His language is free

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[1] GL 6, 278–304 Keil.

[2] *Editions: Artes*: GL 4, 353; 367–402 Keil; *Comm.*: P. Wessner, Lipsiae 1902–1905; *bibl.*: P. Wessner, RE 5, 2, 1905, 1545–1547; K. Barwick (s. next footnote).

[3] Correctly L. Holtz 1981, 95 against K. Barwick, Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica, Philologus suppl. vol. 15, 2, Leipzig 1922, 11, who considers Donatus' success a mere coincidence.

from fashionable pompousness. His style excels in brevity and is focused on what is essential. Priscian, Cassiodorus, and Isidore are among his greatful users. Commentaries were written by Servius, Cledonius, Pompeius, Julian of Toledo (7th century), and the author of the *Commenta Einsidlensia* (9th or 10th century).

Another standard work is Donatus' *Commentary on Terence* (of which only the *Hautontimoroumenos* is lacking). It has been preserved in two groups of traditions of different quality. It is based on excellent sources (Probus, Asper), it offers useful aids for delivery and performance and compares Terence with his models.

Of his *Commentary on Virgil*, we possess the dedication, the *Life of Virgil*, and the introduction to the *Eclogues*.[1] Material from this commentary seems to survive in the *Scholia Danielina*.[2] A passage of Jerome purports a witty dictum of the great grammarian: *Pereant, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*, 'May they perish who proffered our opinions before us' (Hier. *in eccles.* 1. 9).

Charisius

Flavius Sosipater Charisius[3] worked in Constantinople, probably in the second half of the 4th century. To teach his son good Latin despite his non-Roman origin, he dedicated to him a work packed with information.

Of five books of his grammar, the 2nd and 3rd one are completely preserved; whereas books 1 and 4 are mutilated. Like Cominian, he completed the traditional scholastic material from additional sources. Charisius included style and meter in his grammar; book 5 (*idiomata*) contains initial steps towards a comparative syntax of Greek and Latin.

Charisius openly named his sources, which he copied to a large degree: Julius Romanus and, especially, Cominian; both, in their turn had used Palaemon. By his way of using sources, Charisius conveys, as it were, a 'geology' of the traditions of Latin grammarians. In the Middle Ages, he would usually be quoted as 'Cominianus'.

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[1] This commentary is not identical with the uninfluential commentary of Ti. Claudius Donatus (end of 4th century); *edition of the latter*: H. Georgii, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1905–1906.

[2] A step further: U. Schindel, Die lateinischen Figurenlehren des 5.–7. Jh. und Donats Vergilkommentar (with two editions), Göttingen 1975.

[3] P. L. Schmidt, HLL 5, § 523, 2.

Diomedes

Diomedes lived after Charisius and also wrote for east Roman readers. His influential *Grammar* (probably about 370–380) consists of three books: *1*. The eight parts of speech (sorts of words), *2*. Basic notions, grammar, and style,[1] *3*. metrics and poetics. Unlike Charisius, Diomedes strove for consistency, which makes an analysis of his sources difficult.

Diomedes quotes Scaurus, Probus, and Suetonius; he also exploits Charisius and Donatus. In all probability Caper furnished erudite citations for book 1.

The section *De poematibus* is—after the attempts of Charisius in the appendix to his metrics—the most comprehensive system of genres after Quintilian (*inst.* book *10*). Supposedly his sources were Suetonius and Varro.[2]

Along with the complete work there existed an influential short version (book *1*) ascribed to Valerius Probus.

Servius

Servius[3] was a renowned grammarian in Rome; Macrobius introduced him as an interlocutor in his learned dialogue, which was laid before 385.

His *Commentary on Virgil* is based on a long tradition. It emphasizes grammar and rhetoric to the point of sometimes narrowing down the author's scope. More often, however, than one would expect, Servius deserves our attention even in matters of interpretation. Like Macrobius, Servius is convinced of Virgil's universal expertise and

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[1] Prose rhythm (*clausulae*, treated earlier by Sacerdos) formed a transition to metrics.

[2] P. L. Schmidt, HLL 5, § 524.

[3] *Editions*: G. Thilo, H. Hagen, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1881–1887 with a supplement: 3, 2 Appendix Serviana, ed. H. Hagen, Lipsiae 1902; vol. 2: E. K. Rand and others, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1946; vol. 3: A. F. Stocker and others, Oxford 1965; GL 4, 405–565 Keil; *index*: J. F. Mountford, J. T. Schultz, Ithaca 1930; J. W. Jones, An Analysis of the Allegorical Interpretations in the Servian Commentaries, diss. Univ. of North Carolina 1959; M. Muehmelt, Griechische Grammatik in der Vergilerklärung, München 1965; R. B. Lloyd, Republican Authors in Servius and the *Scholia Danielis*, HSPh 65, 1961, 291–341; C. Lazzarini, Elementi di una poetica Serviana. Osservazioni sulla costruzione del racconto nel commentario all'*Eneide*. II., SIFC 82, 1989, 241–260; further information in: HLL 5, 1990, index s.v. Servius and (forthcoming) P. L. Schmidt, HLL 6, § 612; A. Setaioli, La vicenda dell'anima nel commento di Servio a Virgilio, Frankfurt 1995.

his knowledge of the world. The so-called *Scholia Danielis* add erudite material from further sources (Donatus, among others).

Moreover, Servius wrote commentaries on Donatus' *Ars minor* and *maior.*

The authenticity of writings on metrics and of a collection of glosses is disputed.

Fulgentius

Fabius Planciades Fulgentius,[1] whose mother tongue was Libyan, lived later than Macrobius. His identity with Fulgentius bishop of Ruspe (d. 532), a valued theologian, is doubted: one of the reasons is the name of Planciades which is nowhere attested for the bishop, the other is the modest intellectual level of the mythographer.

We possess four works: the *Mythologiae* and the *Expositio Vergilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis* contain allegorical interpretations of myths; Fulgentius would influence the *Mythographi Vaticani*; especially his comparison of the *Aeneid* with human life would have a rich aftermath in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*[2] is an explanation of obsolete words. In his *De aetatibus mundi et hominis* Fulgentius divides universal history into 23 epochs according to 23 letters of the alphabet; in each chapter he carefully avoids the use of the relevant letter.[3] An allegorical exegesis of Statius' *Thebaid* is spurious.

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[1] *Editions*: R. Helm, Lipsiae 1898; G. Götz, CGIL 1, 73–74; L. G. Whitbread (TrN), Columbus 1971. For identity with the bishop: P. Langlois, Les œuvres de Fulgence, le mythographe et le problème des deux Fulgence, JbAC 7, 1964, 94–105; id., RLAC 8, 1972, 632–661; against: R. Häussler, in: W. Killy, ed., Mythographie der frühen Neuzeit, Wiesbaden 1984, 1–23, esp. 19–20; J. C. Relihan, Fulgentius, *Mitologiae* 1, 20–21, AJPh 109, 1988, 229–230; on Fulgentius the bishop: G. G. Lapeyre, S. Fulgence de Ruspe, Paris 1929; E. Cau, Fulgenzio e la cultura scritta in Sardegna agli inizi del VI secolo, Sandalion 2, 1979, 221–229; M. G. Bianco, Abecedarium Fulgentii episcopi ecclesiae Ruspensis, Orpheus n.s. 1, 1980, 152–171; G. Folliet, Fulgence de Ruspe. Témoin privilégié de l'influence d'Augustin en Sardaigne, in: A. Mastino, ed., L'Africa romana. Atti del VI convegno (Sassari 1988), Sassari 1989, 561–569.

[2] Scholars duly mistrust Fulgentius' 'learned' citations.

[3] The same principle had been applied by Nestor in his *Iliad* and by Tryphiodorus in his *Odyssey*.

Priscian

Priscianus[1] from Caesarea in Mauretania taught Latin at Byzantium under Emperor Anastasius (491–518). He was linked to Roman aristocrats, among whom was Aurelius Symmachus. His masterpiece, the *Institutiones grammaticae* in 18 books, are dedicated to the consul Julianus.

This is the most comprehensive and significant Latin grammar; it includes syntax,[2] a rarity even in modern times. For his Greek readers, Priscian takes initial steps towards a comparative grammar of Latin and Greek. There are numerous precious quotations from Latin literature up to Juvenal. On his own showing, Priscian applies the teachings of Herodian and Apollonius, enriching them with material from Latin technical writers. Caper was a source of valuable information. Priscian is judicious and rather independent.[3] Justly his work has become authoritative.[4]

Rhetors

Aquila Romanus[5] (second half of the 3rd century) wrote an arid compendium on figures of speech. His definitions are drawn from Greek theory (Aquila names Aristotle but uses Alexander Numenius). His examples are mostly from Cicero. Aquila would be used as a source by Martianus Capella.

Arusianus Messius,[6] a member of the aristocracy, towards the end of the 4th century compiled a collection of grammatical constructions from great authors for use in schools of rhetoric. His exquisite examples enrich our knowledge of lost works such as Sallust's *Histories*.

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[1] *Edition*: GL Keil, vols. 2–3, 1855–1860; *bibl.*: R. Helm, RE 22, 2, 1954, 2327–2346; P. L. Schmidt, KlP 4, 1972, 1141–1142; id. (forthcoming) in: HLL 7, § 703; for the present cf. HLL 5, 1989, Index q.v. Problems of grammar were also treated by: Agroecius, Cledonius, Pompeius (who was outshone by Consentius from Gaul), further Rufinus, Audax, Phocas, Valerianus, Papirianus, and Theoctistus.

[2] M. Baratin, La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome, Paris 1989.

[3] Priscian's minor works: *De figuris numerorum; De metris fabularum Terentii; Praeexercitamina; Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo; Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*; of doubtful authenticity: *Liber de accentibus*; poetic works: a panegyric on Anastasius and a Latin version of the *Periegesis* of Dionysius Periegetes.

[4] Grammarians after Priscian: his student Eutyches, Eugraphius (who wrote a commentary on Terence), and the glossographers.

[5] *Edition*: C. Halm, Rhet. Lat. min., Lipsiae 1863, 22; Aquila's followers were Julius Rufinianus (*De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis*) and an Anonymus.

[6] *Edition*: GL 7, 449 Keil.

Chirius Fortunatianus (probably 4th century) wrote a catechism of rhetoric,[1] which would be used by Cassiodorus. Sulpitius Victor[2] and Julius Victor[3] wrote compendia.

Grillius (who is quoted by Priscian) was the author of a commentary on Cicero's *De inventione*. Favonius Eulogius (who lived in Africa about 385) explained the *Somnium Scipionis* with special regard to arithmology and music. Further writers on rhetoric were Julius Severianus and Emporius.

Antiquarian Writings

Gellius, who is especially important, will be treated in a separate chapter (pp. 1479–1485).

Censorinus wrote *De die natali* (A.D. 238). His erudite work contains valuable material, mostly second-hand.

Music

The so-called *Fragmentum Censorini* has come down to us together with Censorinus' work. It dates probably from the 2nd century. It gives a brief encyclopedic survey of cosmology, geometry, rhythm, and metrics (it is the oldest preserved document on metrics). Moreover, it gives information on musical history. See also: Augustine, below p. 1691, and Boethius, below p. 4723.

Agriculture and Medicine

Extracts from Q. Gargilius Martialis' work on agriculture (2nd half of the 3d century) have been preserved, among others, in the *Medicina Plinii* (s. below).

Probably in the 4th century, the *vir inlustris* Palladius[4] Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus wrote a book on husbandry. Unlike Columella the author eschewed rhetorical adornments. The introductory book is on the basic elements of agriculture (air, water, earth, and industry).[5] There follow 12 books containing instructions and recipes for each month.

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[1] *Edition*: C. Halm, Rhet. Lat. min., Lipsiae 1863, 81.
[2] *Edition*: C. Halm, ibid. 313.
[3] *Edition*: C. Halm, ibid. 373.
[4] *Edition*: J. C. Schmitt, Lipsiae 1898.
[5] Here, industry is an equivalent to the fourth element, fire.

Striving for closeness to reality in space and time[1] our author has sacrificed not only rhetoric but also the theoretical and systematic approach of his predecessors. As in Columella, there is an additional book written in verse. Palladius discussed the grafting of trees in elegiac distichs, a meter not particularly suitable for this subject. He frequently quotes Columella, though his knowledge of this author is perhaps second-hand. His principal source may be Gargilius Martialis and—for rural architecture—M. Cetius Faventinus' extract from Vitruvius. Its practicability granted this work a large readership and dissemination in the Middle Ages.

In the 4th century, Pelagonius[2] wrote on veterinary art; Vegetius would use him as a source.

The *Medicina Plinii*[3] is a medical extract from Pliny (probably 4th century); we have only fragments of the works of Vindicianus,[4] a physician mentioned by Augustine.

Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *vir illustris* (roughly between 383 and 450), is the author of *Digestorum artis mulomedicinae libri.*[5] Among his sources, he esteems Columella and Pelagonius highly; whereas in Chiron and Apsyrtus he finds neither spirit nor style (and we cannot blame him for it).

Theodorus Priscianus (possibly an African, about 400) composed *Euporista*; Marcellus the Gaul, *magister officiorum* under Theodosius, was the author of *De medicamentis*; S. Placitus wrote *De medicamentis ex animalibus*, the physician Cassius Felix (447) *De medicina.*

Caelius Aurelianus,[6] the most significant Latin medical writer of late antiquity, lived before Cassiodorus, probably in the 5th century. We possess three books *De passionibus celeribus vel acutis* and five books *De passionibus tardis sive chronicis.* His source is the eminent Soranus, whom he calls *methodicorum princeps.* Our Latin author largely translates him, interspersing his text with quotations from Cicero and Virgil. Caelius' work is clearly organized; his descriptions of symptoms and

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[1] Of course, previous authors had also given due attention to the rhythm of seasons throughout the year (e.g. Virgil's *Georgics*).

[2] *Edition*: M. Ihm, Lipsiae 1892 (with indices).

[3] *Edition*: V. Rose, Lipsiae 1875.

[4] *Editions*: G. Helmreich, in his edition of Marcellus, Lipsiae 1889, 21; V. Rose, edition of Theodorus Priscianus, Lipsiae 1894, 484.

[5] *Edition*: E. Lommatzsch, Lipsiae 1903.

[6] *Editions*: E. Drabkin (TTr), Chicago 1950; G. Bendz, I. Pape (TTr), 2 vols., Berlin 1990 and 1993; *indices* in: J. C. Amman, edition Amsterdam 1709; *bibl.*: E. Bendz, Emendationen zu Caelius Aurelianus, Lund 1954.

diagnoses are precise. He names medicines but is reticent on doses. He criticizes lavishly previous physicians, their methods, and doctrines. Caelius makes an effort to Latinize technical terms; his vocabulary is innovative even beyond medical jargon. In the Middle Ages his work was used in practice.

Some other authors who translated medical works in late antiquity are known to us by name (e.g. Mustio), whereas many are anonymous (the translators of Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, Oribasius).

Surveying and the Art of War

In late antiquity, Agennius Urbicus, Innocentius, and Epaphroditus wrote on surveying.

Vegetius (s. above, *Agriculture and Medicine*) wrote four books on the art of war.[1] He is no expert and draws his knowledge from Cato the Elder, Celsus, Frontinus, and the military jurist Paternus. His own contribution is limited to arrangement and style. Eutropius (consul 450) revised his work. It was widely diffused in the Middle Ages.

The anonymous *De rebus bellicis*[2] is another book on warfare from late antiquity. The author, who is unencumbered by military experience but is an expert on prose rhythm, exercises his frighteningly modern imagination to invent atrocious war machines.

Geography

The *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of C. Julius Solinus (mid-3rd century) begins with Rome and its early history. A treatise on man is followed by a description of the world (Europe from east to west, then Africa and Asia). His sources are Pliny, Mela, and perhaps Suetonius. Solinus makes an effort to write entertainingly. He was much read in late antiquity and during the Middle Ages.

Cookery

Culinary art is represented by the so-called Apicius (4th–5th century).

Bibl.: S. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 571–582.

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[1] *Edition*: C. LANG, Lipsiae 1869.
[2] *Edition*: E. A. THOMPSON (TC), A Roman Reformer and Inventor, Oxford 1952.

GELLIUS

Life and Dates

Aulus Gellius[1] was born around 130 and enjoyed a careful education in grammar and rhetoric. His teachers were Sulpicius Apollinaris, Antonius Julianus, and Titus Castricius. He also was among the listeners of the famous sophist Favorinus of Arelate (Arles). Later he was chosen judge in Rome. From 165 to 167 at least, he stayed in Athens,[2] where he met Calvisius Taurus, the head of the Platonic Academy, and made friends with Herodes Atticus, a great sponsor of art. It was in Athens that he decided to write his work. Fronto[3] was one of his friends; and there were links to Lucian and Apuleius.

His collection *Noctes Atticae*[4] appeared in 170. It was named after the long winter nights Gellius spent in a rural studio near Athens, where he began to work on it. It offers factual information, instruction, and entertainment and reflects the atmosphere of literary *salons* of the 2nd century, an epoch, when culture was completely bilingual.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Gellius collected extracts from roughly 275 authors. Cato, Varro, and Cicero are cited most frequently. When reading Cicero our author often found older quotations or was encouraged to look up more ancient sources. Despite the lively setting suggested by Gellius he owed much information to intermediate sources (e.g. 9. 4 from Plin. *nat.* 7. 9–12). We may believe him nevertheless when he writes that he studied original texts, not only secondary sources. Anyway, we are indebted to him for especially meaningful fragments of Cato, Caecilius Statius, Claudius Quadrigarius, and many others.

He found historical facts in annalists, Varro, Nepos, Hyginus, and Suetonius. Juridic knowledge came from Labeo, Capito, Masurius, and Caelius Sabinus. In natural science his authorities were Aristotle, Pliny, and Plutarch; in language and literature, Varro, Nigidius, Verrius, Probus, Cornutus, Hyginus. As for his own contemporaries he prefers to introduce them as speakers instead of quoting them from books.

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[1] In the Middle Ages his name was disfigured into Agellius.

[2] W. Ameling 1984.

[3] M. T. Schettino (Questioni di biografia gelliana, GFF 8, 1985, 75–87) observes a certain aloofness from the imperial court and some evidence in favor of Gellius' African origin.

[4] Of 20 books, only book 8 went lost. Gellius planned a continuation (*praef.* 23–24), but in all probability nothing of it was published.

The *Noctes Atticae* belongs to a genre then in fashion, the so-called 'miscellaneous' literature. Gellius competed, among others, with the Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία of Favorinus of Arelate.[1] As Gellius wrote his work for his children, it is part of the genre of educational books *ad filium*. Yet it is not a systematical textbook, but a reader both instructive and entertaining. Its open form is partly reminiscent of Cynic and Stoic diatribe.[2] This makes the *Noctes Atticae* a precursor of modern essays or of works like J. P. Hebel's *Schatzkästlein*. Above all it is 'literature meant to serve as a literary guide',[3] presupposing the existence of libraries and of a readership thirsting for education.

Literary Technique

The *Noctes Atticae* is not an encyclopedia[4] but a miscellaneous work, a collection of minor essays. Its motley character is part of the author's program. Nevertheless, his didactic intention is to be taken seriously. Titles of chapters and tables of content—which help the reader to find his way through the work—came into common use through Gellius.[5] The introduction, which takes into account the reader's standpoint, is another typical feature. Gellius briefly presents his interlocutors to his reader. His literary portraits, especially that of his teacher Favorinus, are both artful and attractive. Shifts from direct to indirect speech (and vice versa) add to the briskness of his narrative. Unlike most ancient authors, Gellius makes a point of exact citation and sometimes even looks up old manuscripts in libraries. Given the bilingual character of the culture of his time he quotes many texts in the Greek original.

Gellius is able to shape gracious short narratives[6] and to frame them with a short preface and a final 'lesson'. His literary technique in some respects paves the way for emblematic literature (s. Influence).

In an attractive way Gellius links the teaching process to determined situations and individual persons. He deliberately eschews large doses of pedantry. His artful use of setting makes learning an experience and conveys to us an impression of the life of the literary elite in his day.

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[1] The interpretation of parallels with Aelian (2nd half of the 2nd century), Athenaeus (around 200), and Diogenes Laertius (probably early 3rd century) is difficult.

[2] Hirzel, Dialog 2, 259.

[3] H. Berthold 1980, 48.

[4] If at all, it is an 'encyclopedia of the most independent type': L. Mercklin, Die Citiermethode und Quellenbenutzung des A. Gellius in den *Noctes Atticae*, JKPh, suppl. 3, Leipzig 1857–1860, 633–710, esp. 694.

[5] Cf., for example, already Plin. *nat.* 1, s. above, p. 1265.

[6] A balanced view of truth and fiction in Gellius: L. A. Holford-Strevens 1982.

Language and Style[1]

Gellius strives for linguistic precision. Archaism helps him find his way in this respect. The bilingual character of the culture of his age is reflected in numerous Greek citations. His apparently simple texts on closer inspection reveal high stylistic and literary claims; the author judiciously ponders sound and meaning of each word and combines all elements of his sentences into an effective artistic whole.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature[2]

Gellius wants to convey to his children a general culture appropriate to their social rank.

There is a pedagogical trend throughout his work. An educated man, in Gellius' opinion, has to know Roman customs, institutions, law, and, above all, the Latin language. The use of language must be based on moral and intellectual honesty. Ultimately, his search for sources of good Latin both explains and limits his 'archaizing' interests.[3] These, in their turn, determine his literary judgment.

Nevertheless, the bilingual character of the culture of his age prevents our author from blindly overestimating things Roman: for all his sympathy for a Caecilius Statius, Gellius frankly recognizes Menander's superiority.

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[1] R. Marache 1957; L. Gamberale 1969; W. Schibel 1971, 91–119 (bibl.); cf. G. Maselli 1979; R. Marache, La recherche du rhythme dans la préface des *Nuits Attiques*, in: Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine. Recueil offert à J. Collart, Paris 1978, 397–403; R. Marache, La préface d'Aulu-Gelle. Couples et séries de synonymes ou de mots analogues, in: Studi in onore di E. Paratore. Letterature comparate. Problemi e metodo, vol. 2, Bologna 1981, 785–791; B. Löfstedt, Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Gellius, MH 46, 1989, 125–127; P. Steinmetz, Gellius als Übersetzer, in: C. W. Müller (and others), eds., Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Stuttgart 1992, 201–211.

[2] Cf. R. Marache 1979; P. Kuklica, Literarisch-ästhetische Bemerkungen des A. Gellius, GLO 13–14, 1981–1982, 19–35 (underrates the philological and rhetorical approach).

[3] Gellius, therefore, rejects extremely far-fetched and outdated words: *Vive igitur moribus praeteritis, loquere verbis praesentibus*, cf. also L. Gamberale, Alcune tendenze dell'arcaismo lessicale. A proposito di Gell. 1. 10 e altro, AION (ling.) 8, 1986, 71–94.

Ideas II

The *Noctes Atticae* reflects the knowledge and interests of the author's age. It is true that Gellius shares Heraclitus' view that polymathy does not teach reason (*praef.* 12), and he promises to emphasize what is important; but this does not prevent him from including somewhat remote learning into his books.

Among the themes[1] he discusses are social problems, conflicts of duties, tensions between generations, the polarity of play and reality, further: law, language, literature, and technology. Again and again, Gellius successfully tries a comparative approach to Greek and Roman culture. In this regard Gellius is an heir of Plutarch (the friend of his teacher Favorinus) and a percursor of Macrobius.

Transmission[2]

The transmission of books 1–7 is based, on the one hand, on the excellent palimpsest Palatinus Vaticanus 24 (A; 5th–6th century: for parts of books 1–4), unfortunately almost unreadable today; on the other hand, on the Vaticanus 3452 (V; 13th century), the Parisinus 5765 (P; 12th–13 century), and the Leidensis Gronovianus 21, formerly Rottendorfianus (R; 12th century).

The 8th book is missing. The transmission of books 9–20 falls into three classes. The first (F) is represented by the very good Franequeranus Leouardensis, which was recently rediscovered, Prov. Bibl. van Friesland 55 (F; early 9th century).

The second class (γ) is represented by the Vaticanus Reginensis (Danielinus) 597 (O; 9th century) and the following manuscripts which are independent of O: Leidensis Vossianus ('minor') F. 112 (X; 10th century; beginning with book 10), Vaticanus Reginensis 1646 (Petavianus; Π; 12th century), Florentinus Bibl. Nat. J. 4. 26, formerly Magliabechianus 329 (N; 15th century).

The third class (δ) is formed by: Parisinus 8664 (Q; 13th century), Leidensis Vossianus ('maior') F. 7 (Z; 14th century) and the Fragmentum Bernense 404 (B; 12th century)[3] with its continuation in the Leidensis B.P.L. 1925.

Editors of Gellius consider F, γ, and δ to be of equal quality; in cases of doubt, majority decides.

The later manuscripts, which contain all the books (except for book 8, which is lost), are interpolated. In the first seven books they go together

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[1] Cf. S. Whiteley 1978.

[2] Basic P. K. Marshall, edition 1968, praef.; cf. also B. Munk Olsen, s. *Bibl.*

[3] For 1135 instead of 1173: L. A. Holford Strevens, A Misdated Ms. of Gellius, CQ 29, 1979, 226–227.

with VPR, in the later books with γ; only the Gottingensis Cod. Ms. Philol. 161, 15th century, sides with δ. However, we owe to these late manuscripts the chapter headings of book 8 and the last preserved paragraphs of book 20. The beginning of the preface and the ending of the last book are lost. A lacuna at the beginning of book 7 can be completed from Lactantius (*epit.* 24). Early readers such as Macrobius, Nonius, and John of Salisbury[1] sometimes help us restore the original reading.

Influence

Lactantius adapted ideas on providence from Gellius, Augustine an entire Stoic chapter on emotions (*civ.* 9. 4; Gell. 19. 1), praising our author as a *vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae.* It is from Gellius that the *Historia Augusta* (*Life of Probus*) took a Catonian passage on Greek and Roman hero worship. Ammianus Marcellinus (4th century) thoroughly studied Gellius and incorporated not only single expressions but entire chapters and structural elements into his history. Macrobius shaped a work similar to that of Gellius, but arranged his material systematically. In the Middle Ages Gellius was a favorite. John of Salisbury (d. 1180) was familiar with him. In the 15th–17th centuries Gellius was congenial to a readership yearning for both factual information and moral instruction. Politian (d. 1494) expressly followed our author and his miscellaneous genre in his *Miscellanea* (1489), a pioneer work of philology. Baldassarre Castiglione (d. 1529) opened the third main section of his *Cortegiano* with the calculation of the size of Hercules' body (as Gellius had done in his introduction: Gell. 1. 1). Hartmann Schedel in his *World Chronicle* (1493) praised our author. Erasmus (d. 1536) copied a chapter of Gellius (13. 19) in the *Epistula nuncupatoria* to his *Apophthegmata* (1531) without naming his source, alas, a wide-spread behavior, complicating research on classical influences. On the other hand, Erasmus, in his *Adagiorum Chilias* (1. 4. 37), was loud in our author's praises. Nor was Gellius missing on the reading list of Michel de Montaigne (d. 1592), the master of the modern essay. By his way of presenting Ennius' fable of the crested lark, Gellius (2. 29) anticipated the tripartite pattern of emblematic literature: a maxim is followed by a graphic narrative and a concluding moral lesson. In his *Novum Organum*

[1] See, however, J. Martin, Uses of Tradition: Gellius, Petronius, and John of Salisbury, Viator 10, 1979, 57–76 (John would use only an anthology).

(1. 84) Francis Bacon (d. 1626) used a maxim attested only in Gellius (12. 11. 7 *Veritas Temporis filia*) to develop the idea that authorities prevented men from familiarizing themselves immediately with the real world. On the 1st Advent, 1641, in Leipzig a *Collegium Gellianum* (cf. Gell. 18. 2) was founded which discussed philological problems every Sunday after the church service.[1]

Gellius preserved precious remains of early Latin literature and exquisite information on literature, language, philosophy, history, and law. The reader's delight, however, is sometimes marred by a slight perplexity as to the 'what' and 'how'. With the ingratitude of youth, posterity therefore called Gellius a *pecus aurei velleris*. Actually his influence was not limited to problems of detail; we owe to him e.g. the term 'classic' (19. 8. 15; cf. 6. 13) and the explanation of words of great promise such as *proletarius*[2] (16. 10) and *humanitas* (13. 17). What is 'Gellian in Gellius'[3] is his skill at leading his reader to the crucial passages of the originals, to the point of making him finally forget his guide: Gellius, that man of the second rank (*mea mediocritas* 14. 2. 25),[4] who, as a good teacher, rendered himself superfluous.

Editions: C. Sweynheim, A. Pannartz, Romae 1469. * F. Weiss (Tr), Leipzig 1875–1876, repr. 1975 and 1981. * M. Hertz, 2 vols., Berolini 1883–1885. * C. Hosius, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1903, repr. 1959, 1991–1993. * J. C. Rolfe (TTr), 3 vols., London 1927, rev. 1946–1952, repr. 1961–1967. * P. K. Marshall, 2 vols., Oxford 1968, corr. 1990. * H. Berthold (selection, TrN), Leipzig 1987. * H. Berthold (T), Leipzig (forthcoming). * *Book 1, praef.*: P. Faider (TTrC), MB 31, 1927, 189–216. * *Book 1*: H. M. Hornsby (C), Dublin 1936. * *Books 1–3*: F. Cavazza (TTrN), Bologna 1985. * *Books 1–10*: R. Marache, Paris 1967–1978. ** *Index*: J. Gronovius, edition, London 1824, vol. 4 (almost complete) ** *Bibl.*: R. Marache, Fronton et A. Gellius (1938–1964), Lustrum 10, 1965, 213–246. * B. Munk Olsen, in: L'étude des auteurs latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles, vol. 1, Paris 1982, chapitre 18, 397–402.

W. Ameling, Aulus Gellius in Athen, Hermes 112, 1984, 484–490. * G. Anderson, Aulus Gellius: a Miscellanist and his World, ANRW 2, 34, 2, 1994, 1834–1862. * M. L. Astarita, Note di cronologia gelliana, Orpheus n.s. 5, 1984, 422–432. * B. Baldwin, Studies in Aulus Gellius, Lawrence,

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[1] H. Berthold 1985, 13.

[2] Cf. D. J. Gargola, A. Gellius and the Property Qualifications of the *proletarii* and the *capite censi*, CPh 84, 1989, 231–234.

[3] H. Berthold 1980, 48.

[4] Cf. Vell. 2. 104. 3; Val. Max. 1 *praef.*; Stat. *silv.* 5 *praef.*

Kansas 1975. * H. Berthold, Aulus Gellius. Auswahl und Aufgliederung seiner Themen, diss. Leipzig 1959. * H. Berthold, Aulus Gellius. Seine Bedeutung als Vermittler antiker Bildungs- und Kulturtraditionen, WZHalle 29, 3, 1980, 45–50. * H. Berthold, Interpretationsprobleme im Miszellanwerk des Aulus Gellius, WZRostock 34, 1, 1985, 12–16. * L. Di Gregorio, Gellio e il teatro, Aevum antiquum 1, 1988, 95–147. * E. Fantham, The Synchronistic Chapter of Gellius (17. 21) and some Aspects of Roman Chronology and Cultural History between 60 and 50 B.C., LCM 6, 1981, 7–17. * L. Gamberale, La traduzione in Gellio, Roma 1969. * L. A. Holford-Strevens, Fact and Fiction in Aulus Gellius, LCM 7, 1982, 65–68. * L. A. Holford-Strevens, Aulus Gellius, London 1988. * L. A. Holford-Strevens, Analecta Gelliana, CQ n.s. 43, 1993, 292–297. * R. Marache, La critique littéraire de langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au IIe siècle de notre ère, Rennes 1952. * R. Marache, Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle, Paris 1957. * P. K. Marshall, The Date of Birth of A. Gellius, CPh 58, 1963, 143–149. * M. McDonnell, The Speech of Numidicus at Gellius 1. 6, AJPh 108, 1987, 81–94. * G. Maselli, Lingua e scuola in Gellio grammatico, Lecce 1979. * R. Mazzacane, Nonio e Gellio. Ipotesi sulla genesi del II libro del *De compendiosa doctrina* di Nonio, Sandalion 8–9, 1985–1986, 181–202. * W. Schibel, Sprachbehandlung und Darstellungsweise in römischer Prosa. Claudius Quadrigarius, Livius, A. Gellius, Amsterdam 1971. * E. Tuerk, Macrobe et les *Nuits Attiques*, Latomus 24, 1965, 381–406. * A. D. Vardi, Why *Attic Nights*? or What's in a Name?, CQ n.s. 43, 1993, 298–301. * D. W. T. Vessey, Aulus Gellius and the Cult of the Past, ANRW 2, 34, 2, 1994, 1863–1917. * S. Whiteley, Fossicking through A. Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, AClass 21, 1978, 99–114.

MACROBIUS

Life and Dates

Ambrosius Macrobius Theodosius lived at the beginning of the 5th century. His identity with other known Macrobii is controversial; in all probability, he was the *praefectus Italiae* of 430 (*cod. Theod* 12. 6. 33). Avianus dedicated his fables to him. In his turn, he inscribed his work on grammar to a Symmachus, supposedly a son of the famous orator.

Survey of Works

Three works are to be named: in the first place, the *Saturnalia* in seven books, a literary symposium; second, the commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*—it was owing to Macrobius that Cicero's text survived; finally, a grammatical treatise known to us only through extracts: *De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latinique verbi.* It answered the needs of a civilization not impoverished but enriched by bilingualism.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The *Saturnalia* exploits a great amount of learned material. Along with antiquarians and commentators on Virgil, Macrobius used especially Gellius and Plutarch, without naming them. Occasionally he corrects Gellius. The problem of sources is complex. We should neither overrate nor underrate Macrobius' learning. For its content the *Saturnalia* belongs to the genre of miscellaneous literature. An artistic model was, among others, Plato's *Banquet*; the form of symposium had been used of old as a framework for the display of erudition.[1]—The *Commentary on Cicero's Somnium* is imbued with Neo-Platonic philosophy. Macrobius' authorities are Porphyry and Plotinus, whom he reckons, together with Plato, among the *coryphaei* of philosophy.—The *De differentiis* is reminiscent of Apollonius' *Rhematicon*, of Gellius, of a work related to Caper, and of glossaries.

Literary Technique

The *Saturnalia* adheres to the literary technique of philosophical dialogue. The setting recalls Plato: the dialogue is reported by a man who heard about it from a witness who had been present. The dialogue is presented in several subsequent days (from the eve of the *Saturnalia* to the third day of that feast), each day in a different interlocutor's house. In the central panel on Virgil, as had been the case in Cicero's dialogues, themes are allotted to each participant and then treated in the form of continuous speeches. Moreover, Macrobius masters the technique of *prooemium*; the dedication to the

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[1] This literary tradition was originally based on an existing practice: Plato, Xenophon, further Platonists, Aristotle (he was the first to display a considerable amount of erudition), Herodian, Heraclides, Athenaeus, Plutarch, Lucian (parody), Julian (on the ideal ruler), Methodius (Christian); Macrobius is closer to this tradition and to Gellius than to Roman satirical *cena* literature; cf. Hirzel, Dialog and J. Martin, Symposion, Paderborn 1931, repr. 1968.

author's son is a Roman tradition established since Cato and Cicero's *De officiis*. As Cicero did in his rhetorical writings, Macrobius chooses noble Romans as interlocutors, thus taking away from his theme the smack of the classroom and conferring on it a general human significance. There is the famous Symmachus and, along with him, a representative of the Nicomachi. Servius is the only specialist—he guarantees a dignified presence of detailed scholarly research.

Language and Style

On his own showing Macrobius often leaves unchanged the language and style of his models.[1] Greek quotations are numerous. Macrobius was one of that waning number of educated western Romans who still knew Greek.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

To begin with, Macrobius reflects on his own authorship: when collecting material from different sources he wants to convey knowledge, not show off rhetorical skills (*praesens opus non eloquentiae ostentationem sed noscendorum congeriem pollicetur*, 'the present work undertakes to be a collection of matters worth knowing, not a display of my command of rhetoric', *praef.* 4); in doing so, he followed a tradition known to us from technical writing.[2] His teaching was intended not to be reduced to disconnected data, but to present an organic whole (*in ordinem instar membrorum cohaerentia*, 'like the parts of a coherent whole', *ibid.* 3). This is true of both form and content of his work.

A further—and more essential—point is our author's understanding of Virgil. In the *Saturnalia* Virgil figures as an expert in all fields of knowledge;[3] Macrobius likens him even to Mother Nature, thus attributing to him qualities usually reserved for gods. What is important in such statements is on the one hand the author's idea of human creativity, which anticipates modern developments, on the other, his high opinion of the didactic value of literary texts. The word as formed

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[1] *Nec mihi vitio vertas, si res quas ex lectione varia mutuabor ipsis saepe verbis, quibus ab ipsis auctoribus enarratae sunt explicabo* (*Sat. praef.* 4).

[2] S. Roman Technical Writers, above pp. 568–570.

[3] Rhetoric, pontifical law, augural discipline, Greek literature, philosophy, astrology, early Latin poetry.

by the poet becomes a key to man's understanding of the world. Macrobius thus develops further a leading idea of Varro's *De lingua Latina*. While Varro had described the Latin language as an instrument that facilitates the reader's grasp of reality in an encyclopedic form, for Macrobius the study of Virgil became an initiation not only into Greek and Latin literature but into all domains of knowledge. He was not concerned with a ridiculous cult of Virgil but with the foundations of education. Latin was not taught in just any form, but in its noblest shape as created by the great poet. At the same time, it was the *Aeneid* that opened the way to technical disciplines for the student. Thus encyclopedic education had both a high level and a humane and creative center.[1]

Ideas II

By writing his commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Macrobius wanted to introduce his readers to philosophy. His interest, therefore, is philosophical rather than political. In Macrobius' period, Neo-Platonism was the general basis of scientific thought; many of its premises were accepted by both pagans and Christians. Macrobius combines his interpretation of texts with philosophical and encyclopedic teaching, thus using Cicero's classical text as a means to understand reality and as an introduction to philosophical thought.

Macrobius first studies Cicero's relationship to Plato, then discusses the essence of dreams and finally justifies the use of mythological disguise for the discussion of philosophical problems. Cicero's text gives occasion to insert considerations on numbers (*ad rep.* 6. 12), on the virtue of the soul (*ad* 13), on astronomy and music, as well as a description of the earth and its zones and a treatise on the year.[2] The final section on the soul's being moved by itself and its immortality gives rise to the development of the doctrine of syllogism. Thus, the commentary uses Cicero's text to develop all three domains of philosophy: physics, ethics, and logic.

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[1] Virgil's place within the educational program was a parallel to Homer's role for the Greeks. It is more than doubtful if Macrobius intended to compete with Christianity by canonizing Virgil as a sort of holy scripture. In this respect, medieval readers, who eagerly studied Macrobius, were less narrow-minded than our century, which readily categorizes persons and texts according to ideologies and genres instead of listening to what they say.

[2] Crucical themes such as 'year' and 'sun' link *Sat.* and *somn.* together.

The soul's independent motion and immortality were central themes congenial to the Roman mind. Cicero, who had given these ideas a political accent, had used them—in a passage translated from Plato—as a keystone at the end of his dialogue. Only towards the end of antiquity would the problem of the human person be elaborated philosophically, again under the auspices of Neo-Platonism. In this respect, in Macrobius there is an encounter of Greek thought and Roman experience as shaped in literature.

Transmission

Sat.: Our manuscripts fall into three groups: the best one, which contains all the Greek citations, is mainly represented by the following codices: Neapolitanus VB 10 (N; early 9th century: containing *Sat.* 1. 1–7. 5. 2); Bodleianus Auct. T II 27 (D; late 9th century: containing *Sat.* 1. 1–3. 4. 9, the *Commentary on the Somnium*, and Cicero's text); Parisinus 6371 (P; 11th century: containing the full text of both *Saturnalia* and *Commentary on the Somnium*). N was written by an ignorant but reliable clerk; hence it is valuable. Agreement of ND gives a good text. P is an excellent manuscript; unfortunately, its copyist knew Latin and, therefore, sometimes exchanged synonyms.

The second group, which is regarded as less valuable today comprises the two Bambergenses (B) overvalued by Eyssenhardt (for *Sat.* 1. 1–3. 19. 5: M.L.V. 5 n. 9, 9th century; for the *Commentary on the Somnium*: M: IV 15. F n. 4, 11th century)

There is in addition a third group, which is third-class indeed; today the second and the third group are considered sub-groups of one and the same family.

somn.: The unusually rich tradition renders a *recensio* almost impossible. Along with P, B, and D (see above), editors privilege three further manuscripts: the Parisinus 6370 (S; 9th century), which contains the *Commentary on the Somnium* without Cicero's original; further, the Parisinus n. a. 16.677 (E; early 9th century), which exhibits the *Commentary* and some part of Cicero's text; and, finally, the Cottonianus Faustin. C. I Mus. Brit. (C), which comprises the *Commentary* and the entire *Somnium.*

Influence

Macrobius would be thoroughly studied and frequently used in the Middle Ages (as would Martianus, Boethius, Chalcidius, and Isidore). As he had copied his sources, he often would be excerpted literally in turn. The *Commentary on the Somnium* served as a source of classical

science, especially of astronomy and arithmology.[1] The *Saturnalia* was a treasury of erudition,[2] etymologies, even anecdotes and jokes.[3] Macrobius influenced medieval interpreters of Virgil.[4]

Godefrid of Breteuil (12th century) introduced Macrobius[5] in his *Fons philosophiae* among other towering figures and had him witness the dispute between nominalists and realists. Godefrid may have still felt that Macrobius' *Commentary* contributed to the survival of Platonic philosophy. With the triumph of Aristotelian thought Macrobius' glory began to wane.

Editions: L. IANUS, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1848–1852 (for the earlier editions). * F. EYSSENHARDT, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1893. * I. WILLIS, 2 vols., Leipzig repr. 2nd ed. 1994 (corr.). * *exc. gramm.*: P. DE PAOLIS, Urbino 1990. * *Sat.*: N. MARINONE (TTrN), Torino 1967. * P. V. DAVIES (TrN), New York 1969. * *sat. 2*: A. B. SHAW (C., hist.), diss. Univ. Pennsylvania 1952. * *somn.*: W. H. STAHL (TrN), New York 1952. * L. SCARPA (TTrN), Padova 1981. * *somn. 1*: M. REGALI (TTrC), Pisa 1983. * *somn. 2*: M. REGALI (TTrC), Pisa 1990. ** *Indices* (selective) in the editions. ** *Bibl.*: s. the edition of I. WILLIS 2nd ed. 1970. * B. DE PAOLIS, Macrobio 1934–1984, Lustrum 28–29, 1986–1987, 107–249; and 30, 1988, 7–9.

A. CAMERON, The Date and Identity of Macrobius, JRS 56, 1966, 25–38. * H. DE LEY, Macrobius and Numenius, Bruxelles 1972. * S. DÖPP, Zur Datierung von Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Hermes 106, 1978, 619–632. * M. A. ELFERINK, La descente de l'âme d'après Macrobe, Leiden 1968. * J. FLAMANT, La technique du banquet dans les *Saturnales* de Macrobe, REL 46, 1968 (1969), 303–319. * J. FLAMANT, Macrobe et le Néo-Platonisme latin à la fin du IVe siècle, Leiden 1977. * H. GÖRGEMANNS, Die Bedeutung der Traumein-

[1] A few examples: Macrobius' influence partly intersected with that of Chalcidius' interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus*; Dungal (8th century) literally copied Macrobius' indications on calculating a solar eclipse (MANITIUS, LG 1, 371); Macrobius was thoroughly studied by Byrhtferth (2nd half of the 10th century: MANITIUS, LG 2, 701–702); Hugh of St. Victor (12th century) calculated the perimeter and diameter of the sun following Macrobius (MANITIUS, LG 3, 116); Onulf (11th century) took from Macrobius the classification of dreams into five groups (ibid. 2, 362).

[2] Macrobius' explanation of the names of the months influenced Bede and Helperic (ibid. 448–449).

[3] MANITIUS, LG 3, 556; 634.

[4] The preface of the commentary on the *Aeneid* ascribed to Bernardus Silvestris (12th century) does not refer to *Sat.* but to *somn.* 1. 9. 8: poetry conveys philosophical truth in hidden form (ibid. 3, 208–209); cf. A. WLOSOK, Der Held als Ärgernis: Vergils Aeneas, WJA n.s. 8, 1982, 9–21, esp. 13, n. 11.

[5] MANITIUS, LG 3, 778.

kleidung im *Somnium Scipionis*, WS n.s. 2, 1968, 46–69. * C. GUITTARD, Une tentative de conciliation des valeurs chrétiennes et païennes à travers l'œuvre de Macrobe: syncrétisme et philosophie de l'histoire à la fin du IVe siècle, in: Actes du IXe congrès de l'Association G. Budé (Rome, 1973), Paris 1975, 1019–1030. * A. LA PENNA, Studi sulla tradizione dei Saturnali di Macrobio, ASNP 22, 1953, 225–252. * N. MARINONE, Il banchetto dei pontefici in Macrobio, Maia 22, 1970, 271–278. * A. PIERI, Lucrezio in Macrobio. Adattamenti al testo virgiliano, Messina 1977. * M. REGALI, La quadripartizione delle virtù nei *Commentarii* di Macrobio, A&R 25, 1980, 166–172. * M. REGALI, Importanza e limiti dell'aritmologia nei *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* di Macrobio, in: A. GARZYA, ed., Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del primo convegno dell'Associazione di studi tardoantichi, Napoli 1989, 483–491. * A. SANTORO, Esegeti virgiliani antichi (Donato, Macrobio, Servio), Bari 1964. * A. SETAIOLI, L'esegesi omerica nel commento di Macrobio al *Somnium Scipionis*, SIFC 38, 1966, 154–198. * B. W. SINCLAIR, Vergil's *sacrum poema* in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Maia n.s. 34, 1982, 261–263. * E. SYSKA, Studien zur Theologie im ersten Buch der Saturnalien des Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, Leipzig 1993. * E. TÜRK, Macrobius und die Quellen seiner *Saturnalien*, diss. Freiburg 1961; cf. also Gnomon 42, 1970, 576, n. 4. * D. VAN BERCHEM, Poètes et grammairiens, MH 9, 1952, 79–87. * T. WHITTAKER, Macrobius or Philosophy, Science, and Letters in the Year 400, Cambridge 1923. * C. ZINTZEN, Römisches und Neuplatonisches bei Macrobius, in: P. STEINMETZ, ed., Politeia und Res publica, Gedenkschrift R. STARK, Wiesbaden 1969, 357–376.

MARTIANUS CAPELLA

Life and Dates

Martianus Capella[1] was born and lived[2] at Carthage (probably in the 5th century).[3]

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[1] The *subscriptiones* of some manuscripts give the complete name *Martianus Min(n)e(i)us Felix Capella.* In the text the author calls himself *Felix* (§ 576) and *Felix Capella* (§§ 806; 999); the latter name is confirmed by Cassiod. *inst.* 2. 2. 17; 2. 3. 20.

[2] For a discussion of his possible profession: s. W. H. STAHL, R. JOHNSON, E. L. BURGE (s. editions) 1977, 1. 16–19.

[3] For A.D. 284–330: F. EYSSENHARDT, Commentationis criticae de Marciano Capella particula, diss. Berlin 1861, 14–15; according to the communis opinio, the work dates from 410–439; for about 470: D. SHANZER, ed. 1986, introduction.

Survey of Work

He dedicated to his son an encyclopedia entitled *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. The first two books relate the allegorical story of the marriage of Mercury and the learned Philologia. The latter receives as a wedding gift seven female servants of Mercury: the Liberal Arts.[1] In the following books (3–9) each of them expounds her knowledge before the assembly of gods.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Possible sources are Varro (book 4: dialectics; book 7: arithmetics; book 8: astronomy), Aquila and Fortunatianus (book 5: rhetoric), Pliny and Solinus (book 6: geometry), Aristides Quintilianus (book 9: music). For the allusions to mystery cults in the framing narrative there is no single source; it is a potpourri.[2]

Literary Technique

The author uses the literary form of Menippean satire. Especially in the first two books, according to the tastes of his epoch, he largely elaborates his allegorical narrative. Books 3–9 are each framed by allegorical scenes.[3] The entire work is interspersed with dialogues between Satura and Martian and scenes related to the marriage of Mercury and Philologia. Unlike his follower Fulgentius, Martianus maintains the narrative setting even throughout the later parts of his work. A tone evoking fairy tales at times is reminiscent of Martianus' famous countryman, Apuleius, whose charm, however, remains unequaled. The technical parts exhibit a perspicuous structure; there are helpful recapitulations and overviews of the themes to be treated.

Language and Style

A sophisticated, sometimes inflated prose is interspersed with verse in numerous meters (often hexameters, distichs and iambic senarii).

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[1] Grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry (including geography), arithmetic, astrology, and music. Two further subjects treated by Varro (medicine and architecture) were deliberately omitted, since—unlike the *septem artes liberales*—they treated earthly subjects (9. 891).

[2] Sceptical: L. LENAZ, ed. 1975, introduction; previous theories ibid.

[3] The final scene is missing in book 8, which is mutilated.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Our author consciously and expressly links his self-awareness to *satura.*[1] Having the Liberal Arts appear not only in all their beauty but also in rich ornament (*ornatissima* 2. 218) he expresses his high literary claims. Self-ironical remarks—e.g. on his senile loquaciousness—are typical of the genre and ought not to be taken at face value. Martianus' establishment of encyclopedic education on grounds of an apotheosis of Philology deserves mention.

Ideas II

An essential of Martianus' thought is an 'encyclopedic' approach typical of Latin literature (cf. our introductory notes to Roman technical writers, above p. 571; another is the cosmology of his age, forming the basis of the detailed allegorical narrative in the early books. There, under a thin veil of myth, the author intimates what will later appear as science (arithmetic, astronomy, music). A remote parallel may be found in the structure of Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* where mythology, in the last book, is obliterated by natural philosophy.

Transmission

All the numerous manuscripts are drawn from a single archetype. The most important are found in Bamberg (M.L.V. 16. 8; 10th century), Karlsruhe (73; 10th–11th century), Darmstadt (193; 10th–11th century); these three at the end of book 1 exhibit a *subscriptio* from A.D. 534. The corrector Felix is known to us also from the tradition of Horace (the 'Mavortius' *recensio*).

Influence

Apart from the brief survey in the 2nd book of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones,* Martianus' work is the sole complete account of the *septem artes liberales* which has come down to us. Similar projects of Augustine and Boethius[2] were carried out only partially. Martianus is our sole Latin source on geometry; as for arithmetic, besides Martianus, there is

[1] *Fabellam tibi, quam Satira comminiscens hiemali pervigilio marcescentes mecum lucernas edocuit, ni prolixitas perculerit, explicabo* (1. 2).

[2] We have his works on arithmetic and music.

only Boethius' translation of Nicomachus; the parts on astronomy transmit data missing in all other ancient authors.[1] The *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* served as a textbook; medieval students used it to learn the Liberal Arts. Commentaries were written by John Scot (9th century), Dunchad the Irishman (9th century) and Remigius of Auxerre (d. about 908). Notker (d. 1022) translated the first two books into Old High German. Copernicus praised Martianus for having Mercury and Venus move around the sun, in accord with the heliocentric approach of Heraclides Ponticus (4th century B.C.). At an age of sixteen Hugo Grotius (d. 1645) produced an edition of Martianus.

Editions: F. Vitalis Bodianus, Vincentiae 1499. * H. Grotius, Lugduni Batavorum 1599. * U. F. Kopp (TC, indices), Francoforti 1836. * A. Dick, Lipsiae 1925, corr. with add. J. Préaux, Stutgardiae 1978. * J. Willis, Leipzig 1983. * *Book 1*: D. Shanzer (C, phil., lit.), Berkeley 1986. * *Book 2*: L. Lenaz (TTrC), Padova 1975. * W. H. Stahl, R. Johnson, E. L. Burge (Tr), New York 1977. * *Book 9*: L. Cristante (TTrC), Padova 1987. * C. J. McDonough, *The Verse of Martianus Capella* (TTrC on the poetry in books 1–5), Toronto 1968. ** *Indices*: s. the edition of U. F. Kopp (not complete).

S. I. B. Barnish, Martianus Capella and Rome in the Late Fifth Century, Hermes 114, 1986, 98–111. * A. Cameron, Martianus and his First Editor, CPh 81, 1986, 320–328. * P. Courcelle, Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, 211–219. * H. W. Fischer, Untersuchung über die Quellen der Rhetorik des Martianus Capella, Breslau 1936. * S. Grebe, Martianus Capella: *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii.* Die Sieben Freien Künste in der Spätantike, Habilitationsschrift Heidelberg 1996, Frankfurt 1997. * W. Hübner, Der Titel zum achten Buch des Martianus Capella, in: K. Döring, G. Wöhrle, eds., Vorträge des ersten Symposions des Bamberger Arbeitskreises 'Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption', Wiesbaden 1990, 65–86. * F. LeMoine, Martianus Capella, A Literary Re-Evaluation, München 1972. * G. Leonardi, I codici di Marziano Capella, Milano 1960. * G. Moretti, Marziano Capella dall'enciclopedia alla scena: le nozze di Mercurio e Filologia nel teatro del'500, in: L. De Finis, ed., Scena e spettacolo nell'antichità. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio (Trento 1988), Firenze 1989, 285–303. * J. Préaux, Martianus Capella, orator emeritus, in: Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine. Recueil offert à J. Collart, Paris 1978, 172–179. * W. H. Stahl, Martianus Capella and the Liberal Arts, New York 1971. * J. Willis, De Martiano Capella emendando, Leiden 1971.

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[1] For each sign of the zodiac he gives the exact risings and settings (8. 844–845).

CASSIODORUS

Life and Dates

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator was a descendant of a noble family. Since 507 he had been active as a quaestor at the Ostrogothic court. He became *consul ordinarius* in 514, *magister officiorum* in 523; and *praefectus praetorio* in 533. His project of founding a university in Rome together with Pope Agapetus (536–537) never came to fruition. During the second half of his life he more and more devoted his energy to the monastery of Vivarium, which he had established on his family properties in south Italy under the rule of abbots. He retired there after a stay in Constantinople (probably not before 554) and died in advanced old age (around 583).

Survey of Works

The following works date from the period of his political activity (up to around 540):

Chronica (519), a chronological table form Adam to Eutharic with special regard to the Goths.

12 books of *Historia Gothica* (lost: 526–533 or 519); we possess, however, Jordanes' extract *De origine actibusque Getarum* (551).

12 books of *Variae*; a collection of the edicts written by Cassiodorus, intended to serve as a model of good style (537).

De anima.

Ordo generis Cassiodororum (preserved in fragmentary state: on Symmachus, Boethius, and Cassiodorus).

Speeches (preserved without his name and only in part)

During his stay in the monastery he wrote:
Exegetic works:

Expositiones in Psalmos.

Complexiones in epistolas et acta apostolorum et apocalypsin (this writing was the only one not to have influence on posterity).

Encyclopedic works:

Institutiones, consisting of: *De institutione divinarum litterarum* (in 33 chapters) and *De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium litterarum.*

De orthographia: A work of his old age with an introductory survey of his literary œuvre (GL 7, p. 144).

Historia ecclesiastica tripartita: A collection of passages from Theodoret,

Sozomenus and Socrates (a mediocre translation by Epiphanius, inspired by Cassiodorus, but not reckoned among his writings).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Cassiodorus names his sources and often juxtaposes passages excerpted from them in the original wording. In the *Chronica* he follows Eusebius, Jerome, and Victorius' Easter table; moreover, he relies on Aufidius Bassus and transmits valuable material from Livy. In the *Historia Gothica* he had, in addition, exploited Gothic genealogical traditions as well as his own experiences. The *De anima* is based especially on Augustine and Claudianus Mamertus. The *Commentary on the Psalms* draws on Augustine, among others. Augustine and Cassian also determine the educational aims of the *Institutiones*. The *De orthographia* contains excerpts from Cornutus, Velius Longus, Curtius Valerianus, Parpirianus, Adamantius, Eutyches, Caesellius Vindex, and Priscian. We already mentioned the sources of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Literary Technique

In official papers the amount of literary embellishments is remarkable. Dates and many names have been deleted—the publication is not primarily intended to serve historical purposes but to provide models of style. However, the arrangement of the documents also reflects the social range of the addressees, a principle known to us from earlier Roman literature.

General considerations, even learned excursuses are incorporated into the documents. Similarly, Cassiodorus occasionally breaks the monotony of his *Institutiones* by inserting an attractive description of his monastery (*inst.* 29).

Language and Style

In the *Variae* western Roman officialese and the tradition of literary epistles meet. Phraseology is sophisticated to the point of obscurity, even in edicts. However, Cassiodorus does not strive for uniformity of style. He develops, like many a Latin writer before him, a rich palette of shades.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In the *Variae* Cassiodorus is concerned with the variety of stylistic means of expression. The writer has to adapt his text to the character of his addressee.

Cassiodorus considers wordly wisdom and knowledge a necessary complement to revelation. In order to assemble a library he collects manuscripts and obliges his monks to copy books, an activity he wittily describes as *contra diaboli subreptiones illicitas calamo atramentoque pugnare*, 'fight with pen and ink against the illicit inroads of the devil' (*inst.* 1. 30). He also encourages translators of Greek works. In some passages his *Institutiones* are reminiscent of a good introduction into a library. First he teaches how to study the Bible and portrays some Christian authors: Hilary, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.[1] Then, as a second main section of his *Institutiones*, he treats the *artes liberales* in seven chapters. The range of his interests is truly encyclopedic; they even include books on nursing and natural history. He recommends gardening to brothers unable to penetrate the depths of science.

He is systematically concerned with the art of interpretation (hermeneutics). For expounding a psalm he prescribes the following pattern: explain the title, sketch the disposition, summarize the content. In due course the exegesis proper has to be centered on the person of the speaker (as the historical focus) and on the person of Christ (as the spiritual focus). The Scriptures have a spiritual, an historical, and a mystical sense. The moral meaning is hinted at only occasionally. The conclusion of the exegesis has to summarize its results. This pattern of textual meditation is clearly influenced by rhetoric: what is more, even in detail Cassiodorus pinpoints rhetorical elements in the *Psalms*.[2] The *Psalms* equal eloquence in the full sense of the word. Thus the *Commentary on the Psalms* is an initiation into both faith and science. The latter unfolds what is implicit in the biblical texts.

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[1] Another essay on a subject of literary history was the *Ordo generis Cassiodororum.*

[2] This practice would have been impossible without Augustine's Christianization of rhetoric; the Liberal Arts are even derived from the Scriptures (Aug. *doctr. chr.* 2. 28. 43; *civ.* 8. 11); s. further: E. Goffinet, L'utilisation d'Origène dans le *Commentaire des Psaumes* de saint Hilaire de Poitiers, Louvain 1965.

Ideas II

At the beginning of his career Cassiodorus adopted the *persona* of his rulers to develop his ideas. His own individuality initially did not appear; thanks to historical and biographical circumstances, however, in the second half of his life he could develop his own ideas.

Cassiodorus' view of history was conditioned by his position at the Gothic court. In order to justify the Goths' role in world history, he linked them to Getae and Scythians. Special attention had to be paid to the genealogy of the governing *Amali*. In compensation he later wrote a book on his own genealogy, in which he especially dwelt on his *spiritual* ancestors. Cassiodorus, the offspring of Roman senators, through a eulogy of Theodoric had gained the questionable honor of serving barbarian rulers as a scribe and of sharing, as a high official, the responsibility for their deeds, both good and evil. It was only indirectly and with intellectual arms that he could combat barbarism. It is in his writings that he gives proof of a tough power of resistance, which he had to disclaim in daily life. By publishing the *Variae* he furnished models of good Latin in official documents for future officials, and, in parentheses, conveyed some cultural background to them. For Cassiodorus the decline of the Gothic kingdom was a chance of freedom, and he made good use of it. He founded a 'hotbed' (*Vivarium*) of spiritual and intellectual life. The Romans' traditional delight in encyclopedic learning and teaching was now anchored in Christianity; thus it acquired a new and deeper meaning. Cassiodorus showed much common sense by linking it to an institution.

Influence

Cassiodorus' library and his monastery were short-lived; this did not impair their influence as examples. During the Midde Ages his works were studied carefully. The *Variae* fully served their purpose as models of style for documents. The *Institutiones* contributed much to a typical feature of western monasticism: not content with mere contemplation, monks copied and studied classical texts and became mediators of classical and encyclopedic education. Cassiodorus was one of Europe's great educators.

Editions: PL 69 and 70. * CSEL 71. * CC 96 and 97. * *anim.*: J. W. Halporn, Turnholti 1973 (in: CC 96). * *chron.*: T. Mommsen, MGH AA 11, 2,

120–161. * *gramm.* (= *De ortographia* and *De arte grammatica* excerpta): GL 7, 143–216 Keil. * *hist.*: W. JACOB, R. HANSLIK, Vindobonae 1952 (= CSEL 71). * *in psalm.*: M. ADRIAEN, Turnholti 1958 (= CC 97). * *inst.*: R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxonii 2nd ed. 1961. * L. W. JONES (TrN), New York (1946) 1969. * *or.* (*frg.*): L. TRAUBE, in: MGH AA 12, Berolini 1894, 465–484. * *rhet.*: C. HALM, Rhet. Lat. min. 495–500. * *var.*: T. MOMMSEN, MGH AA 12, Berolini 1894, 3–385. * Å. FRIDH, Turnholti 1973 (in: CC 96). ** *Indices*: s. the editions by MOMMSEN, JACOB, FRIDH. ** *Bibl.*: s. editions and monographs.

B. CROKE, Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes, CPh 82, 1987, 117–134. * Å. FRIDH, Terminologie et formules dans les *Variae* de Cassiodore, Göteborg 1956. * Å. FRIDH, Contributions à la critique et à l'interpretation des *Variae* de Cassiodore, Stockholm 1968. * Å. FRIDH, Cassiodorus' Digression on Music, *var.* 2. 40, Eranos 86, 1988, 43–51. * J.-Y. GUILLAUMIN, La christianisation du thème de 'l'œil de l'âme' chez Cassiodore (*inst.* 2. 3. 22), RPh 59, 1985, 247–254. * J. J. O'DONNELL, Cassiodorus, Berkeley 1979. * U. HAHNER, Cassiodors Psalmenkommentar. Sprachliche Untersuchungen, München 1973. * S. KRAUTSCHICK, Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit, Bonn 1983. * S. LEANZA, ed., Atti della settimana di studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro (Cosenza-Squillace 1983), Soveria 1986. * G. LUDWIG, Cassiodor. Über den Ursprung der abendländischen Schule, Frankfurt 1967. * R. MACPHERSON, Rome in Involution. Cassiodorus' *Variae* in their Literary and Historical Setting, Poznań 1989. * R. SCHLIEBEN, Christliche Theologie und Philologie in der Spätantike. Die schulwissenschaftlichen Methoden der Psalmenexegese Cassiodors, Berlin 1974. * R. SCHLIEBEN, Cassiodors Psalmenexegese. Eine Analyse ihrer Methoden als Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Geschichte der Bibelauslegung der Kirchenväter und der Verbindung christlicher Theologie mit antiker Schulwissenschaft, Göppingen 1979. * J. SVENNUNG, Zu Cassiodor und Jordanes, Eranos 67, 1969, 71–80. * G. VIDÉN, The Roman Chancery Tradition. Studies in the Language of *Codex Theodosianus* and Cassiodorus' *Variae*, Göteborg 1984. * L. VISCIDO, Sull'uso del termine *barbarus* nelle *Variae* di Cassiodoro, Orpheus n.s. 7, 1986, 338–344.

2. THE FOUNDERS OF WESTERN LAW

JURIDIC LITERATURE OF MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE

The Zenith of Classical Roman Law: Jurists in the Service of the State

Since the early classical period jurisprudence had been linked ever more closely to the administration of the empire.[1] Increasingly jurists were active in central and provincial administration; they often moved up into the senate, although not all of them were natives of the city of Rome: L. Neratius Priscus[2] from the small Sabine town Saepinum actually belonged to a family of senators, but Javolenus, who had been only an equestrian officer, became a senator under Vespasian and was quickly promoted.

The practical activity of jurists influenced their scholarhip: casuistry predominated; typical were titles like *Responsa, Epistuale, Quaestiones, Digesta.*

The antagonism of the two schools—described in former chapters[3]—waned around the mid-second century. P. Juventius Celsus (*filius*),[4] one of Hadrian's advisers, was the head of the 'Proculian' school. What is known of his 39 books of *Digesta* looks independent and gives proof of keen judgment. Maxims, which would become household words, give witness to his mastery of language.[5]

The leading 'Sabinian', Salvius Julianus,[6] a disciple of Javolenus is

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[1] Kunkel, Herkunft 290–304

[2] R. Greiner, Opera Neratii, diss. Freiburg, Karlsruhe 1973; forthcoming: D. Liebs, HLL § 336, 3.

[3] S. above pp. 889–891; 1275–1277.

[4] Praetor in 106 or 107, consul for the second time in 129, governor of Thrace around 110, later governor of Asia; F. Wieacker, Amoenitates Iuventianae. Zur Charakteristik des Juristen Celsus, Iura 13, 1962, 1–21; M. Bretone, Note minime su Celsus filius, Labeo 9, 1963, 331–345; Kunkel, Herkunft 146–147; H. Hausmaninger, P. Iuventius Celsus. Persönlichkeit und juristische Argumentation, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 382–407.

[5] Examples are: his definition of *ius* as *ars boni et aequi* (Dig. 1. 1. 1 *pr.*) and rules for jurists such as: *scire leges non hoc est verba earum tenere, sed vim ac potestatem* (Dig. 1. 3. 17); *incivile est nisi tota lege perspecta una aliqua particula eius proposita iudicare vel respondere* (Dig. 1. 3. 24); *impossibilium nulla obligatio* (Dig. 50. 17. 185).

[6] Of Italian descent; born in Hadrumetum (Africa); among other offices he held,

perhaps the most influential of classical jurists. His scholarly masterpiece—*Digesta* in 90 books—contains coherent disquisitions on legal problems shaped as listeners' questions and teacher's answers.[1] On Hadrian's behalf he made the definitive redaction of the edicts for jurisdiction: his text was confirmed by a *senatus consultum* and could only be changed by the princeps himself.[2]

Julian (Dig. 40. 5. 20) had the gift of clearly analyzing even the most intricate cases. He was guided by an evaluation of the interests involved, not by rigid categories. His Latin is a model of simplicity and elegance.[3] He definitely closed many debates.[4] Soon after him the controversy between the two schools must have lost its old importance.

A casuistic approach was typical also of Ulpius Marcellus (under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) in his huge *Digesta* and of emperor Marcus' adviser Q. Cervidius Scaevola (about 175 *praefectus vigilum*); his *Quaestiones*, *Responsa*, and the posthumously published *Digesta* were the fruits of his activity as a consultant in the eastern half of the empire.

Pomponius,[5] who in all probability held no public offices and did not have the *ius respondendi*, excelled by thorough domination of vast knowledge and its intelligent presentation. His small textbook for beginners was called *Enchiridion*—perhaps following the precedent of Epictetus the Stoic; we owe to it, among other information, a survey of the early history of Roman law (Dig. 1. 2. 2). Moreover, Pomponius wrote three works on *ius civile* in the guise of voluminous

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he was governor of Germania inferior in Cologne and consul in 148; *propter insignem doctrinam* he earned the double of a quaestor's salary from Hadrian: D. Nörr, Drei Miszellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Juristen Salvius Iulianus, in: Daube noster, Essays in Legal History for D. Daube, Edinburgh 1974, 233–252; E. Bund, Salvius Iulianus, Leben und Werk, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 408–454; D. Liebs, HLL 4, § 414 (forthcoming).

[1] T. Mommsen, Über Julians Digesten, ZRG 9, 1870, 82–96 (= Gesammelte Schriften 2, 7–20).

[2] A. Guarino doubted Julian's redaction of the edict (Storia del diritto romano, Napoli, 4th ed. 1969, 460–462).

[3] *Latina Iuliani dictio non modo pura est, sed et tersa aliquando, ubique vero castigata, nusquam abrupta aut turgida* (Heineccius in: W. Kalb, Roms Juristen nach ihrer Sprache dargestellt, Leipzig 1890, 57).

[4] On his method: E. Bund, Untersuchungen zur Methode Iulians, Köln 1965.

[5] He was active during the epoch from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius; Lenel, Palingenesia 2, 15–160; G. Wesenberg, RE 21, 2, 1952, 2416; M. Bretone, Motivi ideologici dell'*Enchiridion* di Pomponio, Labeo 11, 1965, 7–35; D. Nörr, Pomponius oder 'Zum Geschichtsverständnis der römischen Juristen', ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 497–604; D. Liebs, HLL 4, § 422 (forthcoming).

commentaries on Sabinus, Q. Mucius, and Plautius, a commentary on the edict, three monographs (on *fideicommissum*, *stipulatio*, and the *senatusconsulta*), further *epistulae* and *Lectiones*, altogether about 300 books. Pomponius is a knowledgeable and intelligent jurist; his Latin is clear. His thought is not always free from dogmatic rigidity.

Late Classical Period: Jurists from the Provinces

The jurists of the imperial period generally used the purely senatorial career (*cursus honorum*), which was linked to the city of Rome, to become in due course high officials in the imperial administration. As could be seen in the case of Julian, however, at the zenith of classical Roman law many of the jurists were not descended from the upper class of the city of Rome. In the late classical period this development continued to Rome's disadvantage: during the period of the Severi almost all jurists, as far as they can be localized at all, originated from the provinces. Once jurists owed their power the emperor, not to the senate, equestrian careers became more and more typical of them.[1]

Gaius (about 120–180)[2] also was of provincial origin; for generations to come, he was one of the most authoritative and influential writers on law; his exact birthplace is disputed; his full name and

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[1] J. Bleicken, *In provinciali solo dominium populi Romani est vel Caesaris*—Zur Kolonisierungspolitik der ausgehenden Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit, Chiron 4, 1974, 359–415; D. Liebs, Römische Provinzialjurisprudenz, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 288–362; J. Bleicken, Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs, 2 vols., München (1978), 2nd ed. 1981.

[2] *Editions*: J. F. L. Göschen, Berolini 1820 (first edition, based on the palimpsest); P. Krüger, W. Studemund, Berolini 7th ed. 1923; E. Seckel, B. Kübler, Lipsiae 7th ed. 1935; F. de Zulueta (TTrC), 2 vols., Oxford 1946–1953; *books 1* and *2*: H. L. W. Nelson, M. David (TC), Leiden 1954–1968. On the origin of Gaius: Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften 2, 1905, 26–38; W. Kalb, Roms Juristen, nach ihrer Sprache dargestellt, Leipzig 1890, 73–88 (problematic); F. Kniep, Der Rechtsgelehrte Gajus und die Ediktskommentare, Jena 1910, 1–29; 57–77; H. Kroll, Zur Gaius-Frage, diss. Münster 1917; Wieacker, Textstufen 186–199; Schulz, Geschichte 191–201; Kunkel, Herkunft 186–213; D. Liebs, Gaius und Pomponius, in: Gaio nel suo tempo. Atti del simposio romanistico, Napoli 1966, 61–75; id., Römisches Recht 66–68; id., Römische Provinzialjurisprudenz, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 288–362, on Gaius esp. 294–310; G. Diósdi, Gaius, der Rechtsgelehrte (with bibl. by R. Wittmann), ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 605–631; fundamental H. L. W. Nelson 1981, esp. 413–423 (including a critical survey of previous research); D. Liebs, HLL 4, § 426 (forthcoming).

biography are unknown. From his own experience he reports an event which happened under the rule of Hadrian (Dig. 34. 5. 7, *pr.*); the *Institutiones* was written about 161.

Gaius' œuvre comprised about 100 volumes, among which *Ad edictum provinciale libri XXX*[1] and a *Commentary to the Twelve Tables* but no casuistical works. The only work handed down to us is the *Institutiones*, a textbook for beginners in four volumes.[2] The same subject was treated along similar lines (and only in part more circumstantially) in the *Res cottidianae*[3] (or *Aurea*), a work quoted in the *Digesta* and in Justinian's *Institutiones*. The authenticity of the *Aurea* is controversial, as are its relationship to the *Institutiones* and the extent of possible interpolations.

In the 1st book of the *Institutiones* Gaius describes the law concerning persons and family, in the second and third book there follows the law concerning objects, inheritance and obligations, the fourth of actions and their forms. This subdivision of civil law influenced even modern codes.

As for its assignment to a literary genre, the *Institutiones* is a systematic textbook, roughly comparable to Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[4] The systematic approach to law is open to different explanations as to its roots in grammar or philosophy;[5] it certainly was older than the period of Gaius. Without any doubt the plan of Gaius' work is reminiscent of what is known of a comparable work of Neratius; the latter, however, was not a Sabinian like Gaius, who possibly followed some teacher of his own school.[6] His personal achievement, however,

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[1] The two books *Ad edictum aedilium curulium* were an appendix to the commentary on the edict.

[2] The only manuscript, a palimpsest, was discovered by Niebuhr in 1816 in the chapter library of Verona; moreover, there are two papyrus fragments and, in addition, later paraphrases and explanations.

[3] For interpolations and a complex interaction of texts: M. FUHRMANN, Zur Entstehung des Veroneser Gaius-Textes, ZRG 73, 1956, 341–356; against him: H. L. W. NELSON 1981, 326–328.

[4] On this, FUHRMANN, Lehrbuch 104–121 and esp. 183–188; cf. also W. VON KOTZ-DOBRŽ, *Institutiones*, RE 9, 2, 1916, 1566–1587; for Stoic influence: A. SCHMEKEL, Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa, Berlin 1892, 439–465, esp. 456; M. POHLENZ, Die Stoa I, Göttingen 6th ed. 1984, 191–276, esp. 263–264; 2, 4th ed. 1972, esp. 135 (comm. to p. 263).

[5] Sceptical H. L. W. NELSON 1981, 335–336 with notes 2 and 3 (against H.-J. METTE, Ius civile in artem redactum, Göttingen 1954 and F. WIEACKER, Griechische Wurzeln des Institutionensystems, ZRG 70, 1953, esp. 93–113).

[6] For Neratius as his model: D. LIEBS 1976 (Rechtsschulen), esp. 217 and 225–

was not limited to teaching; it is also evinced in a strict and consistent adherence to his principles of classification, even in detail.

His style is clear and simple. Colloquialisms are unobtrusive; there are almost no Greek words. Gaius' use of legal terms and of officialese is always correct and never excessive.

Gaius wrote his textbook for future imperial administrators; in fact, the emperors since Hadrian fostered the institution of a career for civilian officials, a prerequisite for which was the study of law. Supposedly Gaius himself was not a jurist authorized by the emperor; his contemporaries and the classical jurists who wrote after him ignored him. However, from the 5th century onward, his influence increased so much the more: the *Procedure on Citing Recognized Jurists* (of Valentinian III: *cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 3) of 426 made Gaius an authority among other great jurists.

Great Late Classics

Initially law created by jurists was predominant; it originated from the jurists' practice of responding. Its prime ended with the military monarchy of the Severi. Imperial constitutions (including imperial jurisdiction) represented a new layer of Roman law. They arose and substituted the open responses of independent jurists during the 2nd century A.D. when the emperors laid down the republican mask. Roman law, therefore, developed gradually. The two main sources of law gained equal right in the codifications of late antiquity.

In the late classical period, which roughly coincided with the era of the Severi (193–235), jurists more and more became officials: they held high offices reserved for Roman knights (such as the position of a *praefectus praetorio*)[1] and served their emperors as advisers. They often came from the eastern half of the empire (νομικοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι). At the beginning of the 5th century Rome lost its leading role even in the field of law. From the 3rd century, Juridic literature decayed. Increasingly jurists limited themselves to collecting and elaborating existent older material.

227; for Sabinus: H. L. W. Nelson 1981, 374–375 with notes 61 and 62; critical D. Liebs, Gnomon 55, 1983, 122–123.

[1] The 2 *praefecti praetorio* (since 2 B.C.) were knights and members of the emperor's *consilium*. The latter delegated to them civil functions, such as jurisdiction. Under Constantine this office became a merely civil and senatorial one.

The earliest and most important late classic, Aemilius Papinianus,[1] a student of Cervidius Scaevola, was born about 150, perhaps in Africa. We do not know his origin, nor can we prove his alleged relationship by marriage to the family of Septimius Severus.[2] A typical Roman knight's career[3] led him to the office of *praefectus praetorio* (205–211; CIL 6. 228); after the death of Septimius Severus (211) he was discharged. The soldiers in the City did not like him; after Caracalla had usurped power and murdered his brother Geta, the praetorians had Papinian sentenced to death in a show trial. Caracalla did not intervene in his favor (Dio Cass. 78. 1. 1 and 78. 4. 1a and—hagiographically adorned—Hist. Aug. 13. 8; 13. 4; a relatively early critical voice is Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 20. 30–31).

Papinian published casuistical collections: 37 books of *Quaestiones* (in the order of the preceding Digests), 19 books of *Responsa*; to the latter, Paulus and Ulpian later added critical notes.

Papinian's *Responsa* were not limited to recording the given questions and answers, but also adduced important arguments supporting the decision; at the least, Papinian quoted parallel cases and examples to the contrary.

Papinian's style is brief and fertile in ideas; hence it is not always easy to grasp.

Our author examines the cases he studies with unusual sensitiveness and finds undogmatic solutions. More often than other jurists he resorts to ethical considerations (e.g. Dig. 28. 7. 15); he proved by his death, that such ideas were more than mere phraseology to him.

Late antiquity revered Papinian as the greatest jurist of all times (*Hist. Aug.* 10. 21. 8; Iust. 6. 42. 30 *acutissimi ingenii vir et merito ante alios excellens*, 'a man of sharpest mind and rightfully surpassing the others'). In the 5th and 6th centuries students of law held 'Papinian celebrations' at the beginning of the third year of their studies; during that year, they were called *Papinianistae* for, in the main, they treated texts of Papinian. Within the chorus of jurists his humane

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[1] Wieacker, Textstufen 332–388; Kunkel, Herkunft 224–229; V. Giuffrè, Papiniano: fra tradizione ed innovazione, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 632–666; D. Liebs, HLL 4, § 416 (forthcoming).

[2] D. Liebs, Römische Provinzialjurisprudenz, ANRW 2, 5, 1975, 5, n. 31; D. Nörr, Ethik von Jurisprudenz in Sachen Schatzfund, BIDR 75, 1972, 29–30, n. 100 (with bibl.).

[3] About 180 he became *assessor* of the *praefecti praetorio*, from 194 to 202 he was a leading member and, after this, head of the imperial chancellery *a libellis* (Dig. 20. 5. 12).

voice was given special importance (*cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 1. 3). Andreas Gryphius (d. 1664) would immortalize him in his last drama *Grossmüttiger Rechts-Gelehrter oder Sterbender Aemilius Paulus Papinianus* (Breslau 1659).[1]

Julius Paulus,[2] descendant of a man who got his citizenship from Caesar or Augustus, was born about 160 and, like Papinian, was a student of Scaevola. After an activity as an advocate he became *assessor* of the *praefectus praetorio* Papinian and a counselor of Septimius Severus; Elagabalus made him (about 218–219) *praefectus praetorio*, but banished him soon. Alexander Severus rehabilitated him and appreciated his advice.

His writings—over 300 volumes—were partly casuistical: 26 books of *Quaestiones*, 23 books of *Responsa*, 6 books of *Imperiales sententiae in cognitionibus prolatae*. But most of his books were commentaries and monographs: the *Commentary on the Edict* amounted to 78 books, the *Commentary on the Edict of the Aediles* to only two, the *Commentaries on Sabinus* to 16 books. In his monographs Paulus treated even subjects hitherto unexplored.[3] The *Pauli sententiae receptae* were compiled from the writings of jurists and from 3rd-century imperial *constitutiones* at the beginning of the post-classical period and meant to serve as a handbook for legal practice in the province (of Africa?).

Paulus quoted almost the entire previous literature, especially Labeo, Sabinus, Julianus, Africanus, Pomponius, Marcellus, Scaevola. He also exploited Gaius. His criticism of predecessors is outspoken, often trenchant. He handled classical terminology with rigor.

Domitius Ulpianus,[4] born about 170, called Tyre his *origo* (Dig. 50. 15. 1 *pr.*). His fellow citizens erected to him a 12 feet high marble monument (Année épigraphique 1988, no. 1051). He became an *assessor* to the *praetor urbanus* and, having held several other offices,[5] was promoted to *praefectus praetorio* (222; *cod. Iust.* 4. 65. 4). As a

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[1] D. Nörr, Papinian und Gryphius, ZRG 83, 1966, 308–333.

[2] A. Berger, RE 10, 1, Iulius 382, 1918, 690–752; C. A. Maschi, La conclusione della giurisprudenza classica all'età dei Severi. Iulius Paulus, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 667–707; forthcoming D. Liebs, HLL 4, § 424.

[3] *De portionibus quae liberis damnatorum ceduntur, De iure singulari, De iuris et facti ignorantia.*

[4] Kunkel, Herkunft 245–254; T. Mayer-Maly, RE 9 A 1, 1961, 567–569; Schulz, Geschichte passim; R. Orestano, Novissimo Digesto italiano 19, 1973, 1106 (with bibl.); G. Crifò, Ulpiano. Esperienze e responsabilità del giurista, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 709–789.

[5] *Magister a libellis, magister scrinii, praefectus annonae.*

counselor to the emperor (*Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev.* 26. 6; 68. 1) he was the most influential man in the empire. In his choice of political means he was not over-scrupulous; his own praetorians, in their turn, killed him in 223 (Pap. Oxy. 31. 2565; Cass. Dio 80. 2).

Almost all of his works were written under Caracalla (this is also true for his casuistic works: two books of *Responsa* and several books of *Disputationes publicae*). Only the *liber singularis De excusationibus* in all probability dates from his early years. His *Commentaries* were even more voluminous than those of Paulus: 81 books on the praetor's edict, two on the aedile's, 51 on Sabinus (unfinished, published posthumously). Moreover, our author commented on Augustan laws.[1] From his teaching experience sprang seven books of *Regulae* and two books of *Institutiones* with the famous passages on *ius, ius naturale,* and *iustitia* (Dig. 1. 1. 1 *pr.*; 1. 1. 10).

His treatment of forms of extraordinary jurisdiction was authoritative.[2] Especially the ten books *De officio proconsulis* would be frequently used later on. Thus it happened that with Ulpian jurisprudence definitely ceased to be focused on Rome.

Ulpian's writings were an encyclopaedia of the whole of jurisprudence. He exploited early and classical juridic literature, arranging and examining decisions of cases and making them available for future users. Not free from a certain sense of mission,[3] he combined theory and practice and almost attained his goal to replace the existing literature on law. In fact, over 40% of the *Digesta* consists of extracts from his works,[4] and there is more of him available to us than of any of his colleagues.

Ulpian's student Herennius Modestinus (*praefectus vigilum* about 228) wrote *Pandectae, Responsa, Regulae, Differentiae* and several monographs. Aelius Marcianus wrote (after 217) *Institutiones* in 16 books and *Regulae* in five books. Both authors are quoted in the *Digesta*; the *Procedure on*

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[1] *Leges Iulia et Papia, Lex Iulia de adulteriis, Lex Aelia Sentia.*

[2] On the jurisdiction of special praetors (for causes of tutelage and *fideicommissum*), of consuls, *praefecti urbi*, and of governors of provinces; the *De omnibus tribunalibus libri X* is a supplement, on extraordinary jurisdictional competences of Roman magistrates.

[3] D. Nörr, *Iurisperitus sacerdos*, in: Xenion. FS P. J. Zepos, Athens, Freiburg 1973, 1, 555–572; D. Nörr, Ethik von Jurisprudenz in Sachen Schatzfund, BIDR 75, 1972, 11–40, esp. 38–40; M. Fuhrmann, D. Liebs, Fälle aus dem römischen Recht. Kommentar, Bamberg 1974, 13–15.

[4] Further evidence: *Fragmenta Vaticana, Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum, Scholia Sinaitica*, papyri, quotations found in other authors.

Citing Recognized Jurists of 426 finally confirmed that Modestinus with his writings belonged to the exclusive circle of the five 'citable' jurists, whose opinions enjoyed especial authority in court.

The Decline of Juridical Literature

The general stagnation of literary productivity around the middle of the 3rd century was felt, too, in the domain of law. In the chaotic decades from the death of Alexander Severus (235) to the rise of Diocletian (from 284–285 onward) there were 69 emperors; nine would have been more than enough. A small minority only were successful enough to govern all of the empire and to hold their own for a longer period. In addition there were difficulties caused by external enemies: emperors had no spare time for jurisdiction or regular legislation: some of them never saw Rome. In those years of emergency, imperial *rescripta*[1] (i.e. answers to written petitions) assisted by the *magister libellorum* became rare; they were revived only under Carinus and Diocletian. Moreover, neo-Platonism and mystery religions were part of a general change of mentality: North Africa, hitherto a cradle of lawyers, now turned to the production of theologians.[2]

Imperial Constitutions

The character of the sources of law definitely changed. For centuries, the opinions of experts had determined the development of law, and *ius* had been identical with 'law created by jurists'. From the beginning of the 3rd century onward, however, along with this *ius vetus*, the new imperial law increasingly gained in importance. The *constitutiones principum*[3] (a collective term used since the period of Hadrian) gained in authority, no matter what their actual form was;

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[1] D. V. Simon, Konstantinisches Kaiserrecht, Frankfurt 1977, 5–49.

[2] Tertullian perhaps had initially been a jurist; he was a lawyer for certain. For his being identical with the jurist named Tertullian: D. Liebs 1976 (Provinzialjurisprudenz), n. 37 a; and forthcoming HLL 4, § 417. 2; A. Beck, Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian, Halle 1930, augm. repr. Aalen 1967, 13–17 (and the new preface); the contrary view here pp. 1534–1535; cf. 1528–1529. Characteristic features of the epoch: D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 55–56 (with bibl.); F. Wieacker, Recht und Gesellschaft in der Spätantike, Stuttgart 1964.

[3] Liebs, Recht 69–73; the *Lex de imperio* allows the emperor to act on behalf of the people, even as legislator (Gaius *inst.* 1. 5).

this is true even of mere legal expert opinions answering private petitions (given either in written form—*subscriptiones* or *rescripta*—or orally: *interlocutiones de plano*); from the military monarchy of the Severi onward, the authority of the *constitutiones principum* outshone that of the *responsa* of jurists; since the late 3rd century, the latter practically lost all significance. During the imperial period republican traditions waned: after Nerva, popular legislation ended, under Hadrian the creation of law by magistrates ceased. It was now up to the jurists to develop it further. Under the republic experts had been independent; now they gave their opinions by order of the emperor. Understandably, the *senatus consulta* more and more became identical with the emperor's messages (*orationes principis*) read to the senate. With Constantine, the emperor's legislative utterances were overtly called *leges*; it had been up to the imperial quaestor to formulate them; now the latter's position was enhanced formally.

In late antiquity bulletins in the name of the emperor or of high officials are frequent. Moreover, there are collections of laws. Of these it is the legally relevant central passage or parts of it which survive. These texts often meet literary standards; their style is highly ornate, even pompous.

There are three types of general laws[1] (*lex, lex generalis, lex edictalis*): the most frequent is an imperial 'letter' (*epistula*) to a high official, the *praefectus urbi* or the *praefectus praetorio*, who incorporates this letter as a law into his own edict or furthers it to subordinate governors. Second, the emperor may address the people immediately in the guise of an edict[2] (*ad populum, ad universos provinciales* etc.). The third and rarest form is a letter to the senate of Rome (*oratio ad senatum, senatusconsultum*) and, even more rarely, to that of Constantinople. However, the terms *constitutio* and *lex* can also be used without claiming general validity or legal authority: for benefices, tax exemptions, imperial donations, and privileges.

Post-Classical Period

Hosts of officials all over the late Roman empire had to be proficient in law. Hence, a universal and perspicuous legislation was badly

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[1] References and explanation of the preserved texts in D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 58–60.

[2] Liebs, Recht 70.

needed.[1] Historical circumstances allowed nothing but brief scholia to imperial *constitutiones* and epitomes of late classical works.

From the mid-3rd to the second half of the 5th century we know many names of Roman jurists (from Italy, Gaul, Africa, and, above all, the Orient) but almost no juridic literature. Writings are mostly anonymous or usurp the names of great classical authors. Only during the last fifty years have scholars traced the true provenance of post-classical works. The chronological problems posed are even more difficult.

The space of time from the end of the classical period to the end of antiquity falls into four sections: the period lasting from the later part of the 3rd century until Diocletian; the epoch of Christianization (from Constantine to 410), the period of the migration of tribes (410 to ca. 520/530: in the West, the beginning vulgarization of law would extend far into the Middle Ages, in the East it was opposed by the renaissance of classical law in the law schools of the 5th century); and, finally, the epoch of Justinian.

More or less beginning with the later part of the 3rd century (Gregory the Thaumaturge) legal instruction was based on definite works of classical juridic literature; in the East, Gaius' *Institutiones* were especially studied in the first year; the students of this age group were called *dupondii*; in the second year they concentrated above all on Ulpian's great *Commentary on the Edict*; these students were called *edictales*; in the third year they studied Papinian's *Responsa* (hence: *Papinianistae*), in the fourth year, Paul's *Responsa*, and in the fifth, the *constitutiones* of emperors using the *Codices Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, later the *Theodosianus* as well and (after Justinian) the *Iustianianus* (in the East both age groups were called λύται).

Moreover, compendia for practical purposes were written—*Iuris epitomae*, *Regulae*, *Sententiae*, *Opiniones*. Their length is moderate (about 5–6 books). They were generally ascribed to classical jurists (Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius). One of these is the *Regularum liber singularis Ulpiani*[2] (also: *tituli ex corpore Ulpiani*), which are reminiscent of Gaius. They have been preserved in a Vatican manuscript.

[1] D. Nörr, Zu den geistigen und sozialen Grundlagen der spätantiken Kodifikationsbewegung, ZRG 80, 1963, 109–140; on the factors shaping the development of law in Late Antiquity: J. Gaudemet, La formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'Eglise aux IVe et Ve siècles, Paris 1957.

[2] F. Schulz, Die *Epitome Ulpiani* des Codex Vaticanus Reginae 1128. Juristische

The *Pauli sententiae*, a work for beginners based on late classical jurists, has been transmitted mainly through the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. In late antiquity, the *Pauli sententiae*[1] would become the most successful compendium of Roman law. It is a collection of short juridic *sententiae* without discussion of problems. The title makes the reader believe that these are acknowledged legal *sententiae* written by Paul for his son (cf. the *Dicta Catonis ad filium suum*, which date from the 3rd century as well).

Likewise, the *Regularum liber singularis* and *Regularum libri* ascribed to Gaius seem to belong to the post-classical period. During the same period marginal notes (glosses) and summarizing paraphrases intruded into the classical texts, whereas other elements were omitted.[2]

Condensed editions—e.g. of Gaius' *Institutiones*—, juridic dictionaries, and collections of excerpts from the late classics were in circulation. On the whole the—mostly anonymous—post-classical epigones convey a regular, normative idea of law, not a complex discussion of individual cases. Legal *sententiae* are cited briefly; reasons, disquisitions, and discussions are absent.

First Collections of *Constitutiones*

Around A.D. 300 there appeared collections containing quotations from the classical jurists and especially the emperors' *constitutiones*. They might be called the first precursors of the *Digesta* and the *Codex Iustinianus*.

The *Codex Gregorianus*,[3] which has not come down to us, was published in 291. It was a private collection of imperial *constitutiones* from

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Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 3, Bonn 1926 (TN); D. Liebs, *Ulpiani Regulae*—zwei Pseudepigrapha, in: Romanitas—Christianitas. FS J. Straub, Berlin 1982, 282–292; id., in: HLL 5, München 1989, 67 (bibl.).

[1] E. Levy, *Pauli sententiae*. A Palingenesia of the Opening Titles as a Specimen of Research in West Roman Vulgar Law, Ithaca, N.Y. 1945; *Pauli sententiarum fragmentum Leidense* = Studia Gaiana 4, Leiden 1956; H. Schellenberg, Die Interpretationen zu den *Paulus-Sentenzen*, Göttingen 1965; Liebs, Recht 88 with n.; id., HLL 5, 1989, 65–67; id., Römische Jurisprudenz in Africa. Mit Studien zu den pseudopaulinischen Sentenzen, Berlin 1993, 28–108; id., Die pseudopaulinischen Sentenzen. Versuch einer neuen Palingenesie, ZRG 112, 1995, 151–171.

[2] Cf. Kunkel, Rechtsgeschichte 133 with n. 4; a warning against exaggerations is found in: M. Kaser, quoted below, p. 1523, n. 3.

[3] An extract survived in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*; for the rest, we are left with citations and allusions; cf. D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 60–62.

Hadrian to Diocletian, compiled by a certain Gregorius who had access to the chancellery *a libellis*. Four years later appeared the *Codex Hermogenianus*,[1] a private collection of Diocletian's edicts. Both of them would be republished in augmented form.[2]

Fragments from the *Iuris epitomae*[3] written by the jurist Hermogenian,[4] who would become *praefectus praetorio* under Maximian, are found in Justinian's *Digesta* (a parallel case is the *Codices Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, which were incorporated into Justinian's Code):[5] hence, we possess the skeleton of titles and all imperial *constitutiones* from Hadrian to 312.

Quotations from the late classics (naming their sources), augmented by imperial edicts not only from the last mentioned private *codices*, were the material of a work published in Rome about 320. It had roughly the scope of the *Digesta*. It is known to us from the *Fragmenta iuris Vaticana*.[6] Probably it was meant to replace the classical jurists in law schools, but it was also used in legal practice.

The *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*,[7] written about 400, has come down to us anonymously in unfinished form. It contains extracts from the five authoritative jurists[8]—Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, Gaius, Modestinus—and from the imperial constitutions according to the *codices*. It was intended to show that Mosaic law and Roman law are in agreement. Some scholars find in it a Christian, others a Jewish tendency.[9]

Vulgar Law

In the 4th century the knowledge of classical works among jurists declined. They were content with the main works of the four most

[1] D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 62–64.
[2] D. Liebs, HLL 5, §§ 504–505.
[3] D. Liebs, Hermogenians *Iuris epitomae*, AAG 3, 57, 1964.
[4] He lived in the Hellenized orient and probably was a teacher of law in Beirut.
[5] G. Rotondi, Scritti giuridici 1, Pavia 1922, 110–265 (Studi sulle fonti del Codice Giustinianeo).
[6] D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 64–65; F. Raber, *Fragmenta iuris Vaticana*, RE suppl. 10, 1965, 231–241.
[7] Schulz, Geschichte 394, n. 1.
[8] *Cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 3; on this, Wieacker, Textstufen 156; 171; Krüger, Quellen 299–300.
[9] The discussion is summarized by D. Liebs, Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien, Berlin 1987, 163–165; in favor of the Christian interpretation, as well: P. E. Pieler, in: Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechtshistorikertages, Frankfurt 1987, 694–

important late classical jurists and with the *Institutiones* of Gaius, in the western provinces with Gaius and the early post-classical compendia for practical purposes, especially the *Sententiae Pauli* and the imperial *constitutiones*. Legal practice was supported by many professional jurists: on the one hand, there were the *assessores* of the magistrates, especially of the provincial governors (they were exchanged together with their superiors); on the other hand, in most of the provinces there were jurisconsults (*iuris studiosi*, *iuris periti*, νόμιμοι), sometimes of a rather modest intellectual level; their social prestige does not compare with that of the classical jurists (nor did the honoraria they were allowed to receive). From the 5th century we have[1] texts for practical use (documents, records of proceedings, practical aids containing references for certain types of lawsuits, other limited collections of material). Moreover, there were various *epitomae* and apparatuses of scholia in which the juridic terminology had been updated and often vulgarized.[2] It was in its vulgar form that Roman law took effect on legislation in several Germanic kingdoms.

Revival of Classical Law in the East

In the 4th and 5th centuries both legislation and legal practice in the eastern half of the empire initially were not very different from those in the western half.

699; E. J. H. SCHRAGE, in: Mélanges F. WUBBE, ed. by J. A. ANKUM (and others), Fribourg (Switzerland) 1993, 401–417; for a Jewish tendency: G. BARONE-ADESI, L'età della *lex Dei*, Napoli 1992.

[1] *Editions* (of legal works transmitted outside Justinian's legislation): P. KRÜGER, T. MOMMSEN, G. STUDEMUND, Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani, 3 vols., vol. 1, Berolini 4th ed. 1899: Gaius, *Inst.*; vol. 2, 1878: *Regulae Ulpiani, Pauli sententiae*; vol. 3, 1890: all other texts; E. SECKEL, B. KÜBLER, Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae reliquiae, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1908–1927; P. F. GIRARD, F. SENN, Textes du droit romain, 2 vols., Paris 6th ed. 1937; 7th ed. 1967–1977; S. RICCOBONO, J. BAVIERA, C. FERRINI, J. FURLANI, V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, Fontes iuris anteiustiniani, 3 vols., Firenze 2nd ed. 1940–1943. On the so-called 'Vulgar Law': E. LEVY, West Roman Vulgar Law. The Law of Property, Philadelphia 1951; Das Weströmische Vulgarrecht. Das Obligationenrecht, Weimar 1956; F. WIEACKER, Vulgarismus und Klassizismus im Recht der Spätantike, SHAW 1955, 3, repr. in: Vom römischen Recht, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1961, 222–241; M. KASER, Vulgarrecht, RE 9 A 2, 1967, 1283–1304; since the late Seventies this somewhat schematic view has been abandoned: W. E. VOß, Recht und Rhetorik in den Kaisergesetzen der Spätantike. Eine Untersuchung zum nachklassischen Kauf- und Übereignungsrecht, Frankfurt 1982; N. KREUTER, Römisches Privatrecht im 5. Jh. n. Chr. Die *Interpretatio* zum westgotischen *Gregorianus* und *Hermogenianus*, Berlin 1993.

[2] Cf. the annotations to the *Sententiae Pauli* and to the post-classical collections of

On the other hand, legal science as taught in the schools of the east turned back to classical law. An authoritative contribution to this development was made, above all, by the law school of Berytos,[1] a colony of Roman citizens dating ultimately from Augustus. It was followed by another law school which was founded in Constantinople, between 414 and 425. We possess only fragments of ante-Justinian juridic literature: the *Scholia Sinaitica*,[2] which bear the stamp of the school of Berytos, is a fragment of a Greek commentary on Ulpian's *Libri ad Sabinum*. Of a 5th-century Syrian book on Roman law[3] written in Greek, only Syrian, Armenian, and Arabic adaptations survive. This was a summing up of mainly late Roman imperial *constitutiones*. Moreover, there were the *Sententiae Syriacae*,[4] a summing up of, predominantly, the *Sententiae Pauli* and *constitutiones* from the *Codex Hermogenianus* to which some later *constitutiones* were added. Furthermore, from the works of jurists contemporary or posterior to Justinian, we can deduce the existence of aggregates of scholia on classics, of short summaries (*indices*), perhaps also of collections of sources and monographs.

Generally eastern Roman works are erudite, remote from contemporary reality, and attached to the authority of the past. It is their merit, however, to have opened the way to a study and understanding of the classics. It was owing to them that classical jurisprudence could permeate Justinian's legislation.

Imperial legislation strongly influenced the development of post-classical law: laws passed through the senate (*orationes*); edicts, published

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constitutiones which were incorporated into the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* = *Breviarium Alarici* of A.D. 506; H. Schellenberg, Die Interpretationen zu den Paulussentenzen, Göttingen 1965; forthcoming D. Liebs, HLL § 717.

[1] On the law school of Berytos: F. Pringsheim, Beryt und Bologna, FS O. Lenel (Univ. Freiburg), Leipzig 1921, 204–285; B. Kübler, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, Leipzig 1925, 424–433 (his judgments are often in need of revision); P. Collinet, Histoire de l'école de droit de Beyrouth (Etudes historiques sur le droit de Justinien II), Paris 1925; Kunkel, Rechtsgeschichte 136–138; Liebs, Recht 90–91; LAW q.v. Rechtsschulen.

[2] *Edition*: Seckel-Kübler 2, 2, Lipsiae 1927, 461–484.

[3] *Edition*: C. G. Bruns, E. Sachau, Leipzig 1880, repr. 1961; cf. also E. Sachau, Syrische Rechtsbücher, 1, Berlin 1907; this would be an exposition of Roman law according to C. A. Nallino, Sul libro siro-romano e sul presunto diritto siriaco, in: Studi in onore di P. Bonfante, 1, Milano 1930, 201–261; cf. W. Selb, Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches, München 1964 (his supposition of Greek and oriental categories is based on both linguistic and legal misinterpretations).

[4] *Edition*: W. Selb, *Sententiae Syriacae* (TTrC), Wien 1990.

directly (*leges edictales*); laws establishing generally valid rules (*leges generales*), rescripts concerning individual cases (such *rescripta* were no longer considered to be law in the fifth and 6th centuries).

Among the laws contained in the collections of *constitutiones*, Diocletian's *rescripta* mostly followed the principles of classical law, whereas Constantine's *leges generales*, especially in family law, introduced fundamental innovations marked by Hellenistic customs and Christian ideas.[1]

Constantine was the first emperor to reprimand expressly juridic literature: he peremptorily brushed aside decisions of great authorities and, instead, affirmed the authenticity of the simple pseudo-Pauline *sententiae*, which certainly are above all suspicion of over-scrupulousness. Being weary of hair-splitting jurists, he relied on the docility of rhetoricians. As a result, in his *constitutiones* the terms of law were invaded by imperial propaganda, and his style became long-winded, pompous and hollow, antipodal to the clear and concise diction of classical jurists. Constantine's politics concerning law were inconsistent, and often the sanctions foreseen were disproportionately severe.[2]

Foundations of the Codifications of Late antiquity

It is true that law created by jurists (*ius*), the content of the writings of classical jurists, formed a part of the law in force (along with imperial legislation: *leges*), but judges and lawyers were less and less able to find their way through the labyrinth of casuistics. What is more, it was up to the advocate to find out the laws applicable to the given case. Unfortunately, neither the commentaries of late classical jurists summing up *ius* in its entirety nor the imperial constitutions as collected in the emperor's archives were available all over the empire; in addition, in that late period less intellectual efforts were made to penetrate the complexity of legal matters. To remedy these deficiencies, in the 4th and 5th centuries laws were enacted prescribing which writings of jurists are relevant to the finding of a verdict and how to

[1] S. the bibliographical appendixes to Jörs-Kunkel-Wenger, Römisches Recht 397 to § 31, n. 11; B. Biondi, Il diritto romano cristiano, 3 parts, Milano 1952–1954; J. Gaudemet, L'Eglise dans l'Empire romain (IVe–Ve siècles), Paris 1958, esp. 507–513; new ed. with addenda 1989.

[2] D. Liebs, Unverhohlene Brutalität in den Gesetzen der ersten christlichen Kaiser, in: O. Behrends (and others), eds., Römisches Recht in der europäischen Tradition. Symposion F. Wieacker, Ebelsbach 1985, 89–116.

value the proportion of votes between the cited authorities.

The two older laws were originally concerned with individual cases. The first Constantinian law of September 14 and 28, 321 (*cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 1; cf. 9. 43. 1) abrogated the critical notes of Paulus and Ulpian to Papinian's *Quaestiones* and *Responsa* in favor of the unique authority of Papinian.[1] The second law (of September 27, 327 or 328; *cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 2), however, recognized Paulus and all writings ascribed to him, including the post-classical *Sententiae*.

The most comprehensive law on citing juridic authorities, incorporating the two mentioned above, was enacted in 426 by Valentinian III (for the western part of the empire) and taken over by Theodosius II (for the eastern part): it confirmed the validity of all the writings of Papinian, Paulus, Gaius, Ulpian, and Modestinus as well as of the authorities[2] quoted by them. If there is dissent between the cited authorities, majority decides; in case of equality of votes, Papinian's vote turns the balance (*cod. Theod.* 1. 4. 3).

The *Codex Theodosianus*

There was no difference of function between the *ius vetus* and imperial laws, and the legal material was not heterogeneous in principle, but there was no consistent or systematic book of law. Therefore, the eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II (408–450) in 429 projected the need to create a universal code of law. After a first commission had spent six years on collecting only the more recent laws, there appeared (after two more years) a collection of imperial constitutions from Constantine (306–337) to Theodosius: the *Codex Theodosianus*.[3] It

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[1] D. Liebs, HLL 5, 1989, 73.

[2] Like Scaevola, Sabinus, Julianus, Marcellus; a balanced interpretation in: P. Jörs, Citiergesetz, RE 6, 1899, 2608-2612.

[3] Our knowledge of this work is based on (lacunose) manuscript tradition and on quotations by later users (among these the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* of 506); *editions*: P. Aegidius, Antverpiae 1517; J. Gothofredus (TC), 6 vols., Lugduni 1665–1668 (important); T. Mommsen, Theodosiani Libri XVI, vol. 1, Berolini 1905, 4th ed. 1970–1971; P. M. Meyer, Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes, Berolini 2nd ed. 1954, 4th ed. 1971 (= Theodosiani libri XVI, vol. 2); P. Krüger (books 1–8 only), 2 vols., Berlin 1923–1926; C. Pharr (Tr), Princeton, N.J. 1952, repr. 1969. *Bibl.*: T. Mommsen, Das theodosische Gesetzbuch, ZRG 21, 1900, 149–190; 385–386; P. Jörs, *Codex Theodosianus*, RE 4, 1, 1900, 170–173; Wenger, Quellen 536–541 (with bibl.); Schulz, Geschichte 398–400 (with bibl.); J. Harries, I. Wood, eds., The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity, London 1993; D. Liebs, HLL § 716. 1 (forthcoming).

was a continuation of the above-mentioned private collections (*Codex Gregorianus* and *Codex Hermogenianus*). This was the beginning of codification in late antiquity. The western emperor Valentinian III (425–455) accepted the *Codex Theodosianus*. On January 1st, 439 it became law for the entire empire.

Unfortunately the arrangement of subjects is not always convincing. Book 1 is on sources of law and higher imperial officials; books 2–5 cover private law; books 6–8 come back to officials, among whom republican officials and senators; they further encompass military law, subordinate officials, and an appendix to private law; book 9 deals with criminal law and criminal procedure; books 10 and 11 treat of financial and fiscal law, appeal, and probative weight of witnesses and documents; book 12 include laws concerning communities; book 13, professional associations; books 14 and 15, provision for old age; the subject of book 16 is canonical law. Within each thematic group ('digest system') the edicts are quoted literally in chronological sequence.

Imperial laws enacted after the *Codex Theodosianus* were collected both in the east and in the west; in the eastern empire they ultimately entered into the *Codex Iustinianus*, in the western empire they were appended to the *Codex Theodosianus* as *Novellae Posttheodosianae* (containing the *constitutiones* from A.D.: 438 to 468).

All later collections are based on the *Codex Theodosianus*. Its practicability, however, was limited, since the initial project of including the interpretations given by the classical jurists had failed. It was left to Justinian (527–565) to attain this goal.

Visigothic Codifications

The incursion of Germanic tribes was the death-blow to the western Roman empire, which went to ruin in 476. In the late 5th century many Germanic warrior kings *de iure* recognized the supremacy of the eastern Roman emperor, while *de facto* they ruled independently over a mixed population, a part of which followed Germanic traditions, while another part adhered to Roman law.[1] In this situation,

[1] On this, E. Levy, s. above, p. 1513, n. 1; s. further E. Levy, Review of: A. D'Ors (s. the following footnote), ZRG 79, 1962, 479–488; forthcoming: D. Liebs, HLL §§ 716. 2, 5, 6, and 8–11.

the principle of personality, one of the very roots of Roman law, gained importance.

Both law created by jurists and imperial law were difficult to handle. There was a need for a clear and practicable collection of Roman law. As a result, even after the end of the Roman empire in the west offical codifications were made. Examples are known from the Ostrogothic kingdom (the *Edictum Theoderici*,[1] named after Theodoric ['the Great', 493–526] and enacted about 500), from the Visigothic kingdom (especially, the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* of 506), and from Burgundy.

The *Edictum Theoderici* consists of imperial laws according to the *Codices Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, and Theodosianus* and of the *Sententiae* ascribed to Paulus. Often not the original is used but a simplified paraphrase like the *interpretatio* found in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*.[2]

The *Codex Euricianus*,[3] which survives in fragments, was written around 475 under the Visigothic King Euric. It was intended for Goths, not for the Roman population. This work of Roman jurists was based on vulgarized Roman law, rather than on 'Germanic traditions'. The code of Euric would be the starting point for other codes of Visigothic kings; moreover, it influenced tribal laws of Franks, Burgundians, Alamanni, ancient Bavarians etc., thus conveying Roman law to Germanic peoples.

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[1] *Editions*: Text of the *Edictum Theoderici* in: F. Bluhme, MGH, Leges, vol. 5, Hannoverae 1875–1889, 145–179 and in Riccobono 2, 681–710. Since the days of the humanists the *Edictum Theoderici* had been attributed to the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great. This opinion was questioned by P. Rasi, AG 145, 1953; 105–162 and G. Vismara, Cuadernos del Instituto Juridico Español, Roma, 5, 1956, 49–51; A. D'Ors supposed that the edict was written by Magnus under the Visigothic king Theodoric II (Estudios Visigóticos II. El Codigo de Eurico, Edición, Palingenesia, Indices, Roma 1960, 8; s. also E. Levy, ZRG 79, 1962, 479–488; G. Vismara, *Edictum Theoderici*, in: id., Scritti di storia giuridica 1, Milano 1987, 1–338 (previously publ. in a shorter form in 1967), reviewed by H. Nehlsen, ZRG, Germ. Abt. 86, 1969, 246–260 (Ostrogothic, after all: s. B. Paradisi, BIDR 68, 1965, 1–47; G. Astuti, Tradizione romanistica e civiltà giuridica europea, 1, Napoli 1984, 41–81 [first 1971]; D. Liebs, Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien, Berlin 1987, 191–194; H. Wolfram, Die Goten, München 3rd ed. 1990, 199; 288–289; 445; H. Siems, Handel und Wucher im Spiegel frühmittelalterlicher Rechtsquellen, Hannover 1992, 277–288; forthcoming: D. Liebs, HLL § 716. 5).

[2] *Edition*: G. Haenel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, Lipsiae 1849 (repr. 1962); Krüger-Mommsen-Studemund 3, 247–263 (*Appendices legis Romanae Visigothorum duae*); forthcoming: D. Liebs, HLL § 718. 2.

[3] *Edition*: K. Zeumer, MGH, Leges 1, 1, 1902; a careful new edition: A. D'Ors (s. the note before the last).

The code of King Alaric II (506), the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (*Breviarium Alarici*) was meant to establish a western identity vis-à-vis eastern Rome and to guarantee domestic peace: its aim was to improve the relationships of Goths with the Roman population and the Church[1] in order to give the Visigothic kingdom a formal independence from eastern Rome and also of the political center in the west. This code contains in sequence: the imperial laws according to the *Codex Theodosianus* and the post-Theodosian *novellae*, some *constitutiones* from the *Codices Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, an abridged version of Gaius' *Institutiones*, extracts from the *Sententiae* ascribed to Paulus and, at the end, a *responsum* of Papinian. An *interpretatio* accompanying the text (except for Gaius) was probably traced to more ancient western Roman teachers of law. It summarizes or paraphrases what is said and also refers to legal sources not included in the code. Along with the *Codex Euricianus*, the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* served as a matrix for the code proclaimed by King Recesvind for both Romans and Goths in the 7th century in Visigothic Spain; in south France, the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* survived the Gothic kingdom for half a millennium and influenced even Burgundy and the Provence. Only in the 13th century would Justinian's legislation supplant it. Probably under King Gundobad (d. 516), almost on the eve of the Frankish invasion (532), in Burgundy a code for the Roman population was issued: the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*.[2] It exploited the same sources as the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* but combined them into a unified text, which was probably based on the above-mentioned *interpretatio* written by western Roman jurists. The Burgundian code is shorter and does not claim general validity as does the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*.

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[1] For the historical background: E. F. Bruck, Über römisches Recht im Rahmen der Kulturgeschichte, Berlin 1954, 146–163; K. Schäferdiek, Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Suewen, Berlin 1967, 52–55; H. Nehlsen, Alarich II. als Gesetzgeber, in: Studien zu den germanischen Volksrechten. Gedächtnisschrift für W. Ebel, Frankfurt 1982, 143–202.

[2] *Edition*: F. Bluhme, *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, MGH, Leges 3, Hannoverae 1863; Riccobono 2, 711–750 (*Lex Romana Burgundionum*); L. R. von Salis, MGH Legum sectio 1, 2, 1, Hannoverae 1892, 123–163; F. Bauer-Gerland, Das Erbrecht der *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, Berlin 1995, esp. 172–196.

Justinian's Legislation[1]

After a rapid career Justinian ascended to the throne of Constantinople. During his reign, which lasted for decades (527–565), he established the unity of the empire. This is true both materially—he regained the territories dominated by Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths—and spiritually: he made an effort at an inner renewal of the empire. In fact, at the beginning of his reign he planned to consolidate the political and religious unity of his empire by a universal code of law.

Soon after his ascent to the imperial throne, on February 13, 528, he ordered a committee of ten men—high officials, among whom Tribonian, the professor of law Theophilus, and two lawyers at the

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[1] *Editions: Institutiones*: P. Schoyffer de Gernsheim, Moguntiaci 1468; *Pandectae*: Basileae ca. 1470; V. Puecher, Romae 1475; H. Clayn, Perusiae 1476; Moguntiaci 1475; *Codex 1–9*: P. Schoyffer, Moguntiaci 1475; *Codex 10–12* with *Novellae*: V. Puecher (presumably), Romae 1476; *first complete edition*: J. Rubeus, 6 vols., Venetiis 1476–1478; T. Mommsen, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 2 vols., Berolini 1870, repr. 1962/63; P. Bonfante, C. Fadda, C. Ferrini, S. Riccobono, V. Scialoia, *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, Mediolani 1931, repr. 1960 (based on Mommsen's text); *Corpus Iuris Civilis*: vol. 1: *Inst.* ed. by P. Krüger, *Dig.* ed. by T. Mommsen, P. Krüger, Berolini 16th ed. 1954, repr. 24th ed. 1988; ed. by O. Behrends, R. Knütel, B. Kupisch, H. H. Seiler, Heidelberg 1990; vol. 2: *Cod. Iust.* ed. by P. Krüger, 1888, repr. 15th ed. 1970; vol. 3: *Novellae*, ed. by R. Schöll, W. Kroll, 1895, repr. 11th ed. 1988; C. E. Otto, B. Schilling, C. F. F. Sintenis (Tr), 7 vols., Leipzig 1830–1833; R. Düll (TTr, selection), München 1939, 2nd ed. 1960; E. Scharr (TTrN, selection), Zürich 1960; *Inst.*: T. Murner (Tr), Basel 1519; *ind.*: L. Mitteis, Index interpolationum quae in Iustiniani digestis inesse dicuntur, ed. by E. Levy, E. Rabel, 3 parts with suppl. and addenda, Weimar 1929–1935; E. Volterra, Indice delle glosse, delle interpolazioni e delle principali ricostruzioni segnalate dalla critica nelle fonti pregiustinianee occidentali I–III, RSDI 8, 1935, 107–145; 389–405; 9, 1936, 365–380; Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae (VIR), begründet von O. Gradenwitz, 5 vols., Berolini 1894–1987; R. von Mayr, M. San Nicolo, Vocabularium *codicis Iustiniani*, 2 vols., Pragae 1923 and 1925, repr. 1965; E. Levy, Ergänzungsindex zu *ius* and *leges*, Weimar 1930; A. M. Bartoletti Colombo, Lessico delle *Novellae* di Giustiniano nella versione dell'*Authenticum*, 2 vols. (A–M), Roma 1986; A. Berger, Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law, TAPhS, n.s. 43, 2, 1953, 335–808; *bibl.*: G. Rotondi, Scritti giuridici, vol. 1, Pavia 1922, repr. 1966, 410–432; C. Ferrini, Opere giuridiche II, Milano 1929, 307–419; P. Noailles, Les collections de novelles de l'Empereur Justinien, 2 vols., Paris 1912–1914; N. Van Der Wal, Manuale Novellarum Iustiniani, Groningen 1964 (on the content); F. Schulz, Einführung in das Studium der *Digesten*, Tübingen 1916 (problems of the transmission of the *Digesta*; methods of criticism of interpolations); Schulz, Law; C. Diehl, Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VIe siècle, Paris 1901; B. Biondi, Giustiniano I., principe e legislatore cattolico, Milano 1936; B. Rubin, Das Zeitalter Justinians I.: Persönlichkeit, Ideenwelt, Ostpolitik, Berlin 1960; G. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates, München 3rd ed. 1963.

supreme court—to prepare a new collection of imperial *constitutiones* as an expression of imperial legislation. On the basis of the *Codex Theodosianus*, the *codices Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, Theodosianus*, and the *novellae* published after them were melted together: in one year, a new, clear code in twelve books was created, free from all that was antiquated.

On April 16, 529 the *Codex Iustinianus*[1] became law. On January 29, 534, there followed a revised edition, the *Codex repetitae praelectionis*. Canonical law, which was placed at the head of the work, had become more voluminous. This second version has come down to us.[2] The twelve books are subdivided each into 40–80 thematic sections; within each book the *constitutiones* from Hadrian (117–138) to Justinian appear in chronological order with indication of authors, addressees, and, often, dates. Book 1 contains canon law and a discussion of sources of law and public authorities; books 2 to 8, private law and civil action; book 9, criminal law and procedure; books 10 to 12, administrative and fiscal law.

Although revised several times, the *codex* exhibits mostly original texts, predominantly in Latin (Greek would gain ground only later). Even original differences of style are evinced: before Constantine (306–337) precision prevails, later, pomposity. Justinian's *constitutiones* are written out in full. The editors repeatedly assure the reader that they omitted unessential details and avoided repetition. Despite this work

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[1] P. Jörs, *Codex Iustinianus*, RE 4, 1, 1900, 167–170; P. Jörs, *Digesta*, RE 5, 1, 1903, 484–543; Krüger, Quellen 365–405; W. von Kotz-Dobrž, *Institutiones*, RE 9, 2, 1916, 1566–1587; H. Krüger, Die Herstellung der Digesten Iustinians und der Gang der Exzerption, Münster 1922; Schulz, Prinzipien; W. Schubart, Iustinians *Corpus Iuris*, Antike 11, 1935, 255–273; A. Steinwenter, *Novellae*, RE 17, 1, 1936, 1162–1171; F. Wieacker, Das *Corpus iuris* Iustinians, Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft 102, 1942, 444–479; repr. under the title *Corpus iuris*, in: F. Wieacker, Vom römischen Recht, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1961, 242–287; L. Wenger, Die Quellen des römischen Rechts, Wien 1953, 564–734; Schulz, Geschichte 384–385; 401–408 (with bibl.); F. Ebrard, Die Entstehung des *Corpus iuris* nach den acht Einführungsgesetzen des Kaisers Iustinian, in: Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte 5, 1947, 28–76; H. Peters, Die oströmischen *Digestenkommentare* und die Entstehung der *Digesten*, SSAL 65, 1, 1913; R. Dannenbring, *Arma et leges*. Über die justinianische Gesetzgebung im Rahmen ihrer eigenen Zeit, AClass 15, 1972, 113–137; A. M. Honoré, Some Constitutions Composed by Justinian, JRS 65, 1975, 107–123; O. Behrends, R. Knütel (and others), *Corpus iuris civilis* (TTr), vol. 1: Institutionen, Heidelberg 1990; vol. 2, 1 (*Dig.* books 1–10), 1995; vol. 3: forthcoming 1996 (*Dig.* books 11–20).

[2] Of the first edition we only have a fragment of the table of contents found on an Egyptian papyrus (*Pap. Oxy.* 15, 1922, no. 1814).

of revision and condensation, many individual decisions overlap; hence, the *Codex Iustinianus* is not a consistent codification in the modern sense of the word.

Theodosius II already had planned to collect the writings of the jurists into an additional comprehensive work of legislation; so the work on the *Codex* had left no time for this second project. Tribonian who had become *magister sacri palatii* (Minister of Justice) in the meantime aroused Justinian's interest in this plan. On December 15, 530, the emperor authorized a second commission under Tribonian. It consisted of specialized scholars (full professors—*antecessores*—of the law schools of Berytus and Constantinople), eleven lawyers at the supreme court, and high officials. Of these, only Tribonian, Constantine, and Theophilus had been members of the *Codex* commission. Seventeen men, divided into three groups, had to condense 'about 2000' (about 1500, at the most) volumes written by 40 authors (the entire *ius vetus* since the *Twelve Tables*) into a work of 50 books at the most. The scope was neither limited to the authoritative ('quotable') jurists nor to authors indirectly recognized by the *Procedure on citing Recognized Jurists* nor on the jurists authorized by the emperor. Initially, Justinian had reserved for himself the right of deciding controversies between jurists. However, he withdrew after the Nika revolt and in view of the construction of Hagia Sophia (s. Procopius 1. 1. 20–64). The result was that after Tribonian's dismissal from all public offices the commission worked independently. It decided controversies on its own and inserted interpolations into the text. On December 16, 533, after three years' work, the *Digesta*[1] or *Pandectae Iustiniani* were published and became privileged, on December 30, as the unique source of juridic experience. Simultaneously a law was proclaimed saying that the original writings of jurists must no longer be used; moreover, private law schools were forbidden.

According to the normal course of juridic studies for which the *Digesta* were chiefly destined, the subject matter is divided into seven groups (1–4; 5–11; 12–19; 20–27; 28–36; 37–44; 45–50); only some of them bear titles. The excerpts are ordered according to groups of jurists' works: there is a 'Sabinus complex' (mainly Paulus' and Ulpian's

[1] V. Arangio-Ruiz, Memorie dell'Accademia di scienze morali e politiche, Napoli 1931; Precendenti scolastici del Digesto, in: Conference per il XIV centenario delle Pandette, Milano 1931, 287–319; Di alcune fonti postclassiche del Digesto, Atti Nap. 1954 ('31), 10–32.

Libri ad Sabinum), an 'edict complex' (*Libri ad edictum*), a 'Papinian complex' (after Papinian's *Responsa*), and an 'appendix complex'[1] exploiting supplementary works.

In citations from classical jurist we have to take into account changes and interpolations,[2] since the editors shortened their text and adapted it to the exigencies of their day. Outdated elements were omitted; other changes were meant to simplify the handling of law; the vividness of juridic experience was preserved.

Initially the authors tried to combine the excerpts into a continuous text using what might be called a 'collage' technique (cf. the form of theological commentaries called *catenae*). Rather early within the work, however, this tendency decreased, except for sporadic chains of fragments. The *Digesta*, like the *Codex*, in each case names its sources.

The *Digesta* transmits a large part of classical Roman juridic literature. In juridic practice in the east it played a lesser role than the *Codex*, since the *Digesta* was topical only to a small extent and largely neglected the numerous elements in Byzantine law which dated from late antiquity. The *Digesta* essentially comprises private law, dwelling at great length on legacy law which was of special importance for Romans. Procedural, administrative, and criminal law fill the rest of the work; canon law is lacking.

While the *Digesta* was still in hand, Justinian had a new textbook for beginners written: the *Institutiones* in four books based, above all, on Gaius' *Institutiones* (which was still in use) and completed from the same author's lengthier *Res cottidianae*. In addition, the compilers relied on more recent *Institutiones* written by Ulpian, Marcian, and Florentinus. Furthermore, the new work contained chains of fragments from the *Digesta* and later imperial *constitutiones*, especially those of Justinian.

The responsible authors were Tribonian and the two professors Theophilus and Dorotheus who presented the work on November 11, 533. On grounds of stylistic differences between books 1 and 2 as compared to 3 and 4, the former part is ascribed to Dorotheus,

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1 The so-called 'Bluhmesche Massentheorie': F. Bluhme, Die Ordnung der Fragmente in den Pandektentiteln, Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft 4, 1820, 257–472; repr. in: Labeo 6, 1960, 50–96; 235–277; 368–404 (still valid); Kunkel, Rechtsgeschichte 151–153.

2 On research of interpolations: Kunkel, ibid. 153–155. M. Kaser, Ein Jahrhundert Interpolationenforschung an den römischen Rechtsquellen, in: M.K., Römische Rechtsquellen und angewandte Juristenmethode, Wien 1986, 112–154.

the latter to Theophilus. The thematic titles form a continuous text. Unlike the *Codex* and the *Digesta*, there are no subtitles found here.

Laws reforming parts of *Codex*, *Digesta*, and *Institutiones* and solving problems which arose during the legislative work were published officially as *L decisiones* in 531 or 532 to be obliterated in 534 by the revised version of the *Codex*. During the late thirties a tendency towards modernization led to a success of eastern Roman juridic practice; thus, parts of *Codex*, *Digesta*, and *Institutiones* became obsolete. In consideration of the addressees, laws were now generally written in Greek, some of them in both languages.

Not Justinian but individual authors appended the later laws to the tripartite code as a fourth part bearing the title *Novellae Constitutiones*,[1] partly in Latin translation, partly in the Greek original.

Justinian tried to preserve his legislation from modifications. The pertinent title *Corpus iuris civilis* was used in the Middle Ages and renewed by the editor Dionysius Godofredus (1583). The emperor prohibited on penalty of death falsification of his laws by comparing them with their originals, by studying the originals, by using abridged forms, and especially by writing commentaries on the *Digesta*.[2] Nevertheless, teaching practices in law schools produced as early as in his lifetime several Greek commentaries in the form of lecture scripts: Theophilus explaining the *Institutiones*, Dorotheus and Stephanus the *Digesta*, Thalelaeus the *Codex*.[3]

Justinian made Roman law generally available and transferable in a form close to classical law. At the dawn of the modern age jurisprudence could be based on the achievements of his jurists. By creating a transparent legislation this emperor might have also intended to demonstrate his own power and to present a proud lineage of spiritual ancestors. The legal works inspired by Justinian bridge the

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[1] R. Schöll, W. Kroll (Greek text, ancient and modern Latin translation), vol. 3, 11th ed. 1988 in the editio stereotypa of the *Corpus iuris civilis* (Mommsen, Krueger); P. Noailles, Les collections de novelles de l'Empereur Justinien, vol. 1, Paris 1912; vol. 2, Bordeaux 1914; on the content: N. Van Der Wal, Manuale Novellarum Iustiniani, Groningen 1964; A. M. Bartoletti Colombo, Lessico delle *Novellae* di Giustiniano nella versione dell'*Authenticum*, 2 vols. (A–M), Roma 1983–1986.

[2] *Constitutio Tanta*, introductory law to the *Digesta* § 21 of December 16, 533.

[3] K. W. E. Heimbach, Prolegomena, in: G. E. Heimbach (and others), eds., Basilicorum libri LX, vol. 6, Leipzig 1870, 1–215; D. Simon, Aus dem Kodexunterricht des Thalelaios, ZRG 86, 1969, 334–383 and ZRG 87, 1970, 315–394; RIDA 16, 1969, 283–308; 17, 1970, 273–311.

gaps between antiquity, Middle Ages, and modern times. In this respect they can only be compared with the philosophical writings of his contemporary Boethius.

G. G. ARCHI, L'"*Epitome Gai*". Studio sul tardo diritto romano in occidente. Con una nota di lettura di C. A. CANNATA, Napoli 1991. * FUHRMANN, Lehrbuch, esp. 104–121; 183–188. * M. FUHRMAN, Interpretatio. Notizen zur Wortgeschichte, in: Sympotica F. WIEACKER, Göttingen 1970, 80–110. * KASER, Privatrecht. * M. KASER, Das römische Zivilprozeßrecht, München 1966. * KRÜGER, Quellen. * W. KUNKEL, Das Wesen des *ius respondendi*, ZRG 66, 1948, 423–457. * KUNKEL, Herkunft. * KUNKEL, Rechtsgeschichte. * R. MARCIC, Geschichte der Rechtsphilosophie. Schwerpunkte—Kontrapunkte, Freiburg 1971. * E. LEVY, West Roman Vulgar Law. The Law of Property, Philadelphia 1951. * E. LEVY, Weströmisches Vulgarrecht. Das Obligationenrecht, Weimar 1956. * D. LIEBS, Die juristische Literatur, in: Fuhrmann, LG 195–208. * LIEBS, Recht. * D. LIEBS, Römische Provinzialjurisprudenz, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 288–362. * D. LIEBS, Rechtsschulen und Rechtsunterricht im Prinzipat, ANRW 2, 15, 1976, 197–286. * D. LIEBS, Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien (260–640 n. Chr.), Berlin 1987. * D. LIEBS, Rechtsregeln und Rechtssprichwörter, Darmstadt 5th ed. 1991. * D. LIEBS, Recht und Rechtsliteratur, in: HLL 5, 1989, 55–73. * T. MAYER-MALY, Römisches Privatrecht, Wien 1992. * L. MITTEIS, Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreiches, Leipzig 1891. * E. NARDI, Le istituzioni giuridiche romane. Gaio e Giustiniano, Milano 1991. * H. L. W. NELSON, Überlieferung, Aufbau und Stil von Gai *Institutiones* (unter Mitwirkung von M. David), Leiden 1981. * R. RILINGER, *Humiliores—Honestiores*. Zu einer sozialen Dichotomie im Strafrecht der römischen Kaiserzeit. München 1988. * E. J. H. SCHRAGE, ed., Das römische Recht im Mittelalter (= WdF 635), Darmstadt 1987. * E. J. H. SCHRAGE, Utrumque Ius. Eine Einführung in das Studium des mittelalterlichen gelehrten Rechts, Berlin 1992. * SCHULZ, Einführung. * Schulz, Prinzipien. * SCHULZ, Geschichte. * WIEACKER, Textstufen. * F. WIEACKER, Recht und Gesellschaft in der Spätantike, Stuttgart 1964. * F. WIEACKER, Privatrechtsgeschichte der Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Entwicklung, Göttingen 2nd ed. 1967. * WIEACKER, Rechtsgeschichte.

3. THE LATIN FATHERS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN LATIN PROSE

Early Translations of the Bible[1]

The earliest Latin translations of the Bible can be reconstructed from palimpsests and from quotations in Church Fathers. The result is not a single text but a series of versions. As for authors who knew Greek, we must take into account that they may even have translated some passages *ad hoc*. We can distinguish several groups of texts: a Carthaginian (mid-3rd century), an African (late 4th century), and an Italian (4th to 5th century). The fascinating task of editing the Vetus Latina undertaken by the scholars working in the Beuron Benedictine Arch-Abbey is all the more difficult as they cannot hope to restore a single unified version.

The history of language and style has greatly benefited from the work of these scholars: compared with the Vulgate—the Latin Bible of the Catholic Church created by Jerome in the 4th century—the older translations exhibit many elements of popular language, like *manducare* ('to eat'), and use *quia* or *quoniam* instead of classical 'accusatives with infinitive', whereas Jerome often prefers classical vocabulary and syntax.

A critical study of early patristic Latin Bible quotations is of great importance not only for the rediscovery of the wording of certain old translations but also for the history of exegesis. By looking up a given passage in the context in which a Church Father quotes it, the reader is enabled to see how that author understood his biblical text and with which other scriptural passages he established connections. Hence the study of the Vetus Latina allows us to trace the genesis of entire 'chains of quotations' and of exegetic traditions.

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[1] For a reliable modern introduction with texts and bibl.: GÄRTNER, LG 7–43 (esp. for our chapters on Bible translations and on Acts of Martyrs); 567; 575–577 (bibl.); for further information: ALTANER § 26.

Acts of Martyrs

Beginning with Nero the confession '*Christianus sum*' entailed the death penalty. Roman governors, however, intervened only when a city explicitly asked for help. Probably, there was no law aimed specifically at Christians before Decius.[1]

The genre called 'Acts of Martyrs' is of an older date than Christianity: the *Acta Alexandrinorum* records the ordeal of Egyptian patriots under the Roman government. The sufferings of Christian martyrs were first reported in Greek (e.g. the *Passio* of Polycarp of Smyrna, mid-2nd century). Whereas *passiones* exhibit typical narrative elements and are sometimes presented in the form of letters, *acta* resemble simple records, though even they have some literary touches.

The *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*, the first Christian text written in Latin, adheres to the documentary form of a simple report, thus enhancing the impression of veracity. The author does not try to smooth out the linguistic distinctions between the correct Latin of the educated and the primitive language of the uneducated; the discrepancy is intentional, just as it had been in Petronius. The text is meant to be a piece of instruction for other Christians—the intended audience—and is constructed to serve this aim.[2] The use of 'literary' devices helps to change what had been the martyrs' confession before God into a testimony for their fellow Christians.

The *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (202–203) might have been revised by Tertullian. Records of visions, incorporated into the text in documentary form, add to the impression of authenticity; and the use of the first person invites the reader to identify himself with what he reads.

The actual 'imitation of Christ' through martyrdom—despite an awareness of the great distance from the divine model—is liable to produce a *literary* imitation of the gospels. In such cases what had been an attitude adopted in real life is transformed into a literary technique. This can be regarded as an early sign of the later efflorescence of biography in western literature.[3] An individual's life, through his imitation of Christ, acquires a specific and unique value, which is independent of political, social, or cultural barriers. Terms

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[1] A witness against this hypothesis is Tert. *apol.* 4 ('rhetorical fiction'?).

[2] For 'literary' elements s. GÄRTNER ibid.

[3] For late and secularized forms: D. SÖLLE, Realisation. Studien zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Dichtung nach der Aufklärung, Darmstadt 1973 (with rich bibl.).

such as 'secularization' or 'spiritualization' are both too narrow to describe this literary process fully. Once accepted by God and sanctified through the imitation of Christ, the individual gains a new dignity. As a result the writing of Acts of Martyrs and biographies is in a sense an historical continuation of the Scriptures, based on actual experience. This new approach provides a solid basis and a new focus for the traditional Roman interest in biographical detail.

Correspondingly, autobiography (such as Augustine's *Confessiones*) and hagiography come to form independent and prolific literary genres in late antiquity. The validity of the general statements made in this chapter is not significantly undercut by the undeniable fact that hagiography is in many cases obscured by rampant romanesque fancifulness (s. also: Biography at Rome, pp. 464–476).

TERTULLIAN

Life and Dates

Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born between 150 and 170 A.D. at Carthage, where he grew up as a pagan (*paenit.* 1. 1). We ought to believe Jerome's report[1] that his father served as a centurion under the proconsul of Africa. In times such as those, the future rested with captains and their sons. He got a thorough training in rhetoric and even wrote books in Greek which, however, have not come down to us. Although his learning was not limited to the law but also embraced philosophy, his way of thinking always remained that of a lawyer (however, this is not sufficient reason to identify him with the jurist Tertullian quoted in the *Digests* and in Justinian's *Institutiones*). He spent some time at Rome (*cult. fem.* 1.7), perhaps acting as an advocate. We do not know if a rather vague confession of sins (*resurr.* 59. 3) alludes to that epoch, and we are equally ignorant of where and when he was baptized. He married a Christian woman and, about 195, returned to his home city for good. Despite his beautiful saying that 'we laymen, too, are priests',[2] Jerome (ibid.) calls

[1] *Vir. ill.* 53; cf. 24 and 40; information concerning Tertullian is also to be found in the *Praedestinatus* (PL 53, 616–617; 5th century).

[2] *Castit.* 7. 3; *monog.* 12. 2; P. Mattei, *Habere ius sacerdotis.* Sacerdoce et laïcat au témoignage de Tertullien . . ., RSR 59, 1985, 200–221; Tertullian as layman: H. Steiner 1989, 7–8.

him a *sacerdos*; in fact, many of his writings reflect teaching catechism and preaching, and we know from *anim.* 9. 4 that he did not belong to the *plebs*. Hence, he must have been at least a 'teacher' (διδάσκαλος). Disgusted with the clergy's tepidity and a rigorist by nature, he turned to Montanism (approximately between 202 and 208), an especially puritanical species of 'pneumatic' Christianity. Finally his restless and impatient temperament (cf. *pat.* 1. 1) pushed him to found a sect of his own, a trustworthy notice we owe to Augustine, who had no reason to invent it (*haer.* 86). Tertullian died at a biblical age (Hier. *chron.* a. 2224. p. 212. 23 H.), probably between 220 and 240.

The dates[1] of his works are in many cases uncertain and subject to dispute. We can easily assign one group of Tertullian's writings to his Montanistic period, since he mentions there the 'new prophecy' of Montanus, Prisc(ill)a or Maximilla, calling the Spirit 'paraclete' (a biblical term) and the Catholics *psychici* (a term unattested in the Bible); and using *nos* to denote the Montanists, *vos* for the Catholics. As for content, the Montanist writings show an increase of rigorism. Since the *Scorpiace* exhibits none of these usages it is no longer dated to 213 but rather to 203/4.[2]

Moreover, today's scholars tend to assign early dates (about 197 or before) to works dealing with paganism (*De spectaculis*, *De idololatria*, also *De pallio*), even though conclusions drawn from the subject matter are far from cogent. Finally, there is a tendency to date none of Tertullian's writings later than 211; however, the period from 196 to 212 seems to be rather short for such a considerable literary output, not to mention the great number of lost works.

The writings from Tertullian's Catholic period of life deal with paganism (*Ad nationes* 197; *Apologeticum*, 197 or later; *De testimonio animae*, soon after); they give instructions to Christians for a practical life in the secular world (*Ad martyras*, probably 197, *De spectaculis*, 196/7 or 202, *De idololatria*, 196/7 or 212/13, *De cultu feminarum, book 2*: 196/7, *book 1*: 205/6) as well as for discipline within the church (*De baptismo, De oratione, De paenitentia, De patientia, Ad uxorem I. II*, all between 198 and 203); and deal with heretics and Jews (*De praescriptione haereticorum*, about 203; *Adversus Iudaeos*, probably 197, in any case before 202).

The writings from his Montanistic period can be classified simi-

[1] Not uncontested: T. D. Barnes, 2nd ed. 1985, ch. 5, *Chronology* (30–56).
[2] T. D. Barnes 1969, 105–132.

larly: paganism and the persecution of Christians are the subjects of the *De corona* (rather 211 than 208, cf. the attacks launched against the clergy and the announcement of the *De fuga*), *Ad Scapulam* (dated 212 by the mention of a solar eclipse in chapter 3), *De fuga in persecutione* (after 202 or 212/13) and *Scorpiace* (203/4). Christian life-style and discipline are the subjects of the *De pallio* (against pagans, 208–211, perhaps already 193), *De virginibus velandis, De exhortatione castitatis, De monogamia,*[1] *De ieiunio adversus psychicos, De pudicitia* (all 208–211). The following works are directed against heretics: *Adversus Hermogenem* (between 202 and 205), *Adversus Valentinianos* (206/7), *Adversus Marcionem I–V* (207–211),[2] *Adversus Praxean* (213), *De anima, De carne Christi* and *De carnis resurrectione* (all after 206 or about and after 211).

The list of lost writings is long: *De spe fidelium, De paradiso, Adversus Apelleiacos, De censu* (= origin) *animae, De fato* (we probably get a glimpse of it in the pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*), *De ecstasi* (probably written in Greek), *De Aaron vestibus, Ad amicum philosophum* (perhaps dating still from his pagan period), *De carne et anima, De animae submissione, De superstitione saeculi, De spectaculis* (Greek version), *De baptismo* (Greek, differing in content from the homonymous Latin treatise), *De virginibus velandis* (Greek, older than the Latin version).

Works of doubtful authenticity

De circumcisione and *De mundis atque immundis animalibus in Levitico* (cf. Hier. *epist.* 6. 1. 3; 4).

Spurious works: *De execrandis gentium dis* (4th century?), *Adversus omnes haereses* (first half of the 3rd century).

Survey of Works

Apologetic writings

Ad nationes and *Apologeticum* defend Christianity against paganism; the former work, which is very much like a collection of evidence, transmits to us precious source-material on ancient Roman religion; the latter work, addressed to the governors of Roman provinces, is Tertullian's best-known piece and has a tradition of its own.

De testimonio animae: the human soul, being 'Christian by nature' is a witness to the existence of God (see: Ideas).

Ad Scapulam: this memorandum to the proconsul of Africa, a pursuer of Christians, develops the principle of liberty and self-determination in religious

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[1] H. Steiner 1989, 80 dates the *De monogamia* about 220.

[2] 1. 15 points to 207; 5. 10 refers to *resurr.*

matters (*nec religionis est cogere religionem* 2. 2), stressing the loyalty of the Christians to the State and dwelling on the deaths of the persecutors of the Church, a subject to be developed later by Lactantius.

Pamphlets against Gnostics and Jews

Scorpiace: this work praises the high value of matyrdom in this world and condemns the 'scorpion's sting' of Gnostics who are content to confess their faith only spiritually, not before people. However, the flight from persecution is not yet forbidden (as it will be in the *De fuga*).

Adversus Iudaeos: God gives his grace not only to Jews but also to pagans. Through Christianity, the law of retribution has been obliterated by the law of love. The prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Christ; this explains the need for 'spiritual' exegesis of the Old Testament. Chapters 9–14 are excerpts from the 3rd book of *Adversus Marcionem* or they are a first draft for it.

Ascetic writings on practical life

Ad martyras: a consolation to Christians in prison.[1]

De spectaculis: any attendance of public plays is prohibited given their immoral character and their connection with pagan religion.

De baptismo: this is the only treatise on a sacrament written before the Nicene Council. Together with the two following works it forms a kind of trilogy intended for catechumens. Tertullian had published a Greek book on baptism before.

De oratione: the oldest interpretation of the Lord's Prayer.

De paenitentia: of penitence before baptism and after.

De patientia: praise of a virtue which the author does not have, as he admits himself.

De cultu feminarum (two books): Christian ladies ought not to submit themselves to pagan fashion.

Ad uxorem (two books): Tertullian asks his wife not to remarry after his death or at least to marry a Christian.

In the Montanistic writings which follow, the 'cool and temperate wind of grace' is replaced with the sharp wind of the north:

De exhortatione castitatis and *De monogamia* reject the remarriage of the widowed.

De virginibus velandis demands the veiling of all young girls.

De corona: honorary garlands for soldiers are incompatible with Christianity, as is military service.

De idololatria: Christians are not allowed to practise professions related to

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[1] We do not know if *Perpetua* and *Felicitas* were part of this group and if Tertullian was the editor of their *Passio*.

pagan cults (they cannot be artists, teachers, political and military officials).

De fuga in persecutione: running away in times of persecution is against God's will.

De ieiunio: a defence of the Montanists' practice of fasting against the Catholics, who are labelled *psychici*, i.e. people whose Christianity is limited to the soul and does not comprehend the spirit.

De pudicitia: against an eminent bishop who granted absolution even for sins of the flesh.

De pallio: in this literary masterpiece Tertullian explains why he changed the toga for the philosopher's cloak (*pallium*). This change of clothes coincides with his becoming Christian or turning Montanist.

Polemical Writings on Dogmatic Subjects

De praescriptione haereticorum: a *praescriptio* is the appeal of an accused to a law which rejects the accuser *a limine* with the effect that a lawsuit cannot take place. By virtue of its age, the Church is the legitimate owner of the faith and the Scriptures; the claims of the heretics, being more recent, are invalid *a limine*.

Adversus Marcionem (5 books): the Creator is not different from the Supreme Being, which is God and good (books 1 and 2). Jesus Christ is the Messiah promised in the Old Testament (book 3). Marcion's 'purified' version of the New Testament (containing parts of Luke's gospel and of Paul's epistles) is a failure. Old and New Testament do not contradict each other (books 4 and 5). We only have the third revised version of this text, which is our main source for Marcion's doctrine.

Adversus Hermogenem: matter is not preexistent; it was created by God.

Adversus Valentinianos: against Valentine's Gnostic school, in the wake of Irenaeus.

De carne Christi: against the docetism of the Gnostics, Tertullian stresses the fact that Christ did have a real human body, which even was ugly (9. 6).

De resurrectione carnis: in opposition to pagans, sadduceans, and heretics, Tertullian believes in the resurrection of the flesh.

Adversus Praxean: the most important ante-Nicene exposition of the doctrine of Trinity (here, in 3. 1, the word *trinitas* is first attested).

De anima: Tertullian had already treated this subject in his lost *De censu animae*: in his dispute with Hermogenes the need to refute heretic views compels him to deal with pagan philosophy in this especially important treatise (s. Ideas).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Sources. Thanks to the bilingual character of the civilization of his epoch, Greek ideas were available to Tertullian, especially as pronounced by Greek Christian authors of his century, and formed his main starting point. In the decennia before Tertullian, Gnostics had developed their fanciful, half mythological systems, and less sophisticated souls had written apocryphal and romanesque Acts of Apostles, while about the same time, between 180 and 200, Sextus Empiricus launched a manifesto of skepticism. The atmosphere was full of tension: on the one hand, there was religious feeling bordering on credulity, on the other hand, critical thought based on science. The Church exploited both currents to serve its ends: against the pagans, Christians used arguments developed by pagan authors: Tatian, in the footsteps of Lucian, ridiculed the philosophers; Hippolytus, though admitting that they discovered no more than partial truths, gave pagan philosophers much higher credit than their Gnostic followers; Irenaeus, while critically discussing Gnostic statements, developed profound theological ideas of his own. Hence it was more than a mere whim that Tertullian changed the toga for the philosopher's cloak (*De pallio*). Actually the Christians considered themselves the true heirs of Greek philosophy.[1]

Tertullian's knowledge of ancient authors is often second hand, although it is possible that he read Plato himself. More important, however, are Stoic sources: Tertullian's ideas concerning a natural knowledge of God have a Stoic background.[2] The materialistic concept attributing corporeal essence to God was propounded not only by Stoics but also by Meliton, bishop of Sardes (d. before 190). Stoic philosophy was also essential to Tertullian's doctrine of the soul and his ethics. The pagan physician Soranus of Ephesus, who was active in Rome about 100, is a main source of the *De anima*. Tertullian's doctrine of dreams (*anim.* 46) is influenced by Hermippus of Berytus.

Though elsewhere Greek sources dominate, the 'natural' proof of God's existence (*De testimonio animae*) comes from Cicero's *De natura deorum* (1. 16. 43–44; 2. 2. 4–5), a source also exploited by Arnobius and Lactantius. Cicero is completely absent, however, from the *De*

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[1] W. Krause, Die Stellung der frühchristlichen Autoren zur heidnischen Literatur, Wien 1958, 69; 75; 78.

[2] C. Tibiletti, Tertulliano e la dottrina dell' *anima naturaliter Christiana*, AAT 88, 1953–1954, 84–117; for the importance of Stoic sources: H. Steiner 1989, 200.

anima. Precious information on ancient Roman religion (as found especially in the 2nd book *Ad nationes*) is drawn from the second part of Varro's *Antiquitates* (*Rerum divinarum libri XVI*). It is impossible to know for certain whether one of Varro's[1] *saturae* might have been a source of the *De pallio*. The quotations from Laberius (*pall.* 1. 3) had probably been handed down to Tertullian by grammarians. In the *De corona*, the antiquarian lore concerning garlands is owed to the imperial jurist Claudius Saturninus (*De coronis*), whereas the euhemeristic criticism of myths is derived from Leo of Pella. Moreover, our author is familiar with Lucretius, Virgil, Tacitus, Suetonius, and, last but not least, Seneca, whom he adopts as *saepe noster* (*anim.* 20. 1). Moreover, this author is a model for a style rich in terse aphorisms.

Despite the existence of Latin Bible translations in his day, Tertullian often prefers to translate directly form the Greek. He likes to quote laws, for example those found in the *Deuteronomium*. He is also aware of Jewish apocrypha such as *Enoch* and *Esdras IV* and of Christian apocrypha, e.g. the *Pastor Hermae* (a Latin translation of which was available to him). He reacts against the roots of Christian Latin literature, which had been partly influenced by Jewish Christians, and firmly adopts the tradition of the apologetic Greek Christian writers. Thus he uses Justin's *Apologies* and *Dialogue with Tryphon* (the latter in *Adversus Marcionem* 3 and *Adversus Iudaeos*), as well as Tatian and perhaps Athenagoras. Irenaeus is an important source of the *De praescriptione* and the *Adversus Valentinianos*; Tertullian read Irenaeus in the Greek original. In his pamphlet against Hermogenes he probably exploits the homonymous work of Theophilus of Antioch. He also takes notice of Melito of Sardes, who detested the Montanists, and makes fun of his *elegans ac declamatorium ingenium*, 'elegant and rhetorical talent' (Hier. *vir. ill.* 24). He shows first hand familiarity with writings of the heretics Marcion, Apelles, and Hermogenes, thus turning out to be an indispensable source for our knowledge of these authors.

Models. In the *Apologeticum* Tertullian's reversal of a speech for the defence into a challenge to condemn the accused is reminiscent of Plato's *Apology*. As a piece of literature, the *De pallio* follows in the footsteps of Dio of Prusa. The treatises are shaped in the mould of Seneca. Tertullian's 'Asianic' manner of writing finds a Greek prece-

[1] Cf. also A. Cortesi, Varrone e Tertulliano. Punti di continuità, Augustinianum 24, 1984, 349–365.

dent in the *Easter homily* of Melito of Sardes.[1] Apuleius may be mentioned as a model of Latin style.

Genres. With his *Apologeticum* Tertullian created a new literary genre. In Greek literature apologetic writing and propaganda speeches used to appear separately.[2] By shaping different forms of treatises, Tertullian succeeded in creating a more sophisticated variety of genres in Latin literature. Among the new genres emerging from his pursuit of new aims are writings dealing with the Christian's daily life and discipline (*idol.*), catechetic treatises, dogmatic pamphlets, and in an embryonic form, even the exegetic genre (*orat.*).

Literary Technique

Although Tertullian's competence as a jurist is controversial,[3] there is no question that his way of reasoning and arguing is that of an advocate. Instead of discussing the issues factually and positively proving that the heretics' ideas are wrong, Tertullian proceeds like a lawyer. First he asks: who can claim the ownership of the Scriptures and of the true doctrine? For him the only possible answer is: the Church. He uses against the heretics the juridic *praescriptio* (demurrer): 'Your teachings are of later origin, hence they are false' (*adv. Marc.* 1. 1. 6).[4] In the *De anima* (23. 6) Tertullian applies the same method of 'uprooting' his opponent's opinion: he refutes the heretics by refuting their source, Plato.

In the *Apologeticum* our author combines apology and propaganda, two genres only separately attested in Greek literature. The book is conceived as an imaginary speech to a Roman governor and is meant to reveal to governors the real facts which could not be discussed in a normal lawsuit. Not only does he want to make the Emperor understand that Christians are his most loyal citizens, but he also unmasks

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[1] F. Kenyon, Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri 8, 1941; M. Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer 13, 1960; O. Perler, SC 1966, 123; O. Perler, Typologie der Leiden des Herrn in Melitons *Peri Pascha*, in Kyriakon, FS J. Quasten, vol. 1, Münster 1970, 256–265.

[2] For the *Apologeticum* as a judicial speech: H. Steiner 1989, 48–80.

[3] A favorable opinion in: P. de Labriolle, Tertullien jurisconsulte, NRD 30, 1906, 5–27; A. Beck, Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian, repr. (augm.), Aalen 1987, 13–17; D. Liebs, forthcoming, HLL 4, § 417. 2; cf. above pp. 1507–1508; for a critical view: S. Schlossmann, Tertullian im Lichte der Jurisprudenz, ZKG 27, 1906, 251–275; 407–430; a plea against an identification of the Church Father with the jurist: T. D. Barnes, 2nd ed. 1985, 22–29.

[4] Cf. Iren. *adv. haer.* 3. 4. 3.

the gross absurdity of the pagans' behavior: in fact, he denounces the injustice implied in persecuting people only for their name (*apol.* 2. 18) and reveals the self-contradiction inherent in Trajan's rescript., which ordered Christians to be punished, not tracked down (*apol.* 2. 8). Consequently it is not enough to state that Tertullian (as compared with authors such as Justin) transposed the apology from the deliberative into the epideictic genre. In fact, we find the techniques of forensic speech throughout the *Apologeticum*: the principle of the orator's tactics is to 'throw back' the accusation on the accuser (*retorsio criminis*). An appropriate means to achieve this aim is a continuous drawing of parallels (*comparatio*). In broad outline there is a sequence of *apology* (7–16), *epideixis* (17–27), and *syncrisis* (28–45).[1] In opposition to common practice the present speech presents a challenging 'change of sign': it is true that it is a plea but—like Plato's *Apology of Socrates*—it is not intended to obtain acquittal but condemnation: 'the Christians' blood is a seed' (*apol.* 50. 13). It appears that the way of reasoning also in this book is juridic. But there is more: the permanent exploitation of the symbolism of the tribunal is an artistic success: the divine tribunal—known even to the pagans—will render a verdict opposite to that of the earthly lawcourt.

The advocate's delight in discovering intrinsic contradictions in the statements of others culminates in his quoting Plato against Plato (*anim.* 24. 10), sardonically throwing back on his opponents the very similes they themselves had used (*anim.* 15. 6) or pinpointing with a sharp pen the inconsistencies of the pagans' behavior: in the theater everything is permitted that is forbidden elsewhere; sportsmen are of lowly origin but are nonetheless adored by genteel ladies (*spect.* 21–22). Unfortunately, our author himself shows little concern for logical consistency. In the war he wages against Jews, Gnostics, and philosophers there are manifest differences of argument depending on the public addressed. When combatting Gnostics, he praises the human body (*resurr.* 7–10) and, in accord with the New Testament, calls it a temple (*anim.* 53. 5), he exalts the reliability of sense-perception (*anim.* 17) and deems procreation a *status benedictus* (*anim.* 27. 4): early Christians, unlike some Platonists, were not blind to the realities of life. On the other hand, in an ascetic and moralizing context, he labels the body and the world as a prison of the soul—very much in the style of Plato.[2]

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[1] O. Schönberger 1957.

[2] *Anim.* 53. 5; *apol.* 17. 5; *mart.* 2. 1.

When talking to Christians he dwells with gusto on the irrational, even absurd character of the objects of religious belief; in fact, though he was not the one who pronounced the notorious *credo quia absurdum*, he could have said it (s. Language and Style). When adressing pagans, however, he shows a high esteem for the soul's innate intellectual capacaties (*testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*, 'the witness of the soul, Christian in its very nature': *apol.* 17. 6)[1] and in this context gives full credit to Cleanthes, Zeno, Socrates, and Plato (*apol.* 21. 10; 22. 1–2). Conversely, when fighting against Gnostics, he stamps Plato as the spice-monger of all heresies (*anim.* 23. 5), denounces the firmness of Socrates as mere pose (*anim.* 1) and disclaims any link between Academy and Church (*praescr.* 7. 9).[2]

The verdicts passed on the Jews are equally subject to variations, depending on the addressees and the point Tertullian wants to make. In Carthage the Jews formed a strong community ill-disposed towards Christians; nonetheless, for Tertullian, they turn out to be the natural allies of the Christians against polytheism and theater (*idol.* and *spect.*). In front of lukewarm Christians he praises the fidelity of Jews to tradition (*ieiun.* 13. 6). In his apologetic writings (*nat.* and *apol.*),[3] however, when compelled to name non-Roman sources of calumny and persecution he does not omit corresponding activities of the Jews. Again, the shifts of perspective are dictated by tactical necessities.

Examples from Roman history and literature are produced to serve as models to Christian martyrs: there is a come-back of Lucretia, Regulus, and even Dido (*mart.* 3–4). An aging Tertullian confronts even his fellow Christians reproachfully with the greater piety and sacrificial spirit of the worshipers of Isis, Cybele, and Mithras[4] (*ieiun.* 16. 7–8; *coron.* 15. 3).

Our author's treatment of Roman gods in the 2nd book *Ad nationes* is no less biased, and his striving for rhetorical efficiency as well as his skilful arrangement of ideas bear the stamp of an advocate's mind: in the second part of the *Antiquitates*, which was dedicated to things divine, Varro had distinguished 'physical', 'mythical', and 'national'

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[1] A necessary qualification: *test. anim.* 1. 7.

[2] St. Paul himself had already adopted different lines of argument when addressing pagans on the Areopagus and when preaching to Christians.

[3] Negative also *scorp.* 10. 10.

[4] Cf. S. Rossi, Minucio, Giustino e Tertulliano nei loro rapporti col culto di Mitra, GIF 16, 1963, 17–29.

deities (*theologia tripertita*). The first belong to speculative philosophy, the second to the mythical traditions of art and theater, the third are imposed on us by the law of the community. Tertullian, who is a master at plucking an argument to pieces, has no difficulty in showing that speculations are uncertain, myths are untrustworthy and even unworthy and statutes are arbitrary and cannot be obligatory for all. To state his case, he relies in part on arguments advanced by ancient philosophers in a variety of contexts.

Against 'physical theology' he maintains that the elements are but instruments in the hands of God, an argument looking desperately like a *petitio principii.* Against 'mythical theology' he calls up the old theory of the pagan Euhemerus, declaring that gods had originally been nothing but humans. This argument, though missing the essence of myth, serves the author's momentary purpose. As for 'national gods', Tertullian goes on, they have just local meaning and cannot claim general importance, as can be deduced quite easily from their very definition.

For his classification of the gods as *certi, incerti,* and *selecti,* Varro becomes the object of mockery. Tertullian prefers to draw a distinction between specifically Roman gods and gods shared by the Romans with other peoples. He has no difficulty in ridiculing the deified whore Larentia and the 'abstract gods' of early Rome. For Saturn, whose importance is not limited to Rome, euhemerism is called up again: Saturn was just a human being and his apotheosis is not based on reality.

To sum up: the grandeur of Rome is not a consequence of pious adherence to traditional Roman religion since there was little adherence and even less piety, but to the will of God, who for the given historical moment granted them power. This is once again a *petitio principii.*

As occasion demands, Tertullian describes the pagan gods as idols, humans, and demons (not caring that these explanations are mutually exclusive). For all his technical skill and tactical versatility, it remains undeniable that Tertullian, unlike the philosophers, does not start with the essence of things, but pleads his cause using the formal arguments of jurisprudence and the suggestive means of rhetoric.

However, in some of his best writings he succeeds in giving his specific argument a more general ring. He shares this gift of truly great orators with Cicero. The idea that Christ is the true crown of man confers broader significance and deeper meaning on the *De corona.*

In the *De pallio* the change of mind is reflected in the change of garment. In the *Apologeticum* God's verdict is opposed to human (in)justice: a loss can turn out to be a great benefit, and he who wants to save his life will lose it. Tertullian reflects this re-estimation of all values by a transfiguration of key elements in his imagery. Just as Cicero (*rep.* 6. 23. 25) had made a distinction between secular glory and real honor, our author brilliantly juxtaposes the human and the divine tribunal, the cloaks of vanity and of wisdom, the perishable garland and the eternal crown.

Language and Style[1]

If Tertullian did not create Christian Latinity, he certainly initiated a Christian Latin literary language. He introduced a great number of new words, and the Latin language finally gave up its deeply-rooted antagonism towards the abstractness of Greek philosophical terminology. From now on, words such as *mathesis* and *anamnesis* were remorselessly Latinized into *discentia* and *reminiscentia* (*anim.* 23. 6), and speakers of Latin no longer had to blush when calling the Platonic components of the soul *indignativum* and *concupiscentivum* (*anim.* 16. 3). For theological and philosophical terms Tertullian found adequate Latin equivalents, which often have a juridic ring. Thus the idea of freedom of will, which was to have a great future, was called *libera arbitrii potestas* (*anim.* 21. 6). Strangely enough, among the *nomina agentis* in *-tor* and *-trix*, we even find *baptizator* and *evangelizator* instead of the semi-Greek forms in *-ista* current in later times. In Tertullian, Greek words having a special Christian meaning spread from ecclesiastical to literary Latin: *episcopus, baptisma, clerus, ecclesia, eleemosyna, evangelium.* He still used the Greek ἐξομολόγησις for what would be called *confessio* later on. To denote the priest he was left with a Latin word (*sacerdos*), in all probability because Greek Christianity, when it came to the West, still lacked a corresponding term. Divine οἰκονομία—God's plan concerning his activity in history—was often rendered by the rhetorical term *dispositio*, a metaphor appropriate indeed to denote the

[1] H. Hoppe, Syntax und Stil des Tertullian, Leipzig 1903; E. Löfstedt, Zur Sprache Tertullians, Lund 1920; H. Hoppe, Beiträge zur Sprache und Kritik Tertullians, Lund 1932; F. Sciuto, La *gradatio* in Tertulliano, Studio stilistico, Catania 1966; C. J. Classen, Der Stil Tertullians. Beobachtungen zum *Apologeticum*, in: Voces (Univ. Caen/Univ. Salamanca) 3, 1992, 93–107.

schedule of a process in which both creation and salvation are operated by the Word. Tertullian introduced the Roman notion of *persona* into the doctrine of Trinity (*adv. Prax.* 12). In accordance with the linguistic usage of African communities, he reserved the Latin *sacramentum* for Christian and *mysterium* for pagan contexts. The connection of *sacramentum* with the Roman oath of allegiance must have looked quite natural to a son of a Roman captain; the prominent theme of *militia Christi*, which can be traced back to Saint Paul, considerably enriched Tertullian's store of literary metaphors (*mart.* 3; *orat.* 29. 3),[1] in which even *mater ecclesia* (*orat.* 2. 6)[2] appears.

Tertullian is not afraid of using daring similes: God, like a homeopathic doctor, heals *similia similibus*: death by death, pains by pains (*scorp.* 5. 9). The immanence of the undivided soul in a body consisting of different parts, is illustrated by the presence of compressed air in an organ (*anim.* 14. 4). Elsewhere God is imagined as an organist who uses the human body as an instrument (*bapt.* 8. 1).[3]

As a stylist[4] Tertullian must be studied in the context of the 'Second Sophistic' movement and authors such as Apuleius. The 'Asianist' fashion of his day shows a preference for short sentences and striking thoughts expressed in a pointed manner, adorned with alliterations, rhymes, and puns. All this makes him 'doubtless the most difficult author in the Latin tongue'.[5] His style is distinguished by a markedly personal trait: its density and allusiveness borders on obscurity, but remains ever forceful and passionate.

Quot paene verba, tot sententiae, 'almost as many aphorisms as words'.[6] His bonmots are sometimes reminiscent of Juvenal. For example, concerning pagan gods Tertullian asserted: the less moral a person was, the more he was held worthy to become a god.[7]

Our orator's vivid imagination was unable to conceive abstract

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[1] A. Harnack, *Militia Christi*, Tübingen 1905; repr. Darmstadt 1963; more recent bibl. in: A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, AHAW 1960, 2, 185, n. 12.

[2] Following *Gal.* 4. 26.

[3] Cf. further Hier. *tract. in psalm. I*, p. 263. 21–p. 264. 5; B. Löschhorn, Die Bedeutungsentwicklung von Lat. *organum* bis Isidor von Sevilla, MH 28, 1971, 193–226.

[4] Cf. also J. Fontaine, Aspects et problèmes de la prose d'art latine au IIIe siècle, Torino 1968.

[5] Norden, Kunstprosa 606.

[6] Vincent. Ler. 18 (24).

[7] Tert. *nat.* 2. 13. 21; cf. Iuv. 1. 73–74.

notions such as 'spirit' and 'soul' without some bodily and material component; if this weakened his thought, it certainly stengthened his style. Things invisible are brought to life: idolatry is described as the 'sister of fornication' (*scorp.* 3. 5). The soul is addressed as if it were Psyche, sprung from the tale of Apuleius, and is summoned to the witness-box (*test. anim.* 1. 5). Even the philosopher's cloak becomes capable of feeling: 'Rejoice, cloak, and exult; for a better philosophy honors you with its presence, ever since you are worn by a Christian' (*pall.* 6. 2). Biblical pictures are elaborated and diversified rhetorically. This is an address to a tepid Catholic: 'Your belly is your god (cf. *Phil.* 3. 19), your lung is your temple, your stomach is your altar, the cook is your priest, the steam of the kitchen is your holy spirit, spices are your gifts and eructation is your prophecy.' Now and then, in these polemical passages the borders of good taste are neglected and the denounced cruelty of pagan gladiator-games celebrates an unexpected comeback. Thus in the finale of the *De spectaculis* (30. 5) the righteous enjoy the spectacle of the infernal sufferings of the condemned: they listen to sinful tragedians adding their voices to an anguish that—finally—is their own, they watch actors exhibiting all of their nimbleness in the eternal fire, etc. The best parody of Tertullian's style is Tertullian's style. However, the *abusus* is no proof against the *usus*: Consternating as these indulgences are, the fact remains that Tertullian, being a Roman and an orator, discovers for the first time the potentialities of a Christian literature and a Christian art. Not enough that he approvingly mentions hymns, thus heralding the birth of Christian poetry and vocal music (*spect.* 29. 4): he even sketches an allegorical battle of Virtues and Vices, a crucial theme to be worked out later by Prudentius, who Christianized most of the poetic genres. Tertullian's view of Christ's life-work as a grand 'spectacle' (*spect.* 29–30) will proliferate artistically in the Divine Liturgy of the Eastern Church as well as in Western medieval 'mystery plays'. Finally, his vivid descriptions of hell and doomsday (*spect.* 30) anticipate the medieval *danses macabres* ('dances of death') and the new kind of 'universal poetry' to be created by Dante. With an inspiration proper to a born orator Tertullian sketches here a program which medieval artists and poets will fill with life.

Not surprisingly Tertullian assigns words of juridic provenance a place of honor. Thus the antithesis *damnare—absolvere* is the keystone of the *Apologeticum* (50. 16): 'Precisely through your condemning us, God absolves us'. The same polarity is enhanced to form a paradox

in *Scap.* 1. 2: 'We are even happier when condemned than when absolved'. Thanks to such stylistic forms, the bold venture of faith finds a perfect reflection in language. Rhetorical training and a way of thinking reminiscent of Paul[1] are blended in a quite personal fervor: 'God's son was crucified: I am not ashamed of this—just *because* it is shameful. God's son died: perfectly believable, because it is absurd. And he rose from the tomb: that's certain, because it is impossible' (*carn.* 5. 4). Tertullian lives in a permanent tension between his actual experience of the Roman Empire and the eschatological expectation. This situation finds a convincing expression in a style both dark and brilliant. His taste for paradox is more than an orator's pose; it also reflects his historical and psychological position and its intrinisc tensions which pushed him to adopt 'extreme' views and attitudes.

Besides, observation of unobtrusive linguistic and stylistic features sometimes affords criteria for dating his works: scholars observed that in his early writings, asyndeta are especially frequent, and that *et* is used relatively rarely as a synonym for *etiam* or after other conjunctions.[2]

To sum up: Tertullian borrows his vocabulary from ancient philosophy, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, but transforms many traditional notions. During his time the Latin language of theology is born; in its turn it will become the mother of the language of modern philosophy. Tertullian's style, mirroring the contradictions and tensions inherent in his mind, combines the influence of biblical models—especially Paul's epistles—with the tradition of the Second Sophists as represented by Apuleius. A liberating influence may have come from Seneca, whose courageous creation of a highly personal style made him a precursor of Tertullian.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Through Christianity Tertullian found the Archimedean point 'where to stand in order to move the Earth'. He knew that on principle he had to rebel against Roman traditions. His statements on the subject have a frighteningly modern ring and convey the feeling of an historical

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[1] Cf. *2 Cor.* 6. 9–10; 12. 10; about 40% of Tertullian's quotations from the New Testament are from Paul.

[2] T. D. Barnes 1969.

change.[1] This is a new keynote in Latin literature, although we may recall Lucretius or Catullus who in different ways had kept their distance from Roman traditions. Would that revolt engender a cultural revolution? According to Tertullian, a Christian was allowed to read pagan literature, not to teach it.[2] To him philosophers are the patriarchs of heretics (*anim.* 3. 1); poets and orators are traitors to truth and morality.[3] Tertullian justifies his own use of rhetoric and philosophy by the necessity to confute and convince others: *Ita nos rhetoricari quoque provocant haeretici sicut etiam philosophari philosophi*, 'so the heretics provoke us to declaim as the philosophers to philosophize' (*resurr.* 5. 1). His own attitude to literature and art is janus-faced: on the one hand he condemns pagan culture and suggests with archaic severity that converted artists should repair roofs, paint walls and abaci, and do carpenters' work (*idol.* 3. 2; 4. 1; 8. 2). On the other hand his rhetorical imagination, his suggestive allegories, and his frescos of hell and doomsday pave the way for the nascent culture of the Middle Ages.

In his doctrine of the 'testimony of the soul that by nature is Christian' (*test. anim.* passim; *apol.* 17. 6) he takes the first step towards a reappraisal of pagan tradition, a reading of ancient poets and philosophers as forerunners of Christianity (*test. anim* 1. 1). The examples and classical testimonies alleged by Tertullian at every step give proof of this intention. Hence, the earliest great Christian author in Latin lays the foundations for a first renaissance of Roman civilization under the auspices of Christianity.

When dealing with different traditions his methods of interpretation are inconsistent and subject to momentary needs. When combating pagans, he rejects the allegorical interpretation of myths (popular with the Stoics) and states that it lacks logical precision: Saturn was either a man or he was Time. If he was a man, an allegorical interpretation is pointless (*nat.* 2. 12. 20). In his own exegetical practice,

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[1] *Adversus haec igitur nobis negotium est, adversus institutiones maiorum, auctoritates receptorum, leges dominantium, argumentationes prudentium, adversus vetustatem consuetudinem necessitatem, adversus exempla prodigia miracula, quae omnia adulterinam istam divinitatem corroboraverant* (*nat.* 2. 1. 7).

[2] C. M. M. Bayer, Tertullian zur Schulbildung für Christen . . ., RQA 78, 1983, 186–191; R. Braun, Tertullien et la philosophie païenne. Essai de mise au point, BAGB 1971, 231–251; H. Steiner 1989.

[3] Cf. *anim.* 33. 8; G. L. Ellspermann, O.S.B., The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers Toward Pagan Literature and Learning, diss. Washington 1949.

however, our author is strangely oblivious of his own lessons. In fact, he subjects the Old Testament to 'spiritual interpretation', although it is almost all about historical persons.[1] Again, when talking to Jewish Christians and Gnostics, he insists on the literal meaning of the text (e.g. *scorp.* 10). Evidently, he admits or rejects the allegorical method depending on his own willingness to accept a given tradition.

For theology, which was just taking shape in his day, he devised the principle of formulating dogma according to a defensive and conservative method: Christian doctrine develops through the refutation of errors (*praescr.* 13. 1). This is, of course, also a justification of his own method: all of Tertullian's writings are provoked by concrete cases. As a result his approach to problems is more local and tactical than systematic. In his definitions as well as in his use of texts he often follows the example of jurists.

Ideas II

Generally speaking, Stoic elements are prominent in Tertullian's philosophical[2] thought: the notion of nature, the dichotomy of man into body and soul (the spirit is not assigned an independent role), the materialistic idea of God and soul as corporeal beings, and a general preference for practical and moral philosophy.

Consequently Tertullian defends the unity of God against Marcion, who had supposed a higher God of goodness and a lower God of justice, as well as against Hermogenes, who had made eternal matter a second principle beside God. Tertullian's doctrine of Trinity (in the late *Adversus Praxean*) combats a total levelling of the differences between the three Persons of the Trinity: unlucky Praxeas by doing so had 'exorcised the Spirit and crucified the Father' (*adv. Prax.* 1. 5). Although our author occasionally overemphasized the subordination of the Son to the Father, his Christology as a whole was important enough to have a strong impact on later dogma, especially on the Nicene Creed (325) and the statements of the Council of Chalcedon (451). Even in these matters, his thought betrays its Roman origins: when illustrating the unity of God by comparing it to a monarchy—

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[1] *Voluit enim deus et alias nihil sine exemplaribus in sua dispositione molitus paradigmate Platonico plenius humani vel maxime initii ac finis lineas cotidie agere nobiscum, manum porrigens fidei facilius adiuvandae per imagines et parabolas sicut sermonum ita et rerum* (*anim.* 43. 11).

[2] According to Tertullian, Christianity is the 'better philosophy': H. Steiner 1989, 194–207, esp. 205.

although the Son is co-regent, the principle of monarchy is unimpaired—it is evident that our Roman author prefers to think in terms of power, not substance. Moreover, he considers the deity mostly in an historical dimension (οἰκονομία, *dispensatio, dispositio*) and in its relationship to man and man's experience. Finally he defines the essence of things mainly by recurring to their origin, for which he uses the keyword *status*. It appears that even his approach to origins is not philosophical but juridical. The *status* (or *census*) of a being depends on its origin. The idea of *status*, which is typical of Tertullian's way of thinking, can be observed in different fields: in the doctrine of the Trinity as well as in that of the soul (the human soul having its origin in God's breath), in his dismantling of the pagan gods (even the oldest god, Saturn, was just a man), in his rejection of all theatrical plays because of their descent from pagan cult and, last but not least, in the refutation of heretics on grounds of the priority of the Catholic church.

As a Roman, Tertullian laid special stress[1] on the idea that the incarnation of the Logos was an historical fact and that Jesus Christ had not only a divine nature but also a real human one. Thus the linkage between Christ's incarnation and the Christians' salvation becomes evident. Resurrection includes the human body for Tertullian. He does not want to be delivered from matter; salvation has to embrace even matter. In direct opposition to some ancient philosophers and their hostile attitude to the body, Tertullian's asceticism springs from a basically positive view of corporality (a fact often ignored); its ultimate aim is not mortification but transfiguration.

Tertullian's doctrines concerning the Spirit and the Church are in accord with the Gospel:[2] what matters is the presence of God's Spirit in human beings, not the number of bishops (*pud.* 21. 17). A hundred years earlier, such a statement would not have been scandalous. This was different in Tertullian's day, however, when the institution itself set out to spread all over the world. Because Tertullian's notion of the Holy Spirit was based on eschatology and prophesy, not ecclesiastical hierarchy, his ethical rigorism and his ideas concerning the priesthood of laymen were then liable to provoke a clash with the official church. His exaggerated moral claims and his belief in concrete contemporary manifestations of prophetic spirit—a belief surprising

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[1] E.g. *De carne Christi; De resurrectione carnis.*

[2] *Matth.* 18. 20; *castit.* 7. 3; *fug.* 14. 1.

in an intellectual—reflect a desperate and somewhat strained effort to preserve some elements of early Christianity in a rapidly growing and changing Church.

He set the trend in the field of psychology. It is no accident that Latin authors—Tertullian and Augustine—produced the most influential contributions to the understanding of the human soul. Tertullian, in the footsteps of the Stoics, maintained the corporality of the soul, which to him was an indivisible unit. The vegetative, the sensitive and the rational functions were not located in specific 'parts' of it. Even the spirit was but a function of the soul (*anim.* 12. 6). At the same time, in opposition to Plato, Tertullian was convinced of the reliability of sense perception. At this point, Stoic and Epicurean doctrines blended with his Roman realism, and, to confirm this idea, our author called up the Bible and Roman law: our senses are credible witnesses; otherwise the testimony of the apostles would be worthless (*anim.* 17. 13–14). According to Tertullian the soul is transmitted from the parents to the child at conception (*anim.* 36. 37). For Epicurus the soul is born and dies together with the body; for Plato it is eternal, having not only no end but also no beginning. In Tertullian's view the individual soul does have a beginning in time, and yet it is immortal: philosophically, this is clearly the most difficult and inconsistent of the three solutions. Nevertheless it enjoyed a lasting success, perhaps because it was congenial to the Roman mind and its striving for personal immortality, a feeling easily Christianized.

In the realm of the soul, as elsewhere, *status* is defined by origin. Being 'God's breath', the soul has an *auctoritas* based on *maiestas naturae* (*test. anim.* 5. 1). The Roman and juridic ring of these terms is obvious. Although each single soul is accused of error and subject to it, it is also a witness to truth. Therefore our author regarded it a perfectly conceivable task to prove the truth of Christianity and the wrongness of paganism by interrogating the pagan philosophers and poets themselves (*test. anim.* 1. 1). His crystal-clear definition of the soul (*anim.* 22. 2) testifies again to its author's being an advocate.[1] His ability to render thoughts in precise language made Tertullian a precursor of medieval theology.

Our author spoke of the relationship between God and man in

[1] *Definimus animam dei flatu natam, immortalem, corporalem, effigiatam, substantia simplicem de suo sapientem, varie procedentem, liberam arbitrii, accidentis obnoxiam, per ingenia mutabilem, rationalem, dominatricem, divinatricem, ex una redundantem.*

juridical terms. He emphasized notions such as guilt, satisfaction, and compensation, which had already been prepared by the Jewish tradition: a genuine convergency of Roman and Jewish thought.

Similarly, the relation between the Christians and the Roman state was discussed in terms of law. In the *Apologeticum* Tertullian stressed that the persecution of persons because of their name was unheard of. At the same time he emphasized the loyalty of the Christians, who prayed even for the Emperor (39. 2), thus contributing to the continuity of the Roman Empire. He even belittled the importance of the persecutions of Christians (*apol.* 5), which had been a harsh reality. On the whole he drew a rather favorable portrait of the emperors. The *Apologeticum* sketched an all-too idyllic picture of the interrelations of Church and state. Books such as the *Scorpiace* convey a more pertinent idea of what the persecutions were like. There Tertullian insisted on the superiority of God's law over the laws of men. The government was to be obeyed—but only in the service of justice and morality. Nobody was allowed to love his parents, his wife or the Emperor more than God (*scorp.* 14). Christian martyrs are the modern incarnation of ancient Roman *virtus* (*nat.* 1. 18); today's Romans, alas, persecute in them the virtues they themselves have lost.

At present the Lord of History has given the power to the Romans (*nat.* 2. 17. 19). It is true that the stress laid on the constructive, even conservative contribution of the Church to the state would have a great (and not always glorious) future; yet it does not make Tertullian an 'imperial theologian'. He rather conceived of history as a gradual education of mankind[1] through different degrees of revelation, each of which is adapted to our own limited capacities. The ideas of the ages of the world as foreshadowed by Paul (*Gal.* 4. 1–9) are felicitously married to a Ciceronian image of nature (Cic. *Cato* 51 and 53). Just as a plant develops out of a seed and into a fruit, history started with a 'natural' state of things. Subsequently, law and prophets inaugurated childhood, the gospel initiated youth, and finally, the Holy Spirit, the paraclete, will illuminate old age (*virg. vel.* 1. 4–7). In Latin literature before Tertullian the pattern of ages had been applied to history by Florus.

Being a lawyer rather than a systematic thinker, Tertullian is not

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[1] P. Archambault, The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World. A Study of Two Traditions, REAug 12, 1966, 193–228; as for *paideia*: H. Steiner 1989, 38–45.

free from contradictions. They occur not only between different works (the increase of ethical rigorism caused by Montantism is a well-known example) but also within single books.[1] Yet inconsistencies should not be over-emphasized. Above all, his plea for the tradition of the Church does not contradict his change to Montantism, since that denomination was distinguished by especially archaic features such as moral rigorism and the stress laid on 'the gifts of the Spirit'. Looking back it appears that Tertullian's failure was due to the fact that he adhered to early Christian church structures at a moment when—on the one hand—the development towards a 'church for masses' could not be stopped any more and—on the other hand—monasticism had not yet been discovered as a serious alternative for ascetic minds.

Transmission

The transmission of Tertullian's texts is unsatisfactory. 31 works have come down to us; the manuscripts of *pudic.* and *ieiun.* are lost, so that we must resort to early printed editions.

An ample manuscript tradition is available only for the *Apologeticum.* There are considerable discrepancies between the manuscript vulgate[2] and the Fuldensis (F; not extant) which is related to the Fragmentum Rhenaugiense (in the cod. Turicensis XCV, 10th century). Were there two different editions in Tertullian's lifetime? Or do both traditions descend from a single archetype? The latter case is more probable since both traditions have mistakes in common. If this is so, the Fuldensis is often to be preferred, especially since its text is supported by secondary transmission (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* and Ps.-Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint*). No less frequently, however, the true reading lies somewhere in the middle between F and the vulgate.

For Tertullian's other works, we know of five *corpora:*

1. The *Corpus Trecense,* collected perhaps by Vincent of Lerin in the 5th century. It has been preserved in the codex Trecensis 523, 12th century, in Troyes, from the library of Clairvaux and comprises *adv. Iud., carn., resurr., bapt., paenit.*

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[1] Cf. e.g. *paenit.* 9 with *pudic.* 13; *uxor.* 2. 8 with *castit.* and *monog.* passim; and, above all, *adv. Marc.* 4. 1. 9 with 4. 11. 11.

[2] Two of the most important manuscripts containing the vulgate text of Tertullian are the *Petropolitanus* Lat. I Q. v. 40, 9th century, and the Parisinus Lat. 1623, 10th century; cf. also H. Schrörs, Zur Textgeschichte und Erklärung von Tertullians *Apologetikum,* Leipzig 1914; W. Bühler, Gibt es einen gemeinsamen Archetypus der beiden Überlieferungsstränge von Tertullians *Apologeticum*?, Philologus 109, 1965, 121–133.

2. A *Corpus Ottobonianum* can be reconstructed from fragments preserved in the Vatican; they exhibit a valuable text (Vaticanus Ottobonianus Latinus 25, 14th century). It is relevant to *pudic.*, *paenit*, *patient.*, and *spect.*

3. The *Corpus Corbeiense* was probably composed by a follower of Novatian in the 5th century. The manuscripts—formerly in Cologne and Corvey—are lost,[1] so we have to refer to early *collationes*. The Corpus contained one of Novatian's works and Tertullian's *resurr.*, *spect.*, *praescr.*, *pudic.*, *ieiun.*

4. The sole manuscript representing the *Corpus Agobardinum*, which can be traced back to the 5th century, is the Parisinus Latinus 1622, 9th century; it was written by order of the archbishop Agobard of Lyons (d. 840). Originally the corpus contained 21 treatises, of which no more than 13 are preserved: *nat.*, *praescr.*, *scorp.*, *test. anim.*, *coron.*, *spect.*, *idol.*, *anim.*, *orat.*, *cult. fem.*, *uxor.*, *castit.*, *carn.*

5. The *Corpus Cluniacense* had survived in two Codices Cluniacenses (10th/11th century) which are now lost. We are left with younger manuscripts and old editions. It contains 21 treatises: *patient.*, *carn.*, *resurr.*, *adv. Prax.*, *adv. Val.*, *adv. Marc.*, *fug.*, *Scap.*, *coron.*, *mart.*, *paenit.*, *virg. vel.*, *cult. fem.*, *castit.*, *uxor.*, *monog.*, *pall.*, *adv. Iud.*, (Ps.-Tert. *haer.*), *praescr.*, *adv. Hermog.*

Influence

Tertullian is the creator of Christian Latin literature. He put his stamp on its language once and for all. No less rich is his legacy to western Christianity in the field of ideas: on the one hand, we have his golden word concerning the *testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae* (*apol.* 17. 6). On the other hand, there is his bold insistence on the paradox, even absurdity of faith, enhanced by the Roman's sense of *numen*; his feeling that revelation is something 'totally different'; furthermore, the Stoic and Roman dichotomy of soul and body; the degradation of the spirit into a function of the soul; the idea of a soul having a birthdate, but no deathdate—with all its inherent philosophical difficulties; and above all, a preference for a juridical way of thinking, the delight in practical and moral teaching and preaching and—as a result—the predominant role of rhetoric. Last but not least, his insistence on the historical truth and physical reality of Christ's incarnation is in full harmony with Roman traditions at their best.

Tertullian's eminent importance is obvious from the very fact that his works were transmitted at all, although, strictly speaking, he had

[1] Cf. however: G. Lieftinck, Un fragment du *De spectaculis* de Tertullien, VChr 5, 1951, 193–203.

been a heretic. They were simply indispensable. Actually, his deviations from the doctrine of the Church have less to do with theology in the strictest sense of the word than with practical ethics and ecclesiastical discipline. Cyprian read him daily, called him 'the teacher' (Hier. *vir. ill.* 53) and recast his ideas into an attractive and ecclesiastically inoffensive shape. Similarities between Minucius Felix and Tertullian are open to interpretation; nowadays, a later date for Minucius is preferred.[1]

Lactantius and Eusebius were the first to mention Tertullian by name, and they passed over in silence his heterodoxy. Later authors, while noting it with regret, nevertheless went on reading him. Jerome, no less pugnacious by nature, especially loved to quote him. Fulgentius, a declared enemy of pagan laxity, relied on him in the *Mythologiae*.[2] Augustine registered him in his catalogue of heretics (*haer.* 86), and in the *Decretum Gelasianum* his writings were condemned. Yet for all that, almost no Latin church father could afford to ignore him. The *Apologeticum* was translated into Greek no later than the early 3rd century. Later exegetes of the *Lord's Prayer* could not disregard Tertullian (*De oratione*)—or his faithful copyist Cyprian. Tertullian's influence was not limited to Hippolytus' and Novatian's doctrine of Trinity: some of our heretic's dogmatic definitions recurred in the writings of pope Leo I (*Epistola dogmatica ad Flavianum*, *epist.* 28) and even obtained canonical value by the authoritative Creeds of Nicaea (325) and Chalcedon (451).

At the dawn of the modern age Tertullian's eschatological and 'pneumatic' ideas on church and history were revived by Joachim of Floris (d. 1202), who announced the end of the official church of the Son and the beginning of a 'third' age, the kingdom of the Holy Spirit, incarnate in a non-hierarchical community living in poverty and chastity. The related concept of an 'education of mankind' (the title of a well-known book of Lessing) had a history of its own. In later times Tertullian's views concerning the priesthood of laymen met with a more enthusiastic response than did the ascetic requirements he had inseparably linked with them.

Tertullian regarded himself as a 'pneumatic' Christian. Taking the

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[1] For the problem of priority s. our chapter on Minucius Felix, pp. 1554–1555.

[2] L. G. Whitbread, Fulgentius and Dangerous Doctrine, Latomus 30, 1971, 1157–1161.

standpoint of the Spirit who discerns spirits—sometimes to the point of separation—he criticized both paganism and a Christianity which was all too ready to compromise with the world. Thus he fulfilled the function of a 'teacher' or 'prophet', a function more congenial to the Bible than to the Church. This was the keystone of his multifaceted literary activity. For all this, he was an important link between Roman and Christian civilization: if his ascetic intentions made him a reformer of the Church, his literary accomplishments made him the initiator of a first renaissance of Latin literature and civilization under the auspices of Christianity.

Two memorable, though contradictory, sayings have become equally famous: *anima naturaliter Christiana* and *credo quia absurdum* (the latter being a rather free quote). Thanks to the Nicene Creed, some of Tertullian's brilliant definitions are on everybody's lips. The impact of his baroque style on preachers of all times can hardly be overrated. When Bossuet,[1] referring to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, spoke of *chair angélisée,* he followed in Tertullian's footsteps (*resurr.* 26. 7). More recently, readers feel attracted anew by his colorful language, as can be seen from Douglass Parker's[2] poetic translation of a passage on animals in *pall.* 3. 3).

Editions: apol.: Venetiis, *apud* Bernardinum Benalium 1483. * *First complete edition*: Beatus Rhenanus, Basileae 1521. * F. Oehler, vols. 1–3, 1851–1854 (TN, monograph). * A. Reifferscheid, G. Wissowa, H. Hoppe, A. Kroymann, V. Bulhart, CSEL 20; 47; 69; 70; 76, Wien 1890–1957. * Editores varii, CC 1 and 2, Turnholti 1954. * K. Kellner, G. Esser (Tr), 2 vols., München 1912–1916 (BKV). * *adv. Hermog.*: J. H. Waszink (TrC), London 1956. * *adv. Iud.*: H. Tränkle (T, crit. C), Wiesbaden 1964. * *adv. Marc.*: C. Moreschini, Milano 1971. * E. Evans (TTr), 2 vols., Oxford 1972. * *adv. Marc 1–3*: R. Braun (TTrN), 3 vols., Paris 1990; 1991; 1994. * *adv. Prax.*: E. Evans (TTrC), London 1948. * G. Scarpat (TTr, ind.), Torino 1985. * *adv. Val.*: A. Marastoni (TC), Roma 1971. * J.-C. Fredouille (TTrC, ind.), SC 280–281, Paris 1980–1981. * *anim.*: J. H. Waszink (TTrC), Amsterdam, Paris 1933. * *anim., test. anim., cens. anim.*: J. H. Waszink (TrN), Zürich 1980. * *apol.*: J. P. Waltzing (T), Liège 1914, (changed considerably) 1919. * J. P. Waltzing (C), Liège, Paris 1919. * J. P. Waltzing with A. Severyns (TTr), Paris 1929. * C. Becker (TTr), München 1952, 2nd ed. 1961. * P. Frassinetti, Torino 1965. * E. Paratore (C), E. Buonaiuti

[1] Highet, Class. Trad. 330.
[2] Arion 9, 1970, 1, 48–51.

(Tr), Bari 1972. * A. Resta Barrile (TTr), Bologna 1980. * *apol. 1*: A. Schneider (TTrC), Neuchâtel 1968. * *apol., spect.*: T. R. Glover (TTr), London 1931. * *bapt.*: B. Luiselli (T, crit. C), Torino 1960; 2nd ed. 1968. * E. Evans (TTrC), London 1964. * *carn.*: E. Evans (TTrC), London 1956. * J.-P. Mahé (TTrC, ind.), 2 vols., SC 216–217, Paris 1975. * *castit.*: C. Moreschini (TC), J.-C. Fredouille (Tr), Paris 1985. * *coron.*: J. Fontaine (TC), Paris 1966. * H. Quellet (index), Hildesheim 1975. * F. Ruggiero (TTrN), Milano 1992. * *cult. fem.*: W. Kok (TTrC), diss. Amsterdam 1934. * M. Turcan (TTrC), Paris 1971. * S. Isetta (TTrC), Firenze 1986. * *fug.*: J. J. Thierry (TTrC), diss. Amsterdam 1941. * *idol.*: P. G. Van Der Nat (TTrC), Leiden 1960. * J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. Van Winden (TTrC), Leiden 1987. * *mart.*: A. Quacquarelli (TTrC), Roma 1963. * *monog.*: P. Mattei (TTrC), Paris 1988. * *nat. 1*: A. Schneider (TTrC), Roma 1968. * *nat. 2*: M. Haidenthaller (TTrC), Paderborn 1942. * *orat.*: F. Diercks (TC), diss. Amsterdam, Bussum 1947; with *virg. vel.*, London 1956. * *pall.*: A. Gerlo, Wetteren 1940. * S. Costanza (TN), Napoli 1968. * *paenit.* and *pudic.*: W. P. le Saint (TrN), London 1959. * C. Munier (TTrC), SC 316, Paris 1984. * *patient.*: J.-C. Fredouille (TTrC), Paris 1984. * *praescr.*: R. F. Réfoulé (TC), P. de Labriolle (Tr), Paris 1957. * *pudic.*: C. Micaelli, C. Munier (TTrC), 2 vols., Paris 1993. * *resurr.*: E. Evans (TTrC), London 1960. * *Scap.*: A. Quacquarelli (TC), Roma 1957. * *spect.*: J. Büchner (C), diss. Würzburg 1935. * E. Castorina (TTrC), Firenze 1961. * M. Turcan (TTrC), Paris 1987. * *test. anim.*: C. Tibiletti (TC), Torino 1959. * *uxor.*: A. Stephan, Amsterdam 1954. * *virg. vel.*: C. Stücklin (TTrC), Bern 1974. * P. A. Gramaglia (TC), Roma 1984. * *Index*: G. Claesson, Index Tertullianeus, 3 vols., Paris 1974–1975. * *Concordance*: (*patient.*): H. Quellet, Hildesheim 1988. * (*cult. fem.*): H. Quellet, Hildesheim 1993. * *Bibl.*: cf. the monographs, esp. T. D. Barnes 2nd ed. 1985 and H. Steiner 1989. * From 1975 onward yearly in REAug: R. Braun, J.-C. Fredouille, P. Petitmengin, Chronica Tertullianea et Cyprianea, e.g.: REAug 39, 1993, 441–464. * R. D. Sider, Approaches to Tertullian. A Survey of Recent Scholarship, Second century 2, 1982, 228–260.

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MINUCIUS FELIX

Life and Dates

Marcus Minucius Felix was most likely born in North Africa. Later he was active at Rome as a lawyer. His dialogue *Octavius*[1] has been transmitted to us together with the writings of Arnobius, who was African: the names which Minucius gives to the interlocutors of his dialogue are attested epigraphically in North Africa,[2] and in the text Caecilius quotes Fronto (who was from Cirta) as his countryman (9. 6; 31. 2). Finally, some critical remarks launched against Rome may be due to African patriotism (25. 1–7).

[1] A treatise *De fato vel Contra mathematicos*, which had been ascribed to Minucius, was judged spurious by Jerome (*vir. ill.* 58) for reasons of style: J. G. PRÉAUX, A propos du *De fato* (?) de Minucius Felix, Latomus 9, 1950, 395–413.

[2] J. BEAUJEU, edition, p. xxvi.

Since our author has knowledge of Fronto's and Gellius' work, he is writing after 160; on the other hand the fact that he quotes Lactantius means that he must have lived before 310. The controversial question as to whether Minucius or Tertullian was older is usually answered in favor of Tertullian:[1] while the rhetorical arrangement of ideas in Minucius is rather loose, Tertullian establishes an order which is more strict and logical. In the *Ad nationes*, which was written before the *Apologeticum*, parellels to Minucius are not as close; if Tertullian were the imitator, it would be strange that he followed his source more slavishly in his later work than in the earlier one. Tertullian's information is more precise and fuller; it follows that Minucius abridged it. Actually such a use of Tertullian is fully consonant with Minucius' attitude to other sources such as Cicero and Plato.[2] Hence the *Octavius* should be dated after the *Apologeticum* (197).

A treatise falsely ascribed to Cyprian (*Quod idola dii non sint*) is practically a word-for-word copy of Min. Fel. 18–23 and Tert. *apol.* 21–23, but as is was most likely written no earlier than the 4th century, it does not help us establish the date of the *Octavius*. Parallels in Cyprian's *Ad Donatum* (no later than 248) tell in favor of a priority of Minucius.[3] It appears that the *Octavius* should be dated to the first half of the 3rd century.

There is more evidence for the same epoch:[4] the importance of philosophical argument and the number of quotations from Cicero and Vergil are indicative of the spread of Christianity into the upper classes of Roman society. Minucius' interest in Platonism as well as

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[1] J. Beaujeu, edition, pp. xliv–lxxix; similarly the majority of scholars following B. Axelson and C. Becker. For the priority of Minucius e.g. Norden, Kunstprosa 605; S. Rossi, GIF 12, 1959, 289–304; 15, 1962, 193–224; 16, 1963, 17–29; 293–313. As a matter of fact, Lactantius (*inst.* 5. 1. 22) and Jerome (*epist.* 70. 5) mention Minucius before Tertullian. (However, the reasons for this arrangement are not necessarily chronological, and, in fact, the names are arranged reversely in other passages of Jerome). In Minucius there are none of the elements which Tertullian adopted from the *Apology of Apollonius* (M. Sordi 1964).

[2] C. Becker 1967.

[3] J. Beaujeu lxvii–lxxiv; for a date later than Cyprian now G. L. Carver 1978 (not cogent).

[4] A *terminus post quem* is the official recognition of the cult of Isis through the foundation of the Serapeum in Rome under Caracalla (2. 4; 21. 3); even the choice of the time of the year—vintage (2. 3)—might be an innuendo against the Isiac initiation which was frequently celebrated at that season: P. Courcelle, Les *Confessions* de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité, Paris 1963, 122.

Stoic philosophy locates him in the period of transition between the 'Stoic' and the 'Platonic' phase of patristic literature.

Survey of the Work

Prelude (1–4): during a walk on the beach at Ostia there arises a discussion on religion between the Christian Octavius Januarius and the pagan Caecilius Natalis. Minucius Felix acts as umpire.

First part (5–13): Caecilius contests the possibility of certain knowledge (especially for Christians, given their lack of education). In particular we cannot know anything of divine providence; hence we must adhere to the traditional cults to which Rome owes her grandeur (5–7). He subsequently presents a critical view of Christianity (8–12) and concludes his speech on a sceptical note (13).

Interlude (14–15): Minucius remarks that truth is of greater importance than eloquence and allows Octavius to speak.

Second part (16–38): as an introduction, Octavius declares that poverty offers a better approach to truth than prosperity (16). Then he discusses three points: first, the proof of the existence of *one* God and of his providence (17–20. 1); second, a critique of pagan religion (20. 2–27); and third, a refutation of Caecilius' objections against Christianity (28–38. 4). Finally, he declares that the truth of Christian revelation conquered the sceptical doctrine (38. 5–7).

Epilogue: The speech is admired and Caecilius declares himself converted (39–40).

Sources, Models, and Genres

Despite Jerome's praise of our author's wide reading (*epist.* 70. 5), much of it was clearly gained at second-hand. We can trust in Minucius' ability to read Greek: he quotes Homer and refers to Plato's *Phaedo, Republic, Symposium*, and *Timaeus*, partly perhaps from anthologies. In general, Platonic references are more prominent here than in Tertullian: Minucius heralds the 'Platonizing' phase of Christian literature. He combats scepticism, which had recently been defended by Sextus Empiricus, a leading representative of that school.

Among Latin authors, Cicero and Seneca hold a place of honor. Besides his main model, the *De natura deorum*, Minucius knows many other works of Cicero,[1] even the lost *Hortensius*, which, like the *Octavius*,

[1] *Academica, Laelius, De finibus, De re publica, De legibus* (for the technique of telling

was a *protrepticus* and used the name of a dead friend as title. When following Cicero, Minucius is always careful to change the wording. The *De providentia* is his favorite of Seneca's works (e.g. Min. Fel 20. 1; 36–37); it will be used by Cyprian and Lactantius as well. His critical discussion of Roman religion (25. 8) can be traced back to Seneca's *De superstitione*[1] and probably to Varro (25. 8).

Virgil, the only Latin poet to receive divine honors, is quoted like Homer as an authority in religious 'proofs from tradition', a somewhat unusual choice for a Christian of that epoch.

Cicero and the Roman historians are Minucius' sources for historical arguments; like Tertullian (and probably in his footsteps) he tries to conquer the pagans with their own weapons.

There are only indirect allusions to the Bible,[2] and Minucius does not name Christ, probably in deference to his pagan audience.

A speech of Fronto[3] against the Christians may have furnished material for his anti-Christian polemics (cf. 9. 6 and 31. 2), and so, too, the *True Discourse* of Celsus[4] (A.D. 178) and Christian apologetic texts. Despite the rareness of direct verbal reminiscences (except for Tertullian), there are numerous similarities in content.

There are two genres of apologies which occasionally overlap: one of them resembles a juridic plea—such as Athenagoras' *Embassy* and Tertullian's *Apologeticum*;[5] the other is closer to a 'protreptic' speech. Minucius, by choosing the latter form, wants to reach a large public. His models, besides Aristotle's *Protrepticus* and Cicero's *Hortensius*, are Tatian's *Speech to the Greeks* and Clement's *Protrepticus*.

Dialogue had been used by Aristo of Pella and Justin. Minucius does not adopt the Platonic type of dialogue, although the interlude between the two speeches is reminiscent of the *Phaedo* (88 B–90 B); instead, Minucius presents a dispute before an umpire just as in Plutarch's *Moralia*,[6] the Tacitean *Dialogus* (4. 2–5. 2) and Gellius

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a story within the story), *Tusculanae disputationes*, rhetorical treatises, speeches, a letter to Atticus.

[1] Sen. *frg.* 33 HAASE = Aug. *civ.* 6. 10.

[2] D. S. WIESEN 1971.

[3] Cf. P. FRASSINETTI, L'orazione di Frontone contro i Cristiani, GIF 2, 1949, 238–254.

[4] For a reconstruction of Celsus from the quotations found in Origen: M. BORRET, ed., Origène, *Contre Celse*, Paris 1967–1969 (SC 132; 136; 147; 150); J. M. VERMANDER 1971.

[5] Cf. also Aristides of Athens.

[6] 615e; 747b; 750a; 1096–1097.

(18. 1). Minucius may have been especially attracted to the idea of usurping for his war against scepticism a literary form clearly preferred by academic sceptics (e.g. Cicero's *De natura deorum*).

The connections to the genre of *consolatio* should not be overemphasized.[1]

Literary Technique

The ability to write a dialogue may be considered a touchstone of literary craftmanship. Minucius Felix is the first Christian Latin author to fulfill this requirement in the eyes of the pagan public. His striving for literary perfection in open rivalry with Plato and Cicero is something new in patristic literature, and in this case it is a Latin author who takes the first step.

The proem, with its respectful commemoration of a dead friend,[2] both the prelude and the epilogue follow the traditions of the philosophical dialogue and have some important points in common with Cicero. As in Plato and Cicero, the dialogue is reported by a narrator speaking in the first person. Like in Gellius (18. 1), the third interlocutor acts as umpire and the place of action is Ostia, a city close to the sea. The same place of farewell and reunion would become the setting of important dialogues up to Augustine.[3]

Meaningful details prepare us for the content of the dialogue.[4] This is especially true for the kiss which Caecilius throws to the statue of Serapis, a gesture revealing the subject—religion—and initiating the dialogue.

Keywords such as *religio* are used artfully (s. Ideas). The dialogue is given a dramatic climax by Caecilius' conversion, the suddenness of which is carefully prepared for by the repeated mention of his vivid temperament. This is without doubt a literary success.

The two speeches have been composed so as to match each other,[5] although there is no pedantic uniformity.

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[1] A. Elter, Prolegomena zu Minucius Felix, Progr. Bonn 1909.

[2] Cicero makes the beginning of his *Brutus* a monument to Hortensius; the same is true of Crassus in the introdution to the 3rd book of the *De oratore*; linguistically, the opening of the *Octavius* recalls the 1st book of the *De oratore*.

[3] Justin's story of conversion had been laid at the seashore as well (*dial.* 3–7).

[4] The technique recalls the use of the 'double sun' in Cicero's *De re publica*.

[5] Cf. the synoptic diagrams in J. Beaujeu's edition, pp. viii–xiii.

The Christian's speech is longer, and certain parts find no counterpart in Caecilius' speech, such as the critical review of pagan religion (20. 2–24) and the passages on demons (26. 8–28. 6). Why? Our author is enough of an advocate to deny pagans the opportunity to make a plea for their religion. A companion piece to the demonization of pagan gods would have been the usual retort that Christians were atheists. By just briefly alluding to it, Minucius follows the rhetorical principle of not dwelling on points that might be detrimental to his cause. The author's bias is reflected even in the invention of the two speeches.

Caecilius, being a skeptic in theory, defends traditional paganism in practice. This inconsistency, however, is not a malicious invention intended to make refutation easier. Rather it is a correct portrayal of the mentality of many educated Romans.[1] Thus in Cicero's *De natura deorum* Cotta, as an academic sceptic, dismantles the Stoic proofs of God's existence, while at the same time defending Roman religion in his role as Roman *pontifex*. Many pagans considered religion a political necessity; philosophical scepticism provided them with a rational basis for relinquishing without resistance the inscrutable territory of religion to the traditional Roman cult.[2]

Octavius uses the contradictions found in Caecilius' speech as a starting-point, in accordance with good rhetorical traditions.[3] His own reasoning, however, is no less subject to contradictions. If the gods are just mortals, as is stated in chapter 21, this does not quite mesh with their being demons (chapters 26. 8–28. 6): Euhemerism versus Platonism! An advocate is allowed to neglect the exigencies of consistency. Some features, such as the *retorsio criminis*, the 'throwing back' of the accusation onto the accuser (e.g. 30–31), are reminiscent of forensic apologies. The *Octavius* is more than a scholastic *thesis*. Our text conveys a rather favorable idea of our author's literary technique, his striving for conciseness, his sense of form and his good taste (which only rarely fails him).

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[1] For a different view (not convincingly): W. Speyer 1964, 50–51.

[2] For a general account: A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, AHAW 1960, 2.

[3] Similar lines of argument: orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 80; also 3. 1–3; 3. 19; 3. 31–33.

Language and Style

For its language and style the *Octavius* is gratifying to read. Minucius opposes Fronto both in content and style. He avoids archaism and chooses Cicero as his model, an appropriate choice for the genre of philosophical dialogue, and one accepted even by Tacitus in his *Dialogus*. However, the Ciceronian surface is treacherous: for all its brevity, our text exhibits a great variety of tones and many ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. Minucius style, after all, wears the stamp of its own epoch: at closer inspection we notice late Latin elements, even though they are not numerous.[1] A telling example is the use of *reformare*[2] in a religious context (1. 1. 5). In Ovid, it had denoted rejuvenation (*met.* 9. 399); Apuleius had applied it to an ass being changed back into a man, in direct connection with a conversion to the cult of Isis (Apul. *met.* 11. 16. 6). Correspondingly, in Minucius *reformatus* and *conversus* are related notions.

Minucius shows a preference for metaphors and comparisons equally familiar to pagans and Christians: the sun is an image for God (32. 5–8);[3] the simile of the temple is applied to the human heart (32. 1. 3), following the precedent of Stoics and the Bible;[4] the idea of emerging from darkness to the light (1. 4), rooted in the venerable traditions of old mysteries, is associated by Christians with baptism; and finally there is the change from blindness to vision: even Caecilius, despite his name, will not remain *caecus* (cf. 3. 1).

Seneca also exerted an influence on his style. The increase of certain stylistic features is typical of the Second Sophistic period: in passages close to the diatribe (for example, 37. 8–9), we find brief rhythmical units, adorned with parallelism and rhyme.[5] Fortunately, such stylistic niceties are used with discretion, so that they are unobtrusive and not incompatible with the character (*ethos*) of the respective speakers.[6]

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[1] K. ABEL 1967; C. MOHRMANN, Les éléments vulgaires du latin des chrétiens, V Chr 2, 1948, 89–101; 163–184; esp. 164–165: *carnalis, vivificare, resurrectio*; essential: J. FONTAINE 1968, 98–100.

[2] W. FAUSCH, commentary 31.

[3] Xenophon, *mem.* 4. 3. 13–14, used by Clement (*protrept.* 6. 71; *strom.* 6. 75) and other Fathers of the Church.

[4] Sen. *frg.* 123 HAASE; *1 Cor.* 3. 16; 6. 19; *2 Cor.* 6. 16; cf. also Lucr. 5. 1198–1203 (Epicurean).

[5] E. NORDEN 1897.

[6] J. F. O'CONNOR 1976 observed a contrast between the classicizing style of Caecilius and the style of Octavius which is less carefully organized into periods; for ethopoeia: J. FONTAINE 1968, 119.

The *Octavius* exhibits a continuous and consistent use of oratorial rhythm.[1]

Ideas I and II

Our author's ideas on literature are based on his ideas on education; in his case it is impossible to maintain our usual separation of fields (I and II). The theme of education is relevant to the dialogue as a whole. Reacting against the arrogance[2] of Caecilius, Minucius wants to show that Christians are no boors. There is Socratic irony in the Christian's turning out to be no less educated than the pagan. What is more, his victory is presented as a logical consequence of a thoroughgoing reflection on the very arguments produced by the pagans. The use of this method is additional support to Octavius' thesis (20. 1) that Christians are the true philosophers[3] (a variation of a famous Platonic dictum).

The theme of 'religion and superstition' is presented early on, at the end of the introduction (1. 5). Both orators are against superstition and for religion; however, both, using the same words, mean different things (13. 5 and 38. 7). This 'homonymy' seems to announce the agreement to be achieved at the end. In the course of the dialogue, both terms change their meanings for the pagan. Thus he is allowed to maintain his initial statement; only in the meantime he has learned the true meaning of 'religion' (*vera religio*).

The valuation of philosophy is subject to a change as well. Initially, Minucius comes to meet paganism even more than half-way; his attitude is reminiscent of St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus (*act.* 17. 22–31). Minucius agrees with Tertullian in ascribing to the unsophisticated soul an innate sense of the divine (16. 5); at first he even concedes more latitude to philosophy;[4] only at the end of his dialogue does it appear that his acceptance of philosophy is not unconditional (34. 6; 38. 5). Here, a distinction between different philosophies is imperative. Dogmatic thinkers of monotheistic convictions

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[1] Konrad Müller, Rhythmische Bemerkungen zu Minucius Felix, MH 49, 1992, 57–73.

[2] 5. 3–4; 8. 3–4; 14. 1; 16. 5.

[3] In this he followed Justin and Athenagoras.

[4] In 19. 4, for instance, a close relationship between Thales and *Gen.* 1. 2 is established.

are preferred to sceptics—including Socrates (38. 5). As for the doctrines of a single philosophical school, even here his assent is not universal: our author approves Stoic arguments in favor of divine providence, while rejecting Stoic determinism. His allegiance to Plato is qualified by *fere* (19. 15). Minucius perhaps hints at his reservations against philosophy by the very fact that the whole dialogue is limited to the perimeter of Christianity, and that dogmatic questions are curiously absent from discussion. He shares Plato's view that ultimate truths are reluctant to be pronounced publicly. 'We Christians make professions of faith in public only under trial' (ibid.). Thus, Minucius makes a virtue of necessity. This attitude becomes even a kind of literary program. An aristocratic culture respecting the religious private sphere and disinclined to probe too deeply under the surface of things is congenial to his Latin mind.

Another theme intriguing both Christians and pagans is wisdom. The keyword appears in the introduction (1. 4); moreover, in the scene describing the setting the subject of the dialogue is announced (4. 4). Correspondingly, the victory over *error* is stressed at the beginning (3. 1) and at the end (40. 1). The theme of wisdom is firmly linked to the questions of whether knowledge is possible and if the truth can be attained. The identity of Christianity and truth is the core of the dialogue. In Latin, *veritas* means 'truth' as well as 'factual reality'. Octavius wishes to convince his partner through facts.

But why is the doctrine concerning Christ omitted? Before rashly suspecting that Minucius had not yet fathomed the depths of Christianity or that he represented some heretical, half-pagan humanism, we should take into account the situation of Christianity in that epoch. Christians and Jews were then the unique representatives of strictly monotheistic religions. In this regard Christianity agreed with most of the philosophical schools, and thus Minucius regarded them as his natural allies. The very genre of the *protrepticus* reveals the audience envisaged in the *Octavius*: our author wanted to win over an educated public. Given the 'exoteric' character of such writings, which were meant to attract people, all insider problems had to be discarded. This would explain the author's reticence in matters of theology.

Why does Minucius combat skepticism and not the mystery religions? This choice is in harmony with the intellectual level to which he aspires. Minucius stakes everything on one throw: taking the philosophers as his allies he gives monotheism a rational underpinning and by doing so implicitly refutes the polytheistic religions (including the mystery cults) without being compelled to attack them directly.

He stands up against skepticism not only because it had received a fresh impetus from Sextus Empiricus. Indirectly, its 'critical' reserve in matters of religion had done a great favor to paganism by creating a vacuum in which the old cults could be maintained and even newly justified. In the speech of Caecilius some contradictions inherent in paganism appear, especially the antithesis between philosophical skepticism and traditional superstition. Contrary to the speech of Caecilius—and also to Plato's dialogue—for the Christian Octavius the truth is determined a priori.

From the outset Minucius strives to give the discussion a philosophical character, and as early as 4. 4 has the pagan Caecilius make a suggestion to this effect. The intellectual claims of Minucius are not unlike those of the pagan propagandist Celsus: whereas Celsus advocates an alliance of all people of some intellectual level in paganism, Minucius wants to do the same under the auspices of Christianity, which in his opinion is the true wisdom.

To prove this, our author does not call up divine revelation but the testimonies of poets and philosophers. The list of the latter culminates in Plato, whose doctrine concerning the creator (*Tim.* 28 C) is assigned a very high rank: *eadem fere . . . quae nostra*, 'about the same . . . as ours' (19. 15); Plato's words would be perfectly celestial, were they not dimmed sometimes by 'politics'—probably an undue respect for state religion (19. 14). When speaking (19. 2–3; 32. 1–9) of God's indwelling in the world and in man, Minucius illustrates Stoic ideas with quotations from Virgil: *Iovis omnia plena*, 'everything is full of Jupiter' (*ecl.* 3. 60; cf. *georg.* 4. 220–221; *Aen.* 6. 724–727),[1] not caring that such pantheism does not hold true of the personal and transcendent God of the Christians. Passages such as 17. 2 on the connections between self-knowledge, knowledge of the world and knowledge of God are reminiscent of middle Platonism (Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 10).

Minucius knows traditional proofs of God's existence: the 'cosmological' proof[2] (18. 4) starting from the order of the world which (according to Aristotle) presupposes an 'unmoved mover', as well as the 'teleological' proof[3] based on the principle of expediency inherent

[1] Sen. *frg.* 123 Haase; *epist.* 41. 4–5; 83. 1; P. Courcelle 1964; Lactantius would stress the differences (*inst.* 7. 3. 1; cf. also Aug. *conf.* 7. 1. 1–2).

[2] Aristot. *On Philosophy*; Cleanthes *apud* Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 15; *sap.* 13; *Rom.* 1. 20.

[3] Cleanthes *apud* Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 13; s. also 2. 97; *Tusc.* 1. 68; the 'functional' structure of the human body (18. 1; Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 47), of the head (17. 11; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 140–146).

in Creation (17–18). On 'natural' theology he dwells longer than other Church Fathers. A third proof is based on 'tradition': Minucius takes poets and philosophers seriously as witnesses of religious truth. His reference to the Homeric[1] 'father of men and gods' may be inspired by Cicero, who in a similar context (*nat. deor.* 1. 2. 4) conveyed the same message by quoting Ennius. The survey of the history of philosophy (19. 14), serving to underpin the idea that monotheism is universally accepted (*consensus omnium*), originates from a passage of the *De natura deorum* (1. 25–37); although its speaker, the Epicurean Velleius,[2] pursues a completely different aim. In Minucius, Caecilius repeatedly uses political arguments, and Octavius, in the vein of Christian apologists, tries to prove the political reliability of Christians.

The arguments alleged against paganism follow the traditions of apologetic writers who in their turn had exploited pagan traditions of 'criticism of Rome'. In opposition to the usual glorification of ancestors, Octavius states that the ancient Romans were far from being wisdom incarnate and that Rome did not owe its grandeur to the piety of the Romans. Actually their victories were not gained with the help of the gods, but against the gods, as is evident from the rite of *evocatio* (25. 7). In his critical attitude to the Roman state, Minucius is even more intransigent than Tertullian,[3] thus exhibiting a liberty of thought[4] which in pre-Christian times had been attained only by some of the most independent spirits. Our satisfaction is marred, however, by the fact that Octavius accuses the Vestals of immorality, thus debasing himself to the poor mental level of his enemies (25. 10–11).

Minucius' criticism of pagan religion can be traced back to four traditions: the moralizing criticism of myths as attested from Xenophanes to Plato; the allegorical exegesis of myths as 'physical' phenomena (practised from the 6th century B.C. onward and especially popular among Stoics);[5] the rationalistic and historical interpretation of gods as deified great men in the wake of Euhemerus;[6] and finally

[1] 19. 1; *Iliad* 1. 544 etc.

[2] Examples of divine intervention in Roman history were quoted by the Stoic Balbus (Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 5–11): Minucius made his material serve a new purpose.

[3] E. Heck 1984.

[4] Enhanced, perhaps, by a striving for independence found in several north-African authors.

[5] Minucius is our best witness for Chrysippus' theology and his physical explanation of myths (19. 11).

[6] Minucius alone attests the doctrines of Persaeus of Citium (21. 2).

the insertion of gods into the middle Platonists' hierarchy of demons. Minucius indiscriminately usurps arguments from these areas without paying any special heed to their compatibility.

Transmission

The text is based on the Parisinus Latinus 1661 (P; 9th century). There the *Octavius* appears as *liber VIII* (*octavus!*) of Arnobius. The corrections in P are traced back partly to the 9th century, and partly to a humanist of the 16th century who was already using the editions of Sabaeus (1543) and Gelenius (1546).

The Bruxellensis Latinus 10 847 (B; 11th century) depends on P. More helpful for the restoration of the text is Ps.-Cyprian's *Quod idola dii non sint*, which is derived from Minucius (18. 8 *tactu purior est*).

A transposition within the text of chapters 21–24 is no longer considered necessary.

Influence

Lactantius, the 'Christian Cicero', is deeply in debt to our author. Jerome ranks Minucius among the classics of Christian literature[1] and discusses his style. It is highly probable that Arnobius used him.[2] Later authors writing about conversions[3] cannot ignore Minucius: Cyprian (*Ad Donatum*), Augustine (*Confessiones*), Ennodius (*Eucharisticum de vita sua* or *Confessiones*). His predilection for Cicero's *De natura deorum*[4] and *Hortensius*[5] became a model for later writers. Isidore of Seville (*nat.* 33) was aware of Minucius (5. 9), interestingly enough in a context of natural philosophy. As a matter of fact, Minucius had been intrigued by physics in so far as it supplied a proof of God's existence (17). In more recent times, Renan called the *Octavius* a 'pearl' of apologetic literature;[6] this does not mean, however, that Minucius

[1] References in J. Beaujeu, edition, pp. cx–cxii; on Minucius' influence also Y.-M. Duval, La lecture de l'*Octavius* de Minucius Felix à la fin du IVe siècle. La fin des protreptiques, REAug 19, 1973, 56–68.

[2] H. Le Bonniec, ed., Arnobe *Contre les Gentils, livre I*, Paris 1982, 56.

[3] P. Courcelle, Les *Confessions* de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité, Paris 1963, 121–122.

[4] Arnob. *nat.* 3. 7.

[5] Aug. *conf.* 3. 4. 7.

[6] E. Renan, Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique, Paris, 23rd ed., 1925, 389; further references concerning Minucius' influence in: M. Pellegrino, commentary 1947, 49–50.

was a 'deist'; he might rather be called an ancient Francis of Sales who made Christianity acceptable to a sophisticated society.

Minucius opened a new period of Latin apologetic literature. Intellectually he was closer to Arnobius and Lactantius than to Tertullian. As a man of the world among the Christian authors, he insisted on the convergencies of philosophical and Christian monotheism; by adopting a non-theological way of preaching he strove to prove that Christianity is the only religion reconcilable with science. In fact, in the 3rd century the success of Christianity among the educated was largely due to its willingness to deal with philosophy and education. The exquisite style of the book was meant to attract the same audience. To his contemporaries Minucius proved that Christians were able to compete with pagans in the field of literature; for us, he is a witness to the regenerative strength of the Ciceronian dialogue.

Editions: Faustus Sabaeus Brixianus, Arnobii Disputationum adversus gentes libri octo, Romae 1543: here the *Octavius* appears as the 'eighth book' (cf. *octavus*) of Arnobius (*Adversus nationes*). * Franciscus Balduinus, Heidelberg 1560: first ed. of the *Octavius* under the name of Minucius Felix. * C. Halm, Wien 1867 (= CSEL 2). * J. P. Waltzing (TTrC), Leipzig 1909. * J. Van Wageningen (TC), Utrecht 1923. * M. Pellegrino (TC), Torino 1947, repr. 1955. * M. Pellegrino (T), Torino 1950, 2nd ed. 1963, repr. 1972. * G. Quispel (TC), Leiden 1949. * J. Beaujeu (TTrC), Paris 1974. * G. W. Clarke (TrC), New York 1974. * B. Kytzler (TTr), München 1965; Stuttgart 1977. * E. Heck (and others) (Tr), publ. by the author, Tübingen 1981. * B. Kytzler (T), Leipzig 1982, repr. 1992. * W. Fausch, Die Einleitungskapitel zum *Octavius* des Minucius Felix (C), diss. Zürich 1966. * *Lexicon*: J. P. Waltzing, Lexicon Minucianum, Liège-Paris 1909. ** *Bibl.*: in H. von Geisau (s. below) and in the monographs.

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CYPRIAN

Life and Dates

Caecilius Cyprianus was born into a rich pagan family, probably at Carthage between 200 and 210. His *praenomen* Thascius is a Punic nickname. By profession he was a rhetor; he turned Christian only in later years, to become very soon a presbyter. As early as 248 or 249 he was chosen bishop of Carthage on demand of the people and against the will of some clerics. He fled from the Decian persecution of Christians, which had begun shortly after, keeping in touch with his community through a regular exchange of letters. The Church was almost reduced to the point of schism by the conflict concerning the readmission of Christians, who had become guilty of apostasy during the persecution: at Carthage Felicissimus was ready to allow unconditional readmission, whereas at Rome Novatian would totally prohibit it. With great energy Cyprian convinced both parties to adopt a reasonable middle course. By doing so he strengthened the authority of the bishops against the *confessores*, who, on grounds of their religious merits, had unjustly claimed a status of mediators of divine grace to repentant apostates (*lapsi*). In the first half of the fifties of the century he devotedly organized sick-nursing during a destructive epidemic. In the eyes of posterity this made him a patron saint against the plague. He presided over three African synods which within two years (255 and 256) rejected the validity of baptism administered by heretics—in accord with the bishops of Asia Minor and against the bishop of Rome, Stephen (254–257). In September 258, during the persecution under Emperor Valerian, Cyprian was decapitated.[1]

[1] *Acta proconsularia Cypriani.*

Survey of Works

Ad Donatum: this account of Cyprian's conversion, containing also a reproof of his century, was written soon after Cyprian's baptism. It is a modest precursor of Augustine's *Confessiones*.

Ad Demetrianum: against pagans the author tries to prove that the Christians are not guilty of the present disaster of the Romans (plague, hunger, and war). Since Cyprian is permanently citing the Bible to prove his case—a method wasted on pagan readers—scholars suppose that the book was written for Christians of little faith (a view demanding in its turn from the reader a considerable amount of faith).

Testimoniorum libri III (249/50) and *Ad Fortunatum de exhortatione martyrii* (253 or 257) are collections of biblical passages arranged according to subjects; these writings attest the text of a Latin translation of the Bible then in use.

De ecclesiae catholicae unitate: in 251[1] Cyprian simultaneously combats the Novatian schism in Rome and the partisans of Felicissimus at Carthage. The Church is where there is a legitimate bishop: *habere iam non potest Deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem*, 'he cannot claim any more that God is his father who does not have the Church as his mother' (6). The bishop of Rome is only *primus inter pares*.

De lapsis (A.D. 251): Christians guilty of apostasy during the persecution are supposed to do serious penitence before being accepted anew.

Edifying writings and sermons, some of them following Tertullian very closely, are: *De habitu virginum* (249), *De dominica oratione, De bono patientiae* (256), *De zelo et livore* (251/2 or 256/7).

The *De mortalitate* and the *De opere et eleemosynis* were written during the plague (252 or later).

The collection of *Letters*, which is an important historical document, comprises 81 texts, most of them by Cyprian; sixteen were addressed to him or to the clergy of Carthage. An appendix to this corpus are the official report on Cyprian's martyrdom and the *Life of St. Cyprian*, written by his deacon, Pontius (s. below, pp. 1580–1581).

Writings of other members of the early African Church have come down to us under Cyprian's name; not all of them can be mentioned here.

In the *De montibus Sina et Sion* a non-biblical dictum of Jesus is preserved: 'Behold me in your hearts just as one of you sees himself reflected in the water or in a mirror' (*mont.* 13). The *Quod idola dii non sint* can be considered a witness of Tertullian's text, which had been its model. The *De aleatoribus* is a popular sermon against playing dice.[2]

The *Cena Cypriani*, a literary joke, was written in all probability not earlier

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[1] Soon after the synod: M. Bévenot, edition 1972, 245.

[2] Ed. A. Miodoński, Erlangen 1889.

than about 400: Biblical figures assemble at a banquet; their typical qualities and attributes are exploited in a humorous way.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Cyprian never names pagan authors but he shows that he is familiar with them. The Bible, which he quotes with a passion, was available to him in a Latin translation current in Africa at that time;[1] it appears from some misunderstandings that he did not deem it necessary to consult the Greek original. As a new genre of literature—both practical and problematic—he introduced biblical *Testimonia* in the form of a published collection, a tool for 'typological' exegesis of the Old Testament and, more generally speaking, a treasury of biblical quotations arranged by subject. The idea is not totally new: collections of biblical passages meant for internal use in teaching and in liturgy circulated in Qumran; Meliton of Sardes (about A.D. 170) had published *Eclogae* from the Old Testament. It is a matter of dispute[2] whether entire chains of quotations as found in early Christian writings (such as the *Letter of Barnabas*) are based on collections of *Testimonia* such as must have existed at least in the form of private notes. Beginning with Cyprian, the genre began to spread.

The corpus of letters was another new feature still unknown to Tertullian. It starts from the genre of the pastoral letter known to Christians from the beginning. The preservation of these letters is due to the towering importance of Cyprian to ecclesiastical discipline. Far from being simple letters, these epistles have a highly official character and a definitely rhetorical style; they often expand into treatises.

For Cyprian, Tertullian is *the* teacher (Hier. *vir. ill.* 73); he is his faithful vassal but he smooths out the sharp edges and replaces the disputed and difficult works of his master[3] with theologically inoffensive and easily readable versions. Like the latter, he uses Stoic patterns

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[1] In his later writings Cyprian's wording is often close to the European version; cf. in general: J. Schildenberger, Die altlateinischen Texte des *Proverbien*-Buches. I. Die alte afrikanische Textgestalt, Beuron 1941, 6–8 and passim; H. J. Frede, Die Zitate des Neuen Testaments bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern. Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte, in: K. Aland, ed., Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare, Berlin 1972, 455–478, esp. 463–464.

[2] J.-P. Audet 1963.

[3] E.g. *De oratione dominica, De habitu virginum, De bono patientiae.*

of thought when praising constancy under torture whereas he takes issue with Novatian's Stoic intransigence with respect to contrite sinners.

He transfers categories of Roman law and politics into a new context. When Cyprian applies the term of *iudicium dei* to the election of a bishop, there is no trace of a Bible quotation, nor any other specific reference to Christianity. As a matter of course, Cyprian adopts the official language of Roman bureaucracy.[1]

Literary Technique

To illustrate Cyprian's literary technique, let us have a closer look at his book *On the Unity of the Church*. From the introduction onward, two antithetical biblical motifs alternate. Cyprian subsequently hints at them and gradually evokes them in the imagination of his listeners. Initially there is a vague inkling of danger; then the idea of slithering and creeping is added to be condensed finally into the picture of a snake, a motif originating in the Old Testament which at the same time prepares the later identification of the enemy with the anti-Christ. This warning against insinuation is itself a masterpiece of insinuation.

Secondly, the theme of the Church is prepared by the image of a house built on a rock (2–4); it culminates in the words of Jesus to Peter: 'Upon this rock I shall build my Church.' Three venerable images illustrate the fact that the unity of the Church is fully present in each individual bishop, since it is based on the same origin: like the beams of the sun, the branches of a tree and brooks issuing from a common source (5). The idea of *mater ecclesia* (cf. *Gal.* 4. 26) is unfolded in three steps: we owe to her our birth, our daily bread and the gift of the Spirit. Moreover, she is the bride of Christ, in contrast to the Adultress of the *Apocalypsis* (6), and she is his seamless and 'undivided' garment (7). The metaphor of clothing continues: in the manner of Paul, Cyprian talks of 'putting on' Jesus Christ and of unanimity. Speaking thus, our author returns to the beginning (4), where he had talked of corporeal and spiritual unity in accordance

[1] J. Speigl, Cyprian über das *iudicium dei* bei der Bischofseinsetzung, RQA 69, 1974, 30–45; K. Oehler, Der *consensus omnium* als Kriterium der Wahrheit in der antiken Philosophie und der Patristik, A&A 10, 1961, 103–129; expanded in K. Oehler, Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter, München 1969, 234–271.

with *Eph.* 4. 4–6. He again takes up the key concept *sacramentum unitatis.* The unity and uniqueness of the house hinted at in 2, come back in 8. Animals of prey are to be kept apart from sheep and doves. This is a complement to the initial snake image. The symmetrical structure of the imagery is simple and effective, all the more as the author's preference for black and white generates impressive contrasts throughout the book.

Roman ideas are predominant in the *De mortalitate*:[1] Here the *militia Christi* (following *Eph.* 6 10–20 and Tertullian) becomes a leading theme. The motif of test and trial (*mort.* 12) is equally Roman and Stoic: *gubernator in tempestate dinoscitur, in acie miles probatur,* 'the quality of a helmsman comes to light in a storm, in the battle-line the soldier is proved'. Suffice it to recall Seneca (*epist.* 108). The image of the tree (*mort.* 12) is equally reminiscent of Seneca (*prov.* 4. 16). The Lucretian verb *vexari* is superseded by *emendari,* which has Stoic and Christian overtones (*mort.* 13). Cyprian reads even the New Testament with Roman eyes: in the Bible translation he used, the divine Dynamis (*2 Cor.* 12. 9) had been Latinized to *virtus*; as a Roman, he spontaneously relates *virtus* to man and adds an explicative *nostra.* The result is human achievement instead of divine grace. For all his 'expertise', our exegete both theologically and linguistically is led astray by his Roman mind. Yet this error contributes to the unity of the book *De mortalitate.* Cyprian successfully applies the artifices of pagan rhetoric—especially *insinuatio* and *evidentia*—to Christian themes, always respecting the Roman mentality of his audience.

Language and Style

Cyprian's language and style combine grace and dignity. They reflect the severity and exclusiveness of his thought. By preference he quotes biblical passages containing strongly negative statements, e.g. *qui non renuntiat omnibus quae sunt eius, non potest meus discipulus esse,* 'any of you

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[1] G. Stramondo, La personalità di Cipriano nel *De mortalitate,* in: Mélanges N. Herescu = Societas Academica Dacoromana, Acta philologica 3, Roma 1964, 373–381; cf. further: L. Bayard, Le latin de saint Cyprien, Paris 1902; H. Koch, Zum Ablativgebrauch bei Cyprian von Karthago ..., RhM 78, 1929, 427–432; J. Schrijnen, C. Mohrmann, Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian, 2 Teile, Nijmegen 1936–1937; J. Molager, La prose métrique de Cyprien ..., REAug 27, 1981, 226–244; L. D. Stephens, Syllable Quantity in Late Latin Clausulae, Phoenix 40, 1986, 72–91.

who does not give up everything he has cannot be my disciple' (*domin. orat.* 19; *Luc.* 14. 33), or: *nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem eius, non habebitis vitam in vobis*, 'unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you will have no life in you' (*Ioh.* 6. 53; *domin. orat.* 18). When explaining the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, Tertullian had made a positive statement (*orat. 6*): *petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et individuitatem a corpore eius*, 'asking for daily bread, we pray to remain perpetually in Christ and being inseparable from his body'. Cyprian (*domin. orat.* 18) gives the same idea a negative and menacing turn: *hunc autem panem dari nobis cotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus et eucharistiam eius cotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a caelesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur*, 'we do pray that this bread may be given to us every day lest we, who are in Christ, and receive the eucharist daily as food of our salvation, should be separated from Christ's body through some serious crime, being thus kept apart and not participating in the holy communion'. It is telling that Cyprian invents 'walls' for paradise (*epist.* 73. 10. 3) For the sake of emphasis he does not shun overcharacterization: *totam semel et solidam firmitatem inseparabiliter obtinebat*, 'she inseparably obtained the whole and entire firmness' (*unit. eccl.* 7). The result is a clear and cogent style revealing the author's didactic gifts as well as his propensity towards 'black—and white drawing'.

On the other hand his handling of language is graceful. Unlike Tertullian, Cyprian avoids darkness of style but is he equally devoid of the flashes of lightning typical of that author. The symbolism of colors and flowers has a poetic touch (*epist.* 10, 5): *Erat (Ecclesia) ante in operibus fratrum candida, nunc facta est in martyrum cruore purpurea, floribus eius nec lilia nec rosae desunt*, 'first the Church was white through the deeds of the brothers, now she has been made purple through the blood of the martyrs, and neither lilies nor roses are lacking among her flowers'. Synonyms and rhymes are typical of his style: *Docet non tantum contemnendas sed et periculosas esse divitias, illic esse radicem malorum blandientium, caecitatem mentis humanae occulta deceptione fallentium*, 'this teaches that riches are not only despicable but even dangerous, that there is the root of enticing evil that beguiles the blindness of the human mind by clandestine deception' (*domin. orat.* 20). Parallelism conspires with gradation in the following example: *Ferae parcunt, aves pascunt, homines insidiantur et saeviunt*, 'wild beasts spare their likes, birds feed them, men cruelly persecute each other' (ibid. 21). Finally,

antithesis is combined with a striking reversal: *nam cum dei sint omnia, habenti deum nihil deerit, si deo ipse non desit*, 'since everything belongs to God, he who has God will lack nothing; God will not abandon him, if he does not abandon God (ibid. 21).

The description of the dove representing the Holy Spirit (*unit. eccl.* 9) gives a good idea of Cyprian's all-pervading gracious prose rhythm: each punctuation mark is preceded by a rhythmical clausula, most frequently the cretic (or paeon) followed by a trochee or the double cretic.[1]

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Cyprian's thought is not centered on literature. His use of texts is nonetheless deliberate and telling: in the *Testimonia* he interprets passages of the Old Testament as prophetic announcements of Christ. Our author is not interested in historical exegesis; he rather wants to teach the Church—to which he gives all of his attention—how to read the Old Testament in the light of the New Testament; in the latter, 'pneumatic' and 'typological' exegesis had already been practiced.

Hermeneutics converge with rhetoric: our author collects the parallels, in order to enable each individual reader to 'unfold' them himself by means of rhetorical *auxesis*. As Cyprian puts it, he is furnishing the 'wool' and the 'purple'. It is up to the reader to produce his own 'heavenly garments' as desired (*Fort.* 3).

Besides, he even lets us know how he trained his students' and his own memory and how he acquired so quickly an impressive knowledge of the Scriptures and the fame of an exegete. Rhetoric[2] is a paradigm as far as the methods of learning and thematic categories are concerned; some titles hearken back to diatribe, such as *adulationem perniciosam esse* (3. 115) or *De bono martyrii* (3. 116).

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[1] *Simplex animal et laetum est,/non felle amarum, non moribus saevum,/non unguium laceratione violentum:/hospitia humana diligere, unius domus consortium nosse,/cum generant simul filios edere,/cum commeant volatibus invicem cohaerere,/communi conversatione vitam suam degere,/oris osculo concordiam pacis agnoscere,/legem circa omnia unanimitatis implere.*

[2] A. Quacquarelli, Note retoriche sui *Testimonia* di Cipriano, VetChr 8, 1971, 181–209.

Ideas II

Cyprian is a devoted teacher and a friend of order and discipline; to the latter he even dedicates a kind of hymn (*hab. virg.* 1).[1] The Church is for Cyprian, what had been the state for the Roman: a sacred and authoritative institution. Being a bishop he is concerned with ecclesiastical discipline and practical life: penitence, baptism, eucharist, charity. The modern antithesis of a 'papal' or an 'episcopal' idea of the Church has to be kept apart from Cyprian: it is true that he recognizes the bishop of Rome as *primus inter pares*; but this does not mean that he feels obliged to share his views in all matters.

A juridical outlook—as observed already in Tertullian—dominates religious life. Typically Roman is the stress laid on property: In the Lord's Prayer, '*our* bread' for Cyprian has an 'exclusive' meaning: Christ, the bread of life, does not belong to everybody, but only to 'us', the Church (*domin. orat.* 18). Whereas Tertullian—according to his principle of tracing things back to their roots—had stressed the fact that the bread of life originates in the Word (*sermo dei vivi; orat.* 6), Cyprian, in harmony with his 'ecclesiological' view of things, insists on what he considers the 'property' of the Church and the exclusiveness of its claims. To Tertullian the daily celestial bread is an occasion to praise the generosity (*liberalitas*) of God to his sons (*filii*); Cyprian narrows the idea down to the institution and its orders. Tertullian's leading category is the 'word', Cyprian's the 'sacrament'. Even so, the term *sacramentum* is still very large. *Sacramentum*, the Latin word for 'mystery', for Cyprian is strictly connected with Christ's historical achievement and the men who are allowed to partake of it; it is the knowledge of the fullness of divine presence in the material world, the real incarnation of what had been foreshadowed by the *figurae* of the Old Testament (*epist.* 64. 4), which he consequently calls *sacramentum Christi* (*testim., praef.*); above all, however, it is the mystery (*Eph.* 3. 32) of the unity (*unitatis sacramentum*)[2] of the Church (*unit. eccl.* 7). The emphasis laid on the community is a Latin feature. It appears that Cyprian tends to identify the visible Church with the eschatological kingdom[3] and stresses its role of 'mother'. There are

[1] O. Mauch, Der lateinische Begriff *disciplina.* Eine Wortuntersuchung, diss. Basel 1941.

[2] U. Wickert 1971.

[3] G. Klein, Die hermeneutische Struktur des Kirchengedankens bei Cyprian, ZKG 68, 1957, 48–68.

Roman roots to such an attitude: *pietas erga rem publicam.* Ecclesia as a mother of sons (*epist.* 74. 6) recalls the figure of *Italia* in Virgil's *Georgics* (2. 173–174). The social qualities of Roman patriotism now find a worthy new context. Cyprian seems not to be aware of anything outside the Church, just as Romans had not cared for barbarian countries. He is not interested in God's first creation (nature) but in the second one (the Church); consequently, his biographer Pontius will not mention facts prior to his baptism. At that time a development of more self-assurance and stricter discipline within the Church was an historical demand; the civic spirit of the Romans offered a suitable pattern to follow. The deterioration of imperial authority under the military emperors facilitated the transition, of which Cyprian's writings are indicative: the ancient world was out of joint, and one had even to be grateful for this (*mort.* 25). Only a few decennia after Tertullian, the empire and the Church had changed.

Cyprian's narrow definition of the Church has to be seen against the background of his epoch: the conflict concerning the readmission of Christians who had become guilty of apostasy during the persecution as well as the discussions on the recognition of heretical baptism. What may, in theory, seem a reduction, in practice lead to an increase in seriousness. In any given situation Cyprian made a case for ecclesiastical discipline, even to the point of contradicting himself: against heretics, he stressed the authority of the Church, against over-generous clerics, he insisted on the limits of this authority: only God could forgive sins (*laps.* 17).

Transmission

W. von Hartel (edition, 1868–1871) distinguished two classes of manuscripts: on the one hand the Seguerianus (S), now Parisiensis 10 592, Suppl. Lat. 712, 6th–7th century, on the other hand, the *recentiores* (9th–11th century). Another witness, the Veronensis (V; probably 6th–7th century), now lost, had been used by the scholars of the counter-reformation, who edited Cyprian's writings (Rome, 1563). This allows editors to reconstruct many readings of V as well as the sequence of texts in that manuscript. The text of V probably can be traced back to an edition which appeared in North Africa soon after Cyprian's death.[1]

Out of more than 200 manuscripts, M. Bévenot (1961 and 1970)[2] makes

[1] P. Petitmengin, Le *codex Veronensis* de saint Cyprien, REL 46, 1968, 330–378.
[2] Followed by M. Simonetti 1971 and edition 1976.

a choice of about 15 and divides them into three classes. He reckons S among the second class; von Hartel had overvalued the independence of S, which is certainly old but not the only valuable manuscript. On the other hand, it is only with qualifications that S can be said to belong to the second class. The text of Cyprian has been frequently subject to interpolation.

Influence

Cyprian's active life is more important than his writings—this is a good Roman tradition. In opposition to Tertullian, who discovered the Spirit in prophecy—outside the official Church—, Cyprian discovered it within the institution. His merit concerning the consolidation of the Church gave his writings immediately high authority in the Latin part of the Empire. Despite their relatively moderate originality in matters of theology and literature, they filled a lacuna since Tertullian was a heretic and Augustine was not yet born. It was Cyprian's name that preserved other early documents of African Christianity. Moreover, some parts of the corpus were translated into Greek and Syriac, although without a larger echo; evidently Eastern Christianity was not particularly attracted to Cyprian's subordination of the Holy Spirit under the official Church of the Son. The consecration of this subordination into a dogma by adding *filioque* to the third article of the creed would later (1054) provoke the great schism between Eastern and Western Church.

Important ideas of Tertullian were handed down to posterity by Cyprian. His collections of Testimonia, a genre unusual in the Occident and of great importance for the history of exegesis were frequently used by later authors like Lactantius. Cyprian also set his stamp upon the style of Latin pastoral letters; moreover, he influenced African hagiography.[1]

Lactantius was familiar with Cyprian (*inst.* 5. 1. 24; 5. 4. 3); Jerome compared his style to the gentle flow of a clear and pure source and excused the predominance of moral preaching over scriptural exegesis by the situation of the persecution (*epist.* 58. 10; cf. *in Is.* lib. 8 *praef.*). Augustine, by profession a *rhetor* like Cyprian, took exception against his first letter to Donatus for the exceeding sweetness of its style (*doctr. christ.* 4. 14. 31), a fault which, in his opinion, Cyprian

[1] F. Dolbeau, A propos du texte de la *Passio Marcelli centurionis*, AB 90, 1972, 329–335.

gave up later on. He praised the *doctor suavissimus* as an interpreter, especially for having taken so much gold and silver of pagan knowledge at his exodus from 'Egypt' (ancient Rome) to the benefit of his preaching of the gospel (*doctr. christ.* 2. 40. 61). Evidently Augustine had a very clear intuition of the intercultural function of early Christian authors. In several sermons (*serm.* 309–313) he exalted the *martyr beatissimus*; Prudentius did the same in verse. Bishop Agobard of Lyons (d. 840) wrote a poem on the transfer of his relics.[1] The authority of Cyprian in the Middle Ages is attested by the great number of manuscripts.

Still Erasmus (d. 1536) would write under Cyprian's name a treatise *De duplici martyrio ad Fortunatum.* Later readers, according to their own inclinations, either admired his episcopalianism or his statement *salus extra ecclesiam non est*, 'there is no salvation outside the Church' (*epist.* 71. 23). The Huguenot mystic and moralist Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné (d. 1639) is more sympathetic with literary qualities and is inspired by Cyprian's graceful symbolism of roses and lilies, which recalls Virgil (*epist.* 10. 5; *Aen.* 12. 64–69).[2]

The spurious *Cena Cypriani*, written about 400, was a favorite of the Middle Ages and has recently become known to a wider circle of readers through Umberto Eco's book *The Name of the Rose.*[3]

Editions: Io. Andreas, Romae 1471. * W. von Hartel, CSEL 3, 1–3, 1868–1871. * R. Weber, M. Bévenot, M. Simonetti, C. Moreschini, CC 3, 1, 1972; 3, 2, 1976; 3, 3, 1, 1994; 3, 3, 2 and 3, 3, 3 announced. * J. Baer (Tr), BKV 34, München 1918; 60, München 1928. ** *domin. orat.*: M. Réveillaud (TTrN), Paris 1964. * *ad Donat.; patient.*: J. Molager (TTrN), SC 291, Paris 1982. * *eleem.*: E. V. Rebenack, (TTrC), Washington 1962. * *epist.*: Chan. Bayard (TTrN), 2 vols., Paris 2nd ed. 1961–1962. * *epist. 1–66*: G. W. Clarke (TrN), 3 vols., New York 1984–1986. * *laps.* and *unit. eccl.*: M. Bévenot (TTr), Oxford 1971. * *mort.*: G. Stramondo, Studi sul *De mortalitate* di Cipriano (monograph, TTr, complete index), Catania 1964. * Ps.-Cypr. *Adv. Iud.*: D. Van Damme, Fribourg (Switzerland) 1969. ** *Concordance*: P. Bouet, P. Fleury, A. Goulon, M. Zuinghedau, Cyprien, Traités. Concordance. Documentation lexicale et grammaticale, Hildesheim 1986. ** *Bibl.*: Annually in REAug: R. Braun (and others), Chronica Tertullianea

[1] Texts collected e.g. on the first pages of the edition of Cyprian by I. Pamelius, Paris 1616.

[2] S. Poque, Des roses du printemps à la rose d'automne. La culture patristique d'Agrippa d'Aubigné, REAug 17, 1971, 155–169.

[3] C. Modesto, Studien zu *Cena Cypriani* und deren Rezeption, Tübingen 1992.

et Cyprianea, e.g. REAug 39, 1993, 441–464; cf. also the monographs, esp. J. W. JACOBS 1981.

J.-P. AUDET, L'hypothèse des *testimonia*, RBi 70, 1963, 381–405. * M. T. BALL, Nature and the Vocabulary of Nature in the Works of Saint Cyprian, Washington 1946. * E. W. BENSON, Cyprian. His Life, his Time, his Work, London 1897. * M. BÉVENOT, The Tradition of Manuscripts: A Study in the Transmission of St. Cyprian's Treatises, Oxford 1961. * M. BÉVENOT, The Preparation of a Critical Edition, Illustrated by the Manuscripts of St. Cyprian, StudPatr 10, 1970, 3–8. * V. BUCHHEIT, *Non agnitione sed gratia* (Cypr. *Don.* 2), Hermes 115, 1987, 318–334. * H. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Tübingen 1953. * G. W. CLARKE, The Secular Profession of St. Cyprian of Carthage, Latomus 24, 1965, 633–638. * M. A. FAHEY, Cyprian and the Bible. A Study in Third Century Exegesis, Tübingen 1971. * J. FONTAINE, Aspects et problèmes de la prose d'art latine au IIIe siècle, Torino 1968. * H. GÜLZOW, Cyprian und Novatian. Der Briefwechsel zwischen den Gemeinden in Rom und Karthago..., Tübingen 1975. * P. HINCHLIFF, Cyprian of Carthage and the Unity of the Christian Church, London 1974. * J. W. JACOBS, Saint Cyprian of Carthage as Minister, Ann Arbor 1981 (bibl.). * H. KIRCHNER, Der Ketzertaufstreit zwischen Karthago und Rom und seine Konsequenzen für die Frage nach den Grenzen der Kirche, ZKG 81, 1970, 290–307. * H. KOCH, Cyprianische Untersuchungen, Bonn 1926. * H. KOCH, Cathedra Petri, Gießen 1930. * G. LOMIENTO, Cipriano per la preparazione al martirio dei Tibaritani (*epist.* 58 Hartel), Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Bari 3, 1962. * H. MONTGOMERY, Saint Cyprian's Postponed Martyrdom. A Study of Motives, SO 63, 1988, 123–132. * C. MORESCHINI, Contributo allo studio della tradizione manoscritta degli *opuscula* di Cipriano, SCO 21, 1972, 244–253. * T. G. RING, *Auctoritas* bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Ambrosius, Würzburg 1975. * H. ROOZENBEEK, *Pluvia defit, causa Christiani sunt*, Lampas 22, 1, 1989, 36–48. * M. M. SAGE, Cyprian, Cambridge, Mass. 1975. * C. SAUMAGNE, Saint Cyprien, évêque de Carthage, 'Pape' d'Afrique, Paris 1975. * V. SAXER, Vie liturgique et quotidienne à Carthage vers le milieu du IIIe siècle. Le témoignage de saint Cyprien et de ses contemporains d'Afrique, Città del Vaticano 1969. * M. SIMONETTI, Note sulla tradizione manoscritta di alcuni trattati di Cipriano, StudMed 3. ser. 12, 1971, 865–897. * W. SIMONIS, *Ecclesia visibilis et invisibilis.* Untersuchungen zur Ekklesiologie und Sakramentenlehre in der afrikanischen Tradition von Cyprian bis Augustinus, Frankfurt 1970. * U. WICKERT, *Sacramentum Unitatis.* Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Kirche bei Cyprian, Berlin 1971. * U. WICKERT, Cyprian, in: M. GRESCHAT, ed., Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, 1, Stuttgart 1984, 158–175. * W. WISCHMEYER, Der Bischof im Prozeß. Cyprian als *episcopus, patronus, advocatus* und *martyr* vor dem Prokonsul, in: A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN (and others), eds., FS BARTELINK, Frankfurt 1989, 363–371.

Appendix: The *Life of Cyprian*, by Pontius

The *Life of Cyprian*, composed by Pontius a few months after the bishop's death, is perhaps the first Christian biography written in Latin and using a sophisticated literary form.

A vocabulary and imagery, typical of Christian texts—as prepared by the *Passio Perpetuae*—, is arranged and adorned according to the rules of rhetoric: in the introduction, the patterns of historical and oratorial prefaces are present, as are the clichés of panegyrics and manuals for rulers. There is even the justification of flight by divine order (best known from the *Aeneid: vit. Cypr.* 7. 14). Basically, hagiography is both history and praise; what had originally been praise of God began to degenerate, however, as early as in this document, into praise of a man—in full harmony with ineradicable Roman habits. The material is, quite traditionally, classified according to virtues.

The author justly emphasizes the close connection between Cyprian and his congregation: the Church supplants the Roman *res publica.* Pontius stresses Cyprian's imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*). As for great figures of the Old Testament, they are outdone by our saint. There is no information on his worldly activities, and even church-politics is almost suppressed. What counts is teaching, charity, and discipline. Like the *Gospel according to Mark*, his biography begins with baptism and culminates in the *passio.* In principle, the narrative follows history, but its sole concern is a man's way with God, the transfiguration of a person by the Spirit. From this point of view, however, real facts and individual features may obtain some independent value of their own, if reflected in the consciousness of the Church. Hence, Roman realism and national feeling find some continuation in a spiritualized form. This is a starting point for many biographies and autobiographies to come.

Of equal interest are the *Life of Ambrose* by Paulinus of Milan and the *Life of Augustine* by Possidius.[1] It would go beyond the limits of this book to discuss them fully. Roman adherence to *exempla* and structures of secular panegyrics are to be found there (s. pp. 464–476 *Biography at Rome*). For Rufinus s. pp. 1382–1383; 1662–1663; for Sulpicius Severus s. pp. 472–473; 1288–1289; 1383.

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[1] *Editions*: Paulinus: M. Pellegrino, Roma 1961; Possidius: M. Pellegrino, Roma 1955; Paulinus and Possidius are also found in some editions of Pontius quoted above (Bastiaensen etc. and Simonetti).

Editions: W. VON HARTEL, CSEL 3, 3, Vindobonae 1871, pp. xc–cxiv. * J. BAER (Tr), BKV 34, München 1918. * M. PELLEGRINO (TTrC), Alba 1955. * A A. R. BASTIAENSEN, L. CANALI, C. CARENA, C. MORESCHINI, Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita di Agostino (TTrC), Milano 1975. * M. SIMONETTI (same texts, only Tr), Roma 1977. ** *Index*: (incompl.) in the edition by W. VON HARTEL, CSEL 3, 3, Vindobonae 1871. ** *Bibl.*: in: CC 3, 1, Turnholti 1972, xliv–xlvi.

A. D'ALÈS, Le diacre Pontius, RecSR 8, 1918, 319–378. * J. ARONEN, Indebtedness to *Passio Perpetuae* in Pontius' *Vita Cypriani*, V Chr 38, 1984, 67–76. * BERSCHIN, Biographie 1, 58–65. * H. DESSAU, Pontius, der Biograph Cyprians, Hermes 51, 1916, 65–72. * A. VON HARNACK, Das Leben Cyprians von Pontius. Die erste christliche Biographie, Leipzig 1913. * G. LOMIENTO, La Bibbia nella *compositio* della *Vita Cypriani* di Ponzio, VetChr 5, 1968, 23–60. * M. PELLEGRINO, Reminiscenze agostiniane della *Vita et passio Cypriani*, in: Augustinus Magister, Congrès international augustinien, 1, Paris 1954, 205–210.

NOVATIAN

Life and Dates

In the mid-3rd century Novatian was a renowned presbyter of the Roman community and its first Latin author. The tragedy of his life was not due to weakness of faith but, on the contrary, to his taking faith too seriously. He was scandalized at the overwhelming clemency of Pope Sylvester (251) against people who had become guilty of apostasy during the Decian persecution. At Rome an initially strong group tending to rigorism elected him bishop. After that, a Roman synod of sixty bishops excommunicated him. He is said to have died a martyr's death, probably under Valerian. There remained communities of the 'pure' (καθαροί, which is the etymological root of the German word for 'heretic', *Ketzer*) who followed Novatian's authority in East and West as late as the 6th century. Novatian's and Tertullian's fate is typical of the development towards a church for the masses which could no longer afford any archaic intransigence and in case of doubt rather sacrificed inspired individuals than its impact on the masses.

Survey of Works

His principal work, the *De trinitate*, may have been written about 240; its authenticity, which had been disputed, is now recognized.[1] The subjects are: the Father (ch. 1–8), the Son (9–28), the Holy Spirit (29), and the Unity of God (30–31).

Besides, there are letters to Cyprian and a treatise *De cibis Iudaicis*; moreover, some works of the Corpus Cyprianeum are ascribed to Novatian (esp. *De spectaculis* and *De bono pudicitiae*).

Sources, Models, and Genres

His numerous Latin quotations from the Bible diverge from the translations elsewhere known to us from that epoch. A source for Novatian's theology is Hippolytus, whose rigorism is congenial to our author. Irenaeus, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, and Origen are other writers consulted. There is, however, no Neoplatonic influence. Although Novatian is not a Stoic, there are traces of Stoic philosophy.[2] He feels attracted to syllogisms and considers the world an organic whole, a view which he confirms by quoting Virgil (8. 44 etc.; *Aen.* 6. 726–730). A detail from Seneca (*epist.* 122. 6) comes in the warning against drinking in the morning (*De cibis Iudaicis* 6). The presence of juridical terms and ideas does not prove that Novatian was a jurist.

Literary Technique

The train of thought is consistent: one after another, different errors are rejected. A striking exception is the brevity of the chapter on the Spirit as well as its hymnic form (29. 163–172); this chapter interrupts the chain of thought which is otherwise so stringent. If we exclude the idea of a later addition, we can explain the chapter rhetorically as an excursus (actually called for at this penultimate place in a discourse), which allows the reader to relax. Its emotional style is especially appropriate to the essence of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the hymnic character of the passage echos the beginning, which might be called a quasi-poetic cosmology or a hymn of creation in the vein of the psalms.[3] The majestic vision also includes the heavenly hosts

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[1] Discussion in: H. Weyer, edition 1962, 11–14 (bibl.).
[2] H. Weyer, edition 1962, introd. 10, n. 28 (bibl.).
[3] Cf. also Septuag. and Vulg. *Daniel* 3. 51–90.

in hierarchic order, so that our world—after an impressive rhetorical climax—turns out to be the smallest part of creation (1. 8).

Language and Style

It is clear from Novatian's mastery of language that Latin was his mother tongue. The term *trinitas* is nowhere to be found in the text, although it had appeared earlier in Tertullian. More than the latter, Novatian strives for purity of language. His style, dignified throughout and often sublime, is elegant and refined but not affected.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Novatian's reserved attitude shows in the absence of an introduction. Nevertheless the first words of his book reveal his literary intentions. He speaks of *regula veritatis*, not *regula fidei*, thus showing that he wants to present himself as defender of *true faith* against heretics; the text confirms this design.

Ideas II

There is only one God; he is the creator (against many Gnostics). Christ is the son of this creator (against Marcion), he is a real man (against docetism) and real God (against adoptionism). He is a second person along with the Father (against Sabellianism), however there are not two gods but one God. Novatian's theology is pre-Nicene: occasionally he seems to subordinate the Son to the Father, he still ignores Arianism and does not use Neoplatonic ideas.

His appeal to the conscience of the lonely individual in front of God has a modern ring. He holds that a man who lives strictly according to the Gospel is content to be judged by God alone (*epist.* 30. 1).

Transmission

The *De Tritnitate* has come down to us among Tertullian's writings; his name guaranteed the preservation of the book. Instead of the manuscripts—all of which are missing—we have to rely on early printed editions (s. below).

Influence

Even Cyprian conceded that Novatian had *facundia* and *eloquentia* (*epist.* 55. 24; 60. 3); Jerome recognized the elegance of his Latin and compared him to Tertullian (*epist.* 10. 3; 36. 1; cf. Ambrosiaster on *1 Cor.* 13. 2). The *De Trinitate* would be used by Gregory of Elvira (*Tractatus de libris SS. Scripturarum*).

Editions: M. Mesnart in his ed. of Tertullian, Lutetiae 1545 (ed. princ.). * S. Ghelen, Basileae 1550. * J. de Pamèle, Antverpiae 1575. * PL 3, Paris 1844. * R. J. De Simone (Tr), Washington 1974. * *cib. Iud.*: G. Landgraf, C. Weyman, ALL 11, 1900, 221–249. * *epist.*: W. von Hartel, CSEL 3, 2, Vindobonae 1871. * *spect., bon. pud.*: W. von Hartel, CSEL 3, 3, Vindobonae 1871. * *trin.*: W. Y. Fausset (TN), Cambridge 1909. * H. Weyer (TTrC), Darmstadt 1962. * G. F. Diercks, Turnholti 1972 (= CC 4). ** *Indices*: in: G. F. Diercks, ibid. (incompl.). ** *Bibl.*: G. F. Diercks, ibid.

A. D'Alès, Novatien, Paris 1924. * J. Barbel, Christos Angelos, Bonn 1941. * H. Koch, La lingua e lo stile di Novaziano, Religio 13, 1937, 278–294. * M. Kriebel, Studien zur älteren Entwicklung der abendländischen Trinitätslehre bei Tertullian und Novatian, diss. Marburg 1932. * B. Melin, Studia in Corpus Cyprianeum, Uppsala 1946. * H. Weyer, Introd. to his edition, Darmstadt 1962, 5–32 (bibl.).

ARNOBIUS

Life and Dates

Arnobius was a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca in *Africa proconsularis* (Hier. *vir. ill.* 79) under Diocletian (284–305); Lactantius was one of his students but left Africa before the *Adversus nationes* was written. It was said that Arnobius, who had been an enemy of Christianity, was converted by a dream[1] and wrote his seven books *Adversus nationes* in order to dispel his bishop's doubts (Hier. *chron.* a. Abr. 2340).[2] The *floruit* given in Jerome's *Chronicle* is too late (327) and contradicts Jerome's own information in *De viris illustribus*. The error probably

[1] On dreams sent by God: Tert. *anim* 47. 2 with J. H. Waszink's commentary on 47. 3; Orig. *Cels.* 1. 46.

[2] The relevant passage in Jerome is probably an afterthought: A. Wlosok, HLL 5, 366.

originates from a confusion of Diocletian's (304) and Constantine's *Vicennalia* (325/6).

The 1st book was written around 300 (1. 13. 2), book 2 certainly in 297 or not much earlier (2. 71); both books are tightly linked. The 4th book mentions acts of destruction against books and churches (4. 36); consequently it was written after the first edict of persecution of 303.[1]

There is no hint of an end to the persecutions. Galerius' edict of peace (311) is probably a *terminus ante quem* for the entire work. Since the 7th book is evidently unrevised, Arnobius may have died before putting the finishing touches to it. It appears from the structure that the work was not published in one piece. Our author is not identical with Arnobius the Younger (5th century) who composed a *Commentary* on the *Psalms*.

Survey of the Work

The first two books are a defence of Christianity, though each can stand alone as a coherent unit. Within the framework of the whole, the important 2nd book is a double *excursus* on the act of faith and on the soul. The pentad of books 3–7 marks a new stage of the work. It combats paganism: first, anthropomorphism, including myth (3–4), then mysteries and cults (5–7).

1: Is it only after the rise of 'ungodly' Christianity that the gods are angry and punish the world by abandoning mankind? No: evil had existed before, and the Christian era has its great benefits; what is called an evil is often none. Wrath is incompatible with divine essence. The Christians serve the supreme God and—unlike the pagans—do not provoke his anger. Is it not scandalous to adore a crucified man? No: pagans worship deified humans, whereas Christ is God, as is proved by his miracles and the diffusion of his doctrine.

2: Christ revealed the true religion. Though promises are not strictly demonstrable, it is better to choose hope instead of hopelessness. All practical activities and even philosophical reflection presuppose some kind of faith. Some teachings of philosophers, especially Plato, are akin to Christianity. However, certain 'innovators' who usurp Plato's doctrines are in the wrong. The human soul is by nature neither wise nor immortal. Its origin is unknown to us. In any case the soul was not created by the supreme

[1] Bibl. in H. Le Bonniec, edition 31.

God, but rather by some subordinate demiurge. Since it is essentially 'intermediate', it can perish if it does not know God or survive if it turns to God's grace. The root of evil is equally unknown, and persecution frees the Christian from the fetters of his body.

3: Christians do not participate in pagan cult; the supreme God whom they worship would include all others—if those were gods. Yet the pagans do not know their own gods, since they ascribe to them human qualities in conflict with the essence of divinity.

4: The personifications of abstract notions are absurd, as are the innumerable gods representing special functions, the manifold avatars of one and the same deity, and the scandalous myths which cannot be excused as poetic inventions.

5: The belief in myths is confirmed by the infamous rites of the mysteries. Allegorical interpretation is sophistry.

6: Gods cannot be locked up in temples or statues.

7: (Unfinished): Sacrifices[1] and plays are meaningless. The Christian idea of God is superior to the pagan one.

Sources, Models, and Genres

At first glance Arnobius gives the impression of being learned. Unfortunately, most of his references to sources are vague. Names, if quoted, have often been picked up from handbooks (e.g. 2. 9) or intermediary sources. References to Greek authors are especially frequent in passages containing criticisms of myths. Plato is referred to frequently in the 2nd book;[2] obviously, Arnobius took the Platonic passages mostly from his adversaries.[3] It is difficult to decide if these *viri novi* were Hermetics, Neo-Pythagoreans, Neoplatonists or Gnostics.[4]

Arnobius almost never quotes the Bible,[5] and in general has a rather vague idea of Christianity. But it must be kept in mind that he was living in pre-Nicene times.

Of Greek Christian authors, an adherent of Marcion should be mentioned as a source for book 2, and Clement's *Protrepticus* for book 3. Clement provided our author with entire chains of impressive

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[1] Varro had already objected to sacrifices (Arnob. *nat.* 7. 1).

[2] The allusions 1. 5; 1. 8 and 4. 16 refer to the *Timaeus*; only the last passage is not entirely trivial.

[3] Or a handbook used equally by Tertullian (*anim.*).

[4] Cornelius Labeo (who is sometimes thought to have served as an intermediary source) is scarcely more than a name for us.

[5] Allusions 1. 6. 2; 2. 6.

names of Greek authors.[1] Arnobius' relationship to Origen's *Contra Celsum* still needs clarification.

Among the Romans, Cicero, as a precursor of Christianity, takes pride of place (3. 6–7); his *De natura deorum* serves as an arsenal of arguments against polytheism, especially in books 3 and 4. Arnobius' knowledge of Roman religion originates in Varro—not always through an intermediate source[2] (the notorious Cornelius Labeo?).

Arnobius is familiar with Lucretius and even subject to his philosophical influence. He repeatedly alludes to Virgil, though without naming him. Among the choice authors, whose names he parades, are Lucilius, Pomponius (of whose *Marsyas* Arnobius is our only witness), Ennius, Calpurnius Piso, Cincius Alimentus, Valerius Antias, Aelius Stilo, Trebatius Testa, and others.

The parallels with Minucius Felix, Cyprian, and especially Tertullian ought to be studied anew; the *De anima* is not used.

Literary Technique

To Arnobius, a born advocate, attack is the best defence. Thus he throws the accusation of atheism back on the pagans. If they were really concerned with the preservation of religion, they ought not to demolish Christian churches but their own immoral theaters and sacrilegious books (4. 36).[3] He protests, however, against radical defenders of paganism who were said to be willing to destroy Cicero's works (especially the *De natura deorum*), since theses books witnessed to the truth of Christianity (3. 6–7); this passage anticipates some essential ideas of Augustine's *Confessiones* (3. 4. 7). Generally speaking, our author unmasks the contradictions inherent in paganism (3. 29–44); his own attitude to pagan gods, however, is inconsistent and varies according to the needs of his argumentation.[4]

It is part of Arnobius' rhetorical technique to overwhelm his readers with the very bulk of his erudition. He knows the unnerving power of detailed enumerations (4. 6–12). Sometimes he heaps up strange

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[1] E.g. 4. 25; Clem. *protr.* 2. 36–37; H. Le Bonniec, edition 38–39.

[2] B. Cardauns, Varro und die römische Religion, ANRW 2, 16, 1, 1978, 92; J. H. Waszink, Varrone nella letteratura cristiana dei primi secoli, in: Atti del Congresso internazionale di Studi varroniani, Rieti 1974, publ. Rieti 1976, 1, 219–220.

[3] 'Whoever—even whisperingly—slanders your potentates is guilty of the crime of majesty; your gods, however, are despised and venal among you' (ibid.).

[4] H. Le Bonniec, edition 1, 73–74.

technical terms of pagan religion (7. 24), or confronts his readers with grotesque pictures (as if he were an ancient Rabelais): we sacrifice our own victuals to the gods; assuming that the animals worshipped us as gods, the donkeys would offer us hay, the dogs bones, and the swallows flies (7. 17). Arnobius was cut out to be a satirical author. He might be called a Callot or Hogarth engraving in words. He reduces the idea of divine wrath to absurdity by conscientiously listing all the bodily symptoms of anger (1. 17–18).

In his criticism of myth, he is more radical than Lactantius, who was endowed with a better sense of poetry; to make up for this, the mordant irony of Arnobius is much more amusing. Should the animals erect statues of us in their own image, how would we respond to a donkey-shaped Romulus, to a Numa with a dog's snout, to a Porcius Cato in the image of a pig? (3. 16). Arnobius belies pagan anthropomorphism by systematically elaborating its ultimate consequences. With similar consistency he convicts Jupiter by presenting with much gusto catalogues of his all too human escapades.[1]

The author's talent for drama makes his work almost a dialogue; questions and answers alternate in quick succession, as in a cross-examination. He presents us with a Numa bargaining with Jupiter (5. 1), and five different Minervas all rivalling one another (4. 16). Sanctimoniously Arnobius pities his fictitious adressee for having to listen to some spicy stories from the treasury of myths (5. 20 and 28): the best way to highlight them.

On the other hand, Arnobius' temperament induces him to use hymnic language; his invocation of the Creator has an almost lyrical ring (1. 31). His praise of Christ (1. 38) rivals the Lucretian praise of Epicurus.

Language and Style

Arnobius' language is sometimes unclassical, for example in his use of cases, tenses, modes, prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, and comparatives. Some editors have gone too far in normalizing such anomalies. Nevertheless, his Latin is not 'vulgar'. On the contrary, it is our author's intention to show that even among Christians there are educated writers. Even a deminutive like *commodulum* is used to enhance the grandiosity of its context (1. 9. 4). Certainly no one should talk

[1] 4. 22–23; 34; 5. 20–23.

any more of 'African Latin'. His vocabulary is unusually rich: there are archaisms, poetic words, many abstract nouns and, above all, entire lists of objects belonging to various areas, especially religion. Arnobius has a preference for precise technical terms. A flood of examples helps to give his ideas a vivid expression. Fullness,[1] one of his most important principles, gives his style a certain verve. At the same time, he respects the metrical clausulae to the point of making prose rhythm a valid criterion of textual criticism.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Arnobius does not overrate literary qualities. He justly censures readers who, while admiring Cicero's style, overlook his wisdom (3. 7; cf. Aug. *conf.* 3. 4. 7). He defends evangelical simplicity while using himself a most eloquent style and harmonious rhythms: theory and practice oppose one another, as in many other ecclesiastical writers. However, there are very good reasons for this: Arnobius wishes to eradicate the prejudice of his readers (explicitly in 1. 58–59), who think that Christians are uneducated and have no knowledge of grammar. An excursus on the irrelevance of grammatical gender deserves re-reading today; it continues a discussion which had begun with the sophists.[2]

Ideas II

Philosophers supply our author with many arguments against polytheism. He even recognizes that some of their teachings pave the way for Christianity. His idea of a 'good' supreme God is reminiscent of Stoicism; but there are more features contrary to Stoicism: his scepticism, his energetic plea for free will (2. 65), and his fierce struggle against popular religion and allegorical interpretation (5. 32–45). While genuinely respecting Plato, he does not shrink from using Plato's arguments against their author (2. 36), and even competes with him by creating a 'Cave Allegory' of his own intended as a refutation of *anamnesis* (2. 20–23). Unlike other Christian authors, who

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[1] E.g. 7. 13 *neque ut abigant averruncentque . . . adseri et causis caerimonialibus adplicari.*
[2] G. E. McCracken, Arnobius adversus genera (!), CJ 42, 1947, 474–476; Varro had treated this problem in the 11th book of his *De lingua Latina*, of which we have only fragments.

rely on the 'holy alliance' of Stoicism and dogmatic Platonism, our author, being a non-conformist, borrows his equipment from his enemies: Epicureans and Sceptics.

The first (totally unbiblical) dogma of Epicureanism, saying that divine essence is free of emotions (Lucr. 2. 646–651), is not some incidental statement for Arnobius but a leading theme, as it had been in Epicurus and Lucretius. Other topics are: the mortal nature of the soul (2. 30 with explicit reference to Epicurus and in contrast to Plato and many Church Fathers);[1] the wretchedness of man, who is but a natural creature among others (contradicting Stoics and the book of *Genesis*); the non-existence of the torments of hell and of punishment in the other world (against Plato and the Bible); the irrelevance of religious rites (going far beyond Stoic and ecclesiastical authors); the struggle against popular religion (differing from Stoics and Platonists); purity of character and mind as a requirement (in accord with Stoics and the New Testament but put in Epicurean terms); a stress laid on free will (against the Stoics and St. Paul); the praise of the Savior as a teacher of natural philosophy (totally Epicurean: 1. 38; Lucr. 5. 1–54):[2] all in all, overwhelming documentation. In his day when dogmatic philosophical schools helped to sustain paganism, Epicureanism may have been an obvious choice as a means of intellectual liberation, since that school attacked popular religion more seriously than any other. Had Arnobius been an Epicurean in his youth? He had familiarized his student Lactantius with Lucretius. He admits to having been an idolater before his conversion (1. 39), which would be especially understandable in an Epicurean who wanted to be at peace with the City. The objection that Arnobius, given his passionate nature, could never have been an Epicurean is foolish: how about the no less colorful temperaments of Lucretius and Philodemus? Such a 'method' would even allow proof that no Church Father could have been a Christian, since they all lacked meekness and charity. The reason why Arnobius cannot have been an Epicurean,—at least at the time immediately preceding his conversion, is to be sought in a different area: epistemology.

It is Arnobius' profound scepticism that separates him from Epicureanism, which adhered unflinchingly to the reliabilty of sense-

[1] Like Justin and Theophilus of Antioch, Arnobius holds that the soul can become immortal only through God's grace (2. 32; 61–62).

[2] The order is that of the φυσικαὶ δόξαι of the Hellenistic period.

perception and the possibility of knowledge. Our author's view of man is pessimistic. Far from idealizing this life, he expresses his reservation concerning the Roman government, as befits a skeptical Christian and an African patriot.[1] His option for hope in a hopeless situation seems to anticipate the experiences of Pascal and some Christian existentialists. Hence, Arnobius is liable to attract critical readers. Basically, in his view, Christianity is philosophy, not religion.

Is it possible to define his creed more precisely? The idea that the supreme God is incapable of anger is reminiscent of Marcion's teachings. The same is true of a certain enmity for the human body redolent of dualism (2. 77), a tendency towards docetism concerning Christ's incarnation (1. 61 *homine simulato*), as well as the idea that the soul was not created by the supreme God but perhaps by some subordinate demiurge (2. 36). Behind our author's refusal to speak of the origin of evil there may be lurking again some kind of dualism, such as Marcion's hypothesis of an 'evil demiurge'. Some of these features may, however, be due to African Platonism.[2]

Transmission

The transmission is the same as for Minucius Felix, s. above p. 1565.

Influence

Lactantius, who is considered a pupil of Arnobius',[3] never quotes his teacher. He must have left Africa before Arnobius' conversion; it follows that both writers worked at about the same time, independently of each other.

Jerome attests that Arnobius' work enjoyed a considerable diffusion in the 4th century (*vir. ill.* 79). Firmicus Maternus and Augustine (*civ.*) show parallels with Arnobius without mentioning him expressly. The question of dependence is still an open one. The *De execrandis gentium diis*, wrongly ascribed to Tertullian, is very probably imitating

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[1] Arnob. *nat.* 1. 5. 6; 2. 1; 7. 51; cf. however 1. 14. 1.; for a criticism of the current idea of Arnobius' scepticism: A. Wlosok 1989, 144; yet Wlosok herself knows best that scepticism and Christianity are by no means mutually exclusive in many epochs.

[2] Cf. A. Wlosok, Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis, AHAW 1960, 2, 225.

[3] Hier. *vir. ill.* 80; *epist.* 70. 5.

Arnobius.[1] Perhaps Arnobius even contributed to a 'Christianized' revival of the traditional genre of *quaestiones*.[2] Given the rather heterodox views of our author, it is no wonder that his work was put into the Index as apocryphal.[3]

More recently[4] Arnobius has been exploited as a precious source of information on pagan religions. After the Reformation he served as a storehouse of arguments against Catholic rites. In 1576, the antiquarian Justus Lipsius (d. 1606), the re-discoverer of Stoicism and a precursor of modern thought, called Arnobius the *Varro Christianus*.[5] The coexistence of pessimism and what might be called the 'wager of faith' would find a parallel in Pascal (d. 1662).[6] In the age of the Enlightenment—from Bayle (d. 1706) and Lamettrie (d. 1751) onward—readers began to feel attracted to Arnobius 'skepticism' and 'materialism'.

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[1] E. BICKEL, Ps.-Tertullian *De execrandis gentium diis*, RhM 76, 1927, 394–417.

[2] Cf. *nat.* 2. 64 and 65; *quaestiones* appear among the works of Eusebius and in the so-called Ambrosiaster; E. RAPISARDA 1946, 29–30.

[3] Ps.-Gelasius, PL 59, 163; *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, ed. by E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, Leipzig 1912.

[4] The note in J. TRITHEMIUS, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basileae 1494, 53 is worthless.

[5] After his conversion Lipsius was advised by Jesuits to write seven books (following Arnobius) against the protestants: J. L. SAUNDERS, Justus Lipsius. The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism, New York 1955, 45.

[6] Bibl. in H. LE BONNIEC, edition 68, n. 1.

* O. Gigon, Arnobio. Cristianesimo e mondo romano. Mondo classico e cristianesimo, Bibl. internaz. di cultura (Roma) 7, 1982, 87–100. * H. Hagendahl, La prose métrique d'Arnobe. Contributions à la connaissance de la prose littéraire de l'Empire, Göteborg 1937. * H. Hagendahl, En Ovidius-reminiscens hos Arnobius, Eranos 35, 1937, 36–40. * K. J. Hidén, De casuum syntaxi Arnobii, in: De Arnobii *Adversus nationes* libris VII commentationes, 3, Helsingfors 1921. * E. Klussmann, Arnobius und Lucrez, oder ein Durchgang durch den Epikureismus zum Christenthum, Philologus 26, 1867, 362–366. * P. Krafft, Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte des älteren Arnobius, Wiesbaden 1966. * R. Laurenti, Il platonismo di Arnobio, StudFilos 4, 1981, 3–54. * R. Laurenti, Spunti di teologia arnobiana, Orpheus n.s. 6, 1985, 270–303. * H. Le Bonniec, Tradition de la culture classique. Arnobe témoin et juge des cultes païens, BAGB 4, 2, 1974, 201–222. * H. Le Bonniec, Echos ovidiens dans l'*Adversus nationes* d'Arnobe, in: R. Chevallier, ed., Colloque présence d'Ovide, Paris 1982, 139–151, repr. in: H. Le Bonniec, Etudes ovidiennes, Frankfurt 1989, 145–157. * E. Löfstedt, Arnobiana, Lund 1916. * M. Mazza, Studi arnobiani 1: La dottrina dei *viri novi* nel secondo libro dell'*Adversus Nationes* di Arnobio, Helikon 3, 1963, 111–169. * E. F. Micka, The Problem of Divine Anger in Arnobius and Lactantius, Washington 1943. * F. Mora, Arnobio e i culti di mistero. Analisi storico-religiosa del V libro dell'*Adversus nationes*, Roma 1994. * I. Opelt, Schimpfwörter bei Arnobius dem Älteren, WS 88, n.s. 9, 1975, 161–173. * I. Opelt, Ciceros Schrift *De natura deorum* bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern, A&A 12, 1966, 141–155. * E. Rapisarda, Clemente fonte di Arnobio, Torino 1939. * E. Rapisarda, Arnobio, Catania 1946. * F. Scheidweiler, Arnobius und der Marcionitismus, ZNTW 45, 1954, 42–67. * D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Arnobiana, RFIC 116, 1988, 198–202. * F. G. Sirna, Arnobio e l'eresia Marcionita di Patrizio, V Chr 18, 1964, 37–50. * L. J. Swift, Arnobius and Lactantius. Two Views of the Pagan Poets, TAPhA 96, 1965, 439–448. * E. Tullius, Die Quellen des Arnobius im 4., 5., und 6. Buch seiner Schrift *Adversus nationes*, diss. Berlin 1934. * A.-M. Tupet, Une anecdote éleusinienne chez Ovide et chez Arnobe, in: R. Chevallier, ed., Colloque présence d'Ovide, Paris 1982, 153–163. * A. Viciano, Retórica, filosofía y gramática en el *Adversus nationes* de Arnobio de Sica, Frankfurt 1993. * A. Wlosok, Zur lateinischen Apologetik der constantinischen Zeit (Arnobius, Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus), Gymnasium 96, 1989, 133–148.

LACTANTIUS

Life and Dates

Lucius Caelius[1] Firmianus (qui et) Lactantius[2] was originally active in Africa, which probably was his homeland. Jerome (*vir. ill.* 80; cf. *epist.* 70. 5. 2) calls him a student of Arnobius, whose work, however, has almost nothing in common with the *Institutiones*, except for the number of books.[3] Diocletian called him into his new capital Nicomedia as a teacher of Latin rhetoric; Constantine was probably one of his few students. Only as a middle-aged man did he become a Christian. After the beginning of the persecution under Diocletian in February 303 he retired from service. It was then that he worked on his *Divinae institutiones*. Towards the end of his life Emperor Constantine called him to Gaul as a tutor of his son Crispus. Among the ceiling frescos of a state hall discovered at Treves (Trier) there is probably a picture of Lactantius as a 'philosopher'

None of his secular works has come down to us, though we know there was a *Symposion*, a poetic *Itinerarium* of his travel from Africa to Nicomedia, and a *Grammaticus*. The wide range of this list shows that Lactantius defies the customary separation between 'pagan' and 'Christian' literature. Moreover, there were letters *To Probus* (in four volumes), two books *To Severus* and other two books *To Demetrianus* treating various subjects (meter, geography, philosophy). We know only that they were written when Lactantius had already become a Christian and that they were rather dull.[4]

Of the writings which are preserved, the *De opificio Dei* is without doubt older than the *Institutiones* (*inst.* 2. 10. 15). The *De ira Dei* is announced in *inst.* 2. 17. 5. The *Epitome*, too, was certainly written after the *Institutiones*, perhaps even later than the *De ira Dei* and the *De mortibus*.

It is more difficult to establish absolute dates, because of the question of different 'redactions'. Roughly speaking, the *Institutiones* were written between 304 and 311 during the persecution. This is sup-

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[1] Not: Caecilius; authoritative for his biography: A. Wlosok 1989.

[2] Probably a nickname.

[3] Both Arnobius and Lactantius have dualistic tendencies, though not strictly comparable.

[4] Damasus *apud* Hier. *epist.* 35. 2.

ported by the fact that Lactantius rebukes the attacks launched against him by two philosophers, a defence which would have been pointless after the victory of Christianity. If this dating is correct, the dedications to Constantine (preserved in some of the manuscripts) and an allusion to Licinius must be later additions in a second edition. In a third edition, which appeared even later, perhaps under Constantius, the praise of Constantine was erased, as were some passages redolent of dualism which tried to solve the problem of evil almost in the manner of the Manicheans.

The treatise *De mortibus persecutorum*, today almost unanimously[1] ascribed to Lactantius, was written after the so-called edict of Milan in 313 and before the beginning of the open conflict between Licinius and Constantine 314.[2] The author, who had personally experienced the persecutions in Nicomedia, is called—(almost) like Lactantius—Lucius Caecilius; the dedicatee is the same Donatus as in the *De ira Dei*. There are passages, the content of which recalls the undisputed writings of Lactantius. In addition, we have a poem called *De ave Phoenice*, the first attempt of a Christian to write a Latin poem in the classical tradition.

Survey of Works

De opificio Dei: The author is concerned that his former student Demetrianus, for all his wealth, might neglect the treasures of the spirit (1); therefore he wants to teach him that man is a creation of God, both in body and in soul. We were given reason so that we could protect ourselves. Hence we are not underprivileged compared to animals who have natural weapons to defend themselves. We are no more endangered by illness and early death than animals are (2–4). Lactantius shows how divine providence operates in the body (5–13) as well as in the soul of man (14–19). The final chapter (20) announces a larger work, the *Institutiones*.

Divinae Institutiones: book 1, *De falsa religione*: monotheism is supported by logical and historical arguments. Sibyls and prophets, poets and philosophers bear witness to it. The pagan gods are nothing other than dead men, as Ennius said in the *Euhemerus*.

Book 2, *De origine erroris*: the distinguishing marks of man are his upright stature and his glance directed towards the sky. Why worship statues and

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[1] Doubts concerning authenticity: S. Rossi 1961 and D. De Decker 1970.

[2] Cf. I. Opelt 1973; according to J. L. Creed, edition 1984, this work dates from 314–315.

stars? Miracles and oracles are the work of demons, the sons of angels and mortal women. To put it briefly: the pagans adore dead men, worship dead images and submit themselves to unclean spirits.

Book 3, *De falsa sapientia*: philosophy is meaningless; only God has perfect knowledge; man's capacity for knowledge places him between God and animal. Philosophers never agree among themselves. What is the supreme good? It is immaterial and can only be obtained by human beings, not animals, through knowledge and virtue: it is immortality. The foolishness of the wise of this world shows also from certain details of their teachings.

Book 4, *De vera sapientia et religione*: religion and truth cannot be separated from one another; salvation is knowledge of God. Prophets and Sibyls foretold Christ and redemption. The reservations of pagans against the doctrines of incarnation and crucifixion and the heretics' attacks upon God's uniqueness are unsuccessful.

Book 5, *De iustitia*: the educated despise Christian texts for their literary shortcomings. Attacks by contemporary authors have to be answered in perfect literary shape. The Golden Age celebrated by the poets had been the epoch of primeval monotheism. Polytheism began with Jupiter who usurped for himself the place of the unique God. Christ re-established monotheism. The firmness of Christians in persecution testifies to the truth of their doctrine. Philosophers do not know the essence of justice. True knowledge of God makes us understand that all human beings are equal; these are the foundations of justice. By deeming justice the greatest folly, Carneades[1] anticipates the pagans' verdict on Christians; in heaven, there will be a just compensation.

Book 6, *De vero cultu*: true worship of God is purity of mind.[2] We must make a choice between the narrow path and the broad road.[3] There are close classical parallels to these ideas; however, the first demand of Christian virtue (cf. *Matth.* 22. 37–40) is to know God and worship only him. The next step is the relationship to men: *humanitas*, which combines *iustitia* and *misericordia*. Its works are: redeeming prisoners, attending orphans, widows and the sick, burying the poor and foreigners. Although emotions are not bad by nature, theatrical plays are to be rejected for their voluptuousness.

Book 7, *De vita beata*: God created the world for man's sake, and man for the sake of the worship of God. His reward is life everlasting. Only man knows of God and virtue. World history takes six 'days'–6000 years; on the

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[1] Cic. *rep.* 3. 21 (transmitted by Lactantius).

[2] Lucr. 5. 1198–1203; Sen. *frg.* 123 HAASE, *apud* Lact. *inst.* 6. 25. 3; cf. also Lact. *ira* 24. 8.

[3] W. RORDORF, Un chapitre d'éthique judéo-chrétienne. Les deux voies, RecSR 60, 1972, 109–128; A. HARNACK, Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege, Leipzig 1886, 2nd ed. 1896; from the pagan world, Prodicus and the Pythagoreans may be mentioned.

Seventh Day (to come after about two hundred years) the Millennium will begin; it will end with the Last Judgment. An eternal reward is kept for the just, eternal pain for the condemned.

The *Epitome* of the *Institutiones* was written at the request of someone called Pentadius. It is a considerably abridged version, but there are small corrections of detail, Greek quotations are Latinized, and occasionally it has been smoothed out to agree with our author's later writings. The idea of Rome's fall (*inst.* 7. 15. 11–19) has been omitted, perhaps in view of Constantine's success. There are even new quotations from Plato, especially from the *Timaeus*, more references to Hermes Trismegistus and a fresh supply of dicta from Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid.

De ira Dei: the Epicureans ascribe to divinity neither wrath nor grace, the Stoics goodness but no anger. The former theory practically amounts to atheism, while the latter is intrinsically illogical and, what is worse, eliminates the fear of God. Christian knowledge of God is based on the rejection of idolatry, the belief in *one* God and his revelation in Jesus Christ. Man is made for religion. His good works earn him God's grace; his misdeeds, God's wrath. Anger is defined as an impulse to ward off sin. Hence we are allowed to be angry, but forbidden to persevere in anger. The Sibyls also attest divine wrath. We should live in such a way as not to deserve it.

De mortibus persecutorum: the dismal deaths of persecutors of Christianity are presented to warn the actual Emperor Licinius and perhaps to edify fellow Christians.

Sources, Models, and Genres

For the *De opificio*, the question of sources is difficult. It is certain that the author used Cicero (wanting to write a complement to the 4th book of the *De re publica*), Varro (e.g. for etymologies), and medical and Hermetic literature.

The literary genre of the *Divinae institutiones* is complex, a fusion of an apologetic writing and a didactic textbook. This first complete, if imperfect, introduction to Christian religion adheres to the form of 'systematical textbooks' known to us from jurisprudence and rhetoric. As Cicero is his main linguistic model, Lactantius deserves the honorific title of *Cicero Christianus*. His immediate addressees are two unnamed adversaries: a philosopher who defends paganism and a judge who persecutes Christians, traces contradictions within the Bible and plays off the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana against Christ. To refute him, Lactantius must use philosophical argument and (unlike Cyprian) avoid Bible quotations. When he does use them, however, (e.g. in book 4) he draws upon Cyprian's *Testimonia*.

In all probability he consulted anthologies to find the numerous citations from Latin authors; unlike Minucius Felix, he does not shrink even from Greek quotations, especially from the Sibylline oracles.[1] He had been living in a Greek environment for a long time. Plato's thought is much more prominent in Lactantius than it had been in Tertullian. Our author viewed it, however, through the eyes of Clement of Alexandria and of the African Platonists. The latter were influenced by Hermetic ideas, as can be seen from the *Asclepius* ascribed to Apuleius. Moreover, he knows Theophilus' *Ad Autolycum*. The references to Posidonius (*ira* 4. 7 and 17. 13) are second hand (with Cicero and Seneca as intermediaries). Lactantius is familiar with pagan Latin authors, and we are indebted to him for precious fragments from Ennius' *Euhemerus* and Cicero's *De re publica*. His favorite poetic authority is Virgil (quoted 83 times); Lucretius and Ovid compete for the second place. Even the latter (whose *Phaenomena*[2] he actually read) is called as a witness for Christianity against paganism. In the *Phoenix* the same three poets take pride of place. Among Christian authors, Minucius Felix is privileged, doubtless for reasons of style. Tertullian cannot be avoided, but his difficult style is subject to criticism. Lactantius does read Cyprian, but with a smile, since that author is able to convince only those who are already convinced.

The *De mortibus persecutorum* is a speech, for which Tertullian's *Ad Scapulam* was a precursor. The genre and the subject matter favor a rather passionate style. Stories of θεομάχοι both pagan and Christian are part of its background. The basic tendency is reminiscent of the books of *Maccabeans*. In large sections of the work there is no need to search for written sources since our author is speaking of contemporary events.

Literary technique

Lactantius introduces into Christian Latin literature the literary technique of *institutio*, which had been developed for juridical and rhetorical teaching. The *Institutiones* are meant to show that Christianity is a necessity even from a pagan standpoint. This aim determines

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[1] In the *Epitome* he would Latinize the Greek quotations, probably in view of a different public.

[2] H. Le Bonniec 1986 (1989).

the choice of literary methods. A typical feature is his principle of treating each problem separately. He dedicates each book of the *Institutiones* to a single subject, which he discusses thoroughly, so that at the end of a book no doubt seems to remain. This analysis of isolated problems is prone to inconsistencies: our author fights Stoic doctrines with Epicurean arguments and vice versa. There is no ultimate coherence.

The introductions to the books are important; a chapter on literature will be discussed below (s. Ideas).

Lactantius often illustrates Christian ethics by Roman images: the Christian confessor triumphs over Roman triumphators (*mort. pers.* 16. 6). The allegiance of man to religion is expressed in military terms (Seneca had given the oath of allegiance a spiritual meaning).[1] Christian theology is confirmed by pagan theology (Sibyls or Virgil). Ancient Rome becomes a parallel to the Old Testament. Non-Christian authorities are called up to prove that the Christian doctrine is a general truth to be recognized by all.

Language and Style

Language and style reveal an unobtrusive Ciceronian elegance, including prose rhythm.[2] After Minucius Felix, Lactantius is the first Christian Latin author whom even a fastidious pagan could read with enjoyment. Jerome, the Christian Ciceronian, praises Lactantius' style: *quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiae Tullianae*, 'like some stream of Ciceronian eloquence' (*epist.* 58. 10); he says that the *De ira Dei* was written *docto pariter et eloquenti sermone* (*in Eph.* 2. 4). A telling example of the Christianization of the vocabulary[3] is the change in meaning of *humanitas*. To Varro it had been education; to Cicero, mainly a moral attitude based on education; to Lactantius it is a disposition rooted in religion: religion generates love of one's fellowman,[4] and fraternity is born from our being children of God (*inst.* 5. 6).[5] As a result, Lactantius derives *religio* from *religare* 'to bind' (*inst.* 4. 28; against Cic.

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[1] Sen. *epist.* 65. 18; *vit. beat.* 15. 7; bibl. in A. Wlosok 1960, 185, n. 12.

[2] On this cf. e.g. E. Heck 1969 (with bibl.).

[3] In general: C. Mohrmann, Les éléments vulgaires du latin des chrétiens, V Chr 2, 1948, 89–101; 163–184, for Lactantius esp. 165–176.

[4] For the Stoic background of philanthropy: Klingner, Geisteswelt 5th ed. 1979, 707–746, esp. n. 48.

[5] R. Lacandia 1967.

nat. deor. 2. 72, who had insisted on 'accuracy': *religere*). The idea of 'bond' reinstalls a concept of religion that had been combated by Lucretius (1. 932 *religionum animum nodis exsolvere*). Lactantius is not too particular about using terms which might have a pagan ring (e.g. *Deus summus*).

The *De mortibus persecutorum* is more emotional in style than the treatises. This is due to the subject-matter and the genre; similarly, Cicero had shown more verve in his speeches than in his philosophical works. Actually many a term of abuse is picked up from Cicero.[1] The vocabulary criticizing the emperors is mostly political and more pagan in character than Christian, not unlike the *Historia Augusta* and the *Panegyrici*: bad emperors are labelled *tyrannus, bestia, animal, populator Italiae* (recalling Hannibal). The Ciceronian character of many terms of abuse as well as their identity with those used in the *Institutio* are an argument in favor of the authenticity of the *De mortibus*. If Christian logic cannot always convince pagan readers, there are always specifically Christian terms of abuse, some of them quite spicy and pointed: *persecutor* (first attested here 1. 6) or *praecursor diaboli ac praevius* (2. 9). The emperor Maximian-Galerius becomes a source of black humor. The Romans deride him as a barbarian: the two bears he has as pets, are his perfect likeness in ferocity and stature (21. 5). However, he also deserves the Christian attribute of 'charitable', because he abolished poverty in his country: by drowning the beggars (23. 8).

Antithesis is prominent in his synoptic view (*syncrisis*) of two 'wicked' emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, apparent praise ('unanimity') enhancing ironically the blame (*mort. pers.* 8. 1–2): *quid frater eius Maximianus, qui est dictus Herculius? Non dissimilis ab eo: nec enim possent in amicitiam tam fidelem cohaerere, nisi esset in utroque mens una, eadem cogitatio, par voluntas, aequa sententia. Hoc solum differebant, quod avaritia maior in altero fuit, sed plus timiditatis, in altero vero minor avaritia, sed plus animi, non ad bene faciendum, sed ad male*, 'what of his brother Maximian, who was given the name Herculius? He was not unlike Diocletian; two people could not combine in so loyal a friendship if there were not in them both a single mind, the same line of thought, an equal will, and identical opinions. They differed only in this that Diocletian was greedier but more hesitant, whereas Maximian was less greedy but bolder—though bolder at doing evil, not doing good.'

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[1] I. Opelt 1973.

Prose rhythm is thoroughly Ciceronian in all of Lactantius' works. There is a preference for the 'fourth paeon' (i.e. a cretic with two short syllables instead of its second long syllable) in clausulae of the types *esse videatur* and *corde sapientia.*[1]

Lactantius' 'classical' tastes are shared by his countryman and contemporary Nemesian.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

As is shown by his critical remarks on Tertullian and Cyprian (*inst.* 5. 1), Lactantius wants to adapt Christian doctrine as much as possible to the ideas of his readers. He is fully aware that the bald style of the Bible and the imperfections of Christian literature (*inst.* 5. 1) are obstacles to the acceptance of Christianity by educated pagans. Christian religion needs good 'salesmen'. Like Lucretius (1. 936–950), he is willing to 'touch the rim all round the cup containing bitter medicine with the sweet golden moisture of honey', not the honey of rhetoric but that of celestial wisdom. Consequently he is concerned not only with good style but with a truly Ciceronian union of wisdom and beauty. Lactantius fully acknowledges Cicero's striving for truth (*ira* 11. 10). Cicero is also called up as a witness for man's being destined to practice justice, including the worship of God (*ira* 14. 4). Just as Cicero had done with the Roman historians, Lactantius censures the Latin Fathers of the Church: they have not fulfilled their task. Minucius Felix could have become a worthy defender of Christianity, had he truly dedicated himself to this assignment. Tertullian is knowlegeable in all fields but often rough and obscure and difficult to read; as an author he stands in his own way. Cyprian, the most respected of them, is a versatile writer, inventive and attractive; but he addresses insiders only, cannot convince non-Christians, and exposes himself to ridicule. Lactantius evidently favors Minucius Felix, a Ciceronian like himself. His verdict on Cyprian, bitter-sweet despite the abundant praise, is reminiscent of Quintilian's judgment on Seneca. With Lactantius Christian Latin Literature enters into a period of classicism. As so often, classical tastes are contemporary with a consolidation of central power.

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[1] R. Lacandia 1967.

Lactantius' reference to poets as witnesses of truth is an important fact which would be rich in consequences. The Christian Middle Ages and the Renaissance will rely on his explicit justification of poetry (*inst.* 1. 11. 23–25): *Non ergo res ipsas gestas finxerunt poetae—quod si facerent, essent vanissimi—sed rebus gestis addiderunt quendam colorem . . . Totum autem, quod referas, fingere, id est ineptum esse et mendacem potius quam poetam. Nesciunt enim qui sit poeticae licentiae modus, quousque progredi fingendo liceat, cum officium poetae in eo sit, ut ea, quae vere gesta sunt, in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conversa traducat,* 'so the poets did not invent the very basis of their plot—for if they did they would be completely irrelevant—but they added a certain coloring to the real action. However, to invent the whole story you write is to be stupid and mendacious rather than to be a poet. Indeed people do not know the extent of poetic licence, and how far it is permitted to proceed in the domain of invention, for the task of a poet consists in transferring real events into a different aspect and transforming them by means of indirect figurative speech and of a certain ornament'. Myth, secularized through euhemerism, is understood as history encoded in figurative speech; this makes pagan poetry and all its claims to truth acceptable even to Christians as quasi-historical documentation. *Quamvis igitur veritatis arcana in parte corruperint, tamen ipsa res eo verior invenitur, quod cum prophetis in parte consentiunt, quod nobis ad probationem satis est,* 'for although they partly corrupted the secrets of truth, nevertheless the matter itself is found even more true because they in part agree with the prophets, which is enough for us, as far as this proof is concerned' (*inst.* 7. 22. 4).

Consequently, Lactantius is the first to give a Christian interpretation to the First Eclogue (*inst.* 7. 24. 11).[1] He knows: in the Millenium to come, the Golden Age of the poets will really be here.

Lactantius even hints at the possibility of a Christian poetry. Beautiful singing should serve the praise of God (*inst.* 6. 21. 4–5). Christian poetry seems to be something new, like Epicurean poetry in the days of Lucretius. The poet of the *Phoenix* took the first steps towards giving aesthetics a Christian justification.[2]

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[1] L. J. Swift, Lactantius and the Golden Age, AJPH 79, 2, 1968, 153–155; P. Courcelle, Les exégèses chrétiennes de la *quatrième Eglogue*, RET 59, 1957, 294–319; the authenticity of the interpretation of the *Fourth Eclogue* ascribed to the emperor Constantine is contested.

[2] A. Wlosok 1990.

Ideas II

In his *De opificio Dei* Lactantius discusses psychological problems from the standpoint of skepticism. Christian ideas are almost completely left out, perhaps in view of Diocletian's persecution (1. 7; 20. 1). The identification of philosophers with the enemies of truth is in harmony with Tertullian's criticism of Plato, following a tradition inaugurated by St. Paul. Nevertheless, this treatise of Lactantius is definitely philosophical; it is even introduced expressly as a complement to the 4th book of Cicero's *De re publica.*

For Lactantius, *sapientia* and knowledge of God are inseparable; the same is true for *religio* and the worship of God. Immortality is the divine recompense for the *labores hominum.* In the *Institutiones* and the *De ira Dei* the problem of grace is not reflected thoroughly; partly Lactantius lingers over the Roman idea of *do, ut des.* On the other hand, there is a serious theological achievement: Lactantius combines the Christian idea of God with the Roman idea of the *pater familias,* who embodies the double function of punishing and rewarding, justice and grace.[1]

Like Justin and Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius came to Christianity through Platonic philosophy. He sees Plato through the eyes of African Platonism, which in the wake of Apuleius exhibits religious and Hermetic features. God is unfathomable to our knowledge; hence, revelation is indispensable (cf. *inst.* 1. 8. 1). In some passages which were later erased (by him?) Lactantius advocated a dualistic, almost Manichean doctrine of evil. It is true that only the most striking remarks on the topic were rubbed out. His anthropology starts with Gnostic traditions,[2] perhaps to please his readers. As a true Roman, Lactantius lays a special stress on the legal and juridic aspects even in matters of piety and mysteries. Between God and man there is a legal relationship; man offers his obedience and receives salvation as his due reward. No less Roman is the emphasis laid on ethics and active life. The antagonism between body and soul is reminiscent of the dualism of Stoic ethics. The *virtus* and *patientia*[3] of Christian martyrs are described in the style of Roman Stoics

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[1] A. Wlosok 1956.
[2] A. Wlosok 1960.
[3] *Inst.* 5. 13. 10–15; 3. 27. 12–13; *mort. pers.* 13. 3; P. J. Couvée, *Vita beata* en *vita aeterna*... bij Lactantius, Ambrosius en Augustinus, onder invloed van de romeinsche Stoa, diss. Utrecht 1947.

like Seneca. The idea that punishment is not an evil is again Stoic. The same school of thought lurks behind his passionate attacks on Epicureanism, which reveal a critical reading of Lucretius. It is one of his special contributions to Christian literature to have discussed the nature of man in the humane language of a Cicero or a Seneca. Though Stoic influences appear in the proof of God's existence, in the doctrine of providence, and in the proof of the perishable nature of the world,[1] Lactantius' concept of God is clearly distinct from the Stoic one, since his God is capable of anger. This could be called a spiritualization of the Roman *pater familias*[2] with his double function of exercising justice and grace against his sons or slaves. Classical philosophy—including Cicero and Seneca—mostly emphasizes God's fatherly goodness and has difficulty in imagining a God who punishes and judges,[3] although this is a familiar idea in mythology. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* 2. 13. 5), following the Bible, returns to the traditional notion of father in the full sense of the word. Lactantius relies on Roman experience[4] for explanation. *Pater, dominus, filius*, and *servus* are 'juridical persons'. In this case Christianity helped to clarify a typically Roman idea—the concept of *pater*—in a manner very true to its origins.

Lactantius' thought is centered on man and the universe: *nostrum hoc officium est, sacramentum mundi et hominis exponere*, 'this is our task, to explain the mystery of the universe and of man' (7. 3. 14). Man's relationship to God is impaired; without revelation man is unable to have knowledge of him. His upright stature, however, (cf. Lactantius' preferred etymology of ἄνθρωπος: 'looking upward', *epit.* 20. 9–10) is indicative of man's heavenly destination: according to our author, it is through baptism that man reacquires his natural upright posture and illumination. Through the mystery of baptism the light of wisdom flows into man, giving him intellectual power (*inst.* 3. 26. 10–11) and opening his mind's eye.[5] Knowledge of God is said to be the basis of the soul's immortality (*inst.* 7. 9. 10; Cic. *leg.* 1. 24).

In pre-Nicene times the border regions of the empire were not

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[1] H. A. Wolfson, Patristic Arguments against the Eternity of the World, HThR 59, 1966, 351–367.

[2] A. Wlosok 1960, 232–246.

[3] The Alexandrians—Philo, Clement, Origen—understand philosophically the 'wrath of God' as a 'metaphorical' and 'pedagogical' figure of speech.

[4] *Epit.* 54. 4; *inst.* 4. 3. 17; *ira* 24. 5.

[5] *Eph.* 1. 18; A. Wlosok 1960, 128–129, with n. 41.

quite up-to-date in matters of Christology. Because of this, Lactantius does not develop the doctrines concerning the Logos and the Holy Spirit and occasionally even confuses the two. He identifies the Holy Spirit with divine Wisdom (3. 26. 10) and denies his independent entity (*ad Demetr. frg.* 3 and 4 Brandt), a view labeled as *error Iudaicus* by Jerome (to whom we owe the fragment). Lactantius does not share Tertullian's traducianism: the soul is not transmitted from the parents to the children but comes directly from God (*opif.* 19. 4); in contrast to Plato, its relationship to God is not described in terms of kinship, but of creation (cf. Aug. *conf.* 7. 10. 16).

The *De mortibus persecutorum* views historical facts from a non-Roman standpoint. This is rather exceptional, since from Constantine onward an 'imperial theology' gains ground, blurring the difference between Christianity and empire. Thanks to this precious book we get a last glimpse of the period of persecution. His statement that a Christian confessor triumphs over triumphant generals shows a critical use of Roman categories of thought (16. 6). The Christianization of Roman ideas is the first step towards a Romanization of the Church. Our author views history as a theodicy: God protects his Church.

Lactantius agrees with Minucius Felix in considering Christianity the true philosophy (cf. *opif.* 1. 2; 20. 1). Christianity is more than religion: it is the revelation of the sole truth granting salvation. For all this, Lactantius is not a deep philosophical thinker. To give an example, in his doctrine of the evil he juxtaposes conflicting interpretations: is it the 'privation' of goodness, the enemy of goodness, or the logical contrary of goodness? Since his work is intended for outsiders, we should not expect him to discuss the theological problems of his day. His theology exhibits archaic features: binitarianism, adoptionism, chiliasm. On the other hand he tries to enrich Christianity with Roman life experience. By Christianizing what poets and philosophers had said about man he becomes one of the founders of a Christian anthropology.

Transmission

opif.: The manuscript tradition[1] is clearer than for *inst.* and larger than for the other writings: the Bononiensis 701, 5th century (B) is marred by interpolations despite its early date; the Valentianensis 148 (formerly 141),

[1] E. Heck 1969, esp. 274.

9th century (V), is free of intrusions, but packed with mistakes, the Parisinus Puteani 1662, 9th century (P), has a disfigured text full of lacunae.[1] The text has to be restored eclectically.

inst.: There are two groups of manuscripts: one containing dualistic and panegyrical passages (Parisinus 1663, 9th century, and 1664, 12th century) and another in which these are lacking: Bononiensis 701, 5th century and Rescriptus Sangallensis 213, 6th–7th century).

epit.: Taurinensis (olim Bobiensis) I b VI 28, 7th century; for 51–68. 5, Bononiensis 701, 5th century; for 51–61. 6, Parisinus 1662, 9th century.

ira.: Bononiensis 701, 5th century, and Parisinus 1662, 9th century.

mort. pers.: The only manuscript is the Parisinus Lat. 2627, olim Colbertinus, 9th century.

Influence

Constantine's letters concerning the Donatist schism and his laws show Lactantius' influence.[2] The dualistic passages in the *De opificio* and in the *Institutiones* as well as the addresses to Constantine were deleted as early as the 4th century.

Jerome (*epist.* 58. 10) praised our author's Ciceronian language, without, however, concealing that Lactantius is better at combating paganism than at justifying Christianity. Jerome's contemporary Damasus[3] read—if not without a yawn—some of Lactantius' books which are now lost. Our 'Christian Cicero' attracted even Augustine. Apollinaris Sidonius knew of him. Claudian imitated the *De Phoenice.* Isidore of Seville transmitted our author's ideas on poetry and truth to the Middle Ages.

Lactantius' works were proscribed as apocryphal in the 6th century since they lack the doctrine of Trinity.

The *Phoenix* is the first work of antiquity to have been poetically translated into a vernacular language: we possess an Anglo-Saxon Phoenix poem from the epoch of Cynewulf (about 800).

It is not surprising that Lactantius enjoyed high esteem during the Renaissance: he was admired by Petrarch and Aretino, among others.

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[1] For a higher evaluation of this ms.: T. Stangl, Lactantiana, RhM 70, 1915, 224–252; 441–471.

[2] H. Kraft, A. Wlosok, edition, 4th ed. 1983, p. xvi; cf. also V. C. De Clercq, Ossius of Cordova, Washington 1954, 69–75.

[3] *Apud* Hier. *epist.* 35. 2.

Pico della Mirandola called him the 'Christian Cicero'. Still later Milton, who himself had a penchant for dualism, read him. For many Renaissance thinkers, as for Lactantius, anthropology was a central problem, and they shared the Neoplatonic taste for discovering convergences of wisdom and religion. For these authors and Lactantius poetry could make a serious claim to factual truth. Petrarch referred to our author on the occasion of his coronation as a poet.[1] Just as in Lactantius' day, there was a revival of Roman humanism through the works of Cicero, who had filled Hellenistic philosophy with Roman life experience, thus allowing it to outlive the Roman empire. Man as the 'crown of creation' (*divini opificii summum*), a Christian and Stoic idea, was essential for Lactantius (*ira* 13. 13). The notorious saying that our world is 'the best of all possible worlds' (Leibniz)[2] and the corresponding 'natural' proof of God's existence are ultimately based on Stoic ideas condensed by Lactantius (*ira* 10. 41).

The *De mortibus persecutorum*, which dealt with contemporary history, was discovered late; Baluze edited it in 1679. For a long time its historical value was contested; today it is held in higher esteem. The crossing of two genres—the rhetorical pamphlet and the historical report—seems to be typical of periods of persecution; in our century, Solzhenitsyn would revive this literary form.

It is difficult to do Lactantius justice when reading him from an exclusively theological standpoint. Nor can we dismiss him as a mere belletrist or moralist. His great theme was the nature of man. He was the first to create a comprehensive Christian anthropology in the Latin language. Accordingly, classical Roman literature gained new importance for him as a treasury of examples. Lactantius put into a new Christian context what classical authors had said about man. There were many Roman elements in his thought; as the Cicero of his day he heralded a renaissance. Christianity had now begun to spread over the entire empire, and Lactantius' intended audience was universal. On an individual level his message was meant for the human being as a whole, not only for the 'soul'. As a representative of the educated class, he was aware that reason and intellect were equally entitled to be Christianized. The same was true of the human

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[1] A. Buck, Italienische Dichtungslehren vom Mittelalter bis zum Ausgang der Renaissance, Tübungen 1952, 73.

[2] *Théodicée* (1710) 1. 8: S'il n'y avait pas le meilleur (*optimum*) parmi tous les mondes possibles, Dieu n'en aurait produit aucun (against Pierre Bayle).

body, the temple of the Holy Spirit. In the context of baptism and the acceptance of salvation, the upright attitude of man became for Lactantius a symbol of human dignity (cf. *inst.* 7. 9. 11; 7. 5. 22).

Editions: C. Sweynheim, A. Pannartz, Subiaco 1465 (*inst., ira, opif.*). * *epit. 51–68*: Vendelinus de Spira, Venetiis 1472. * *epit.* (first full text): M. Pfaff, Paris 1712. * *Complete editions*: Chr. Cellarius, Lipsiae 1698. * J. L. Bünemann (TC), Lipsiae 1739. * S. Brandt, G. Laubmann, CSEL 19, 1890; 27, 1, 1893; 27, 2, 1897; repr. 1965. * *mort., ira, opif., epit.*: A. Hartl, A. Knappitsch (Tr), BKV 36, Kempten 2nd ed. 1919. * *epit.*: M. Perrin (TTrN, ind.) = SC 335, Paris 1987. * E. Heck, A. Wlosok, Stuttgart 1994. * *inst., opif., ira*: U. Boella, Firenze 1973. * *inst.*: M. F. McDonald (Tr), Washington 1964. * *inst. 1*: P. Monat (TTrN) = SC 326, Paris 1986. * *inst. 2*: P. Monat (TTrN) = SC 337, Paris 1987. * *inst. 4*: P. Monat (TTrN) = SC 377, Paris 1992. * *inst. 5*: P. Monat (TTrN) = SC 204; 205, Paris 1973. * H. Hrosa (TC), München 1963. * *ira*: H. Kraft, A. Wlosok (TTrN), Darmstadt 1957, 4th ed. 1983. * C. Ingremeau (TTrN) = SC 289, Paris 1982. * *mort. pers.*: F. Corsaro (TTr), Catania 1970. * J. Moreau (TTrC), 2 vols., Paris 1954, reprinted 1965. * J. L. Creed (TTrC), Oxford 1984. * J. Rougé (TTr, announced). * *opif.*: M. Perrin (TTrN) = SC 213; 214, Paris 1974. * *Phoen.*: A. Anglada Anfruns (TTrC), Barcelona 1984. * H. Kraft (Tr), in: H.K., Die Kirchenväter bis zum Konzil von Nicäa, Bremen 1966, 462–467. * *Scripta minora*: M. F. McDonald (Tr), Washington 1965. ** *Index*: in CSEL (s. above; incompl.); in the separate editions by P. Monat and M. Perrin (s. above; incompl.). ** *Bibl.*: E. Heck, to be publ. in: ANRW 3 (Late Antiquity). * E. Heck 1972, 203–207. * C. Ingremeau, ed. *ira* 373–380. * T. P. Halton, R. D. Sider, in: A Decade of Patristic Scholarship 1970–1979, I: CW 75, 1982–1983, 65–127; esp. 125–127.

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JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS

Life and Dates

Julius Firmicus Maternus was probably born at Syracuse and was of senatorial rank. He gave up the thorny career of a lawyer (4 *pr.* 1–2) so as to dedicate himself to literary studies. His astrological work, *Matheseos libri VIII*, was published between 334 and 337. He dedicated it to Lollianus Mavortius, proconsul of Africa. An apologetical writing—*De errore profanarum religionum*—followed about a decennium later (ca. 346–349). It is no longer doubted that both works are by the same author.

Survey of Works

Matheseos libri VIII: The 1st book, the introduction, justifies astrology by showing its compatibility with ethics: man is of divine nature and can rise above the influence of the stars (1. 6. 1–2). The following seven books—seven is the number of the planets—treat the technical aspects of astrology in a completeness unequalled in Latin literature.

De errore profanarum religionum: The pamphlet exhorts the emperors Constantius and Constans to extinguish paganism by force, Christianize their subjects compulsorily and confiscate votive offerings (28. 6). The first section denounces the worship of elements and the cult of sun and moon, especially solar theology; the projection of human passions onto the gods; and finally the artificial character of pagan deities. The second section (from 18 onward) attacks watchwords (*symbola*) and rituals of mystery religions as demoniac 'imitations' of Christian rites. The latter part contains precious information for historians of religion.

Sources, Models, and Genres

The 1st book of the *Mathesis* is directed against sceptics of the New Academy who, following Carneades, had argued against astrology. Cicero (*nat. deor.* 1. 2–4) is used in the same context.[1] The idea of man's divine nature recalls Posidonius. The 4th book draws on Manilius and a lost model (exploited also by Manilius). Firmicus manifestly uses two poets, Manilius and Anubio, without naming them. Another poet, Dorotheus (1st century A.D.), is the main source of book 6 and is also exploited elsewhere. In many instances, Firmicus agrees with Manetho, Ptolemy, and Valens. His astrological knowledge is extensive but his understanding lacks profundity.

In the *De errore* he quotes Homer and Porphyry; again, the influence of Cicero (*De natura deorum*) and also of Pseudo-Quintilian (s. Influence) can be seen. There are parallels with Clement of Alexandria. For biblical quotations, our author relies on a collection of *Testimonia* (Cyprian).

Literary technique

In both writings Firmicus Maternus shows off his rhetorical skill. He deploys to excess all the resources of that art. A typical example is the speech of the Sun personified, entreating his devotees to worship not him but the God of the Christians (*err.* 8. 1–3).

While it is true that there is a general design (s. above), in many particulars our passionate orator's discourse is desultory and disconnected. The constant recurrence of the same literary devices[2] is

[1] Cf. also *math.* 1. 10. 14 with Cic. *rep.* 6. 17.
[2] E.g. series of conditions as suggested by the subject-matter.

irksome. Both of these features suggest that the author was writing in a great hurry. Even so, he bestowed more care on the wording than on thinking.

Language and Style

Linguistically, there is perfect harmony between both works. In both, the verb *constituere* is a favorite, and both exhibit the same stilted phrase *in mortem stringere venam.*[1]

The impact of the Bible and of the liturgy[2] on his language and style has been pointed out by scholars who believe that Firmicus was already exposed to Christian influence when writing his *Mathesis.*

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

The shyness displayed by Firmicus in the exordium of his astrological work is belied by his later development: in the 5th book he shamelessly presumes to be the first Latin writer on his subject (*math.* 5 *pr.* 4). In the *De errore* he feels a vocation to unmask pagan cults as a piece of devilry and provide for their abolition. He is more capable of self-confidence than of literary self-reflection. He does not seem to have realized that words are able to kill; so he has the dubious honor of being the first Latin writer who made violent repression of dissenters his declared literary aim.

Ideas II

The identity of the astrologer with the apologist was only recognized about the turn of the century.[3] For chronological reasons it is probable that he was converted after having finished his astrological work. However, some passages of the *Mathesis* have a Christian ring, and it is highly probable that for Firmicus Christianity and astrology were not mutually exclusive. None the less, the earlier work can not be

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[1] *Math.* 1. 9. 1; *err.* 18. 2; from Pseudo-Quintilian. *decl.* 10. 4; F. Boll 1909, 2375.

[2] Biblical elements: F. Boll 1909; influence of the liturgy: F. Skutsch 1910.

[3] W. Kroll and F. Skutsch, In Firmicum Sittelianum emendationum centuriae duea primae, Hermes 29, 1894, 517–529, esp. 519; cf. also F. Skutsch 1910.

called Christian, it rather professes a neo-Platonist's monotheism. It is true though that the avowedly Christian apology is even more lacking in theological profundity.

If both works are by the same author—the dates as well as the language leave no doubt—the more radical Christianity of his later years did not grant him any increase of meekness or wisdom.

On the contrary, the decline could not be steeper, especially if compared to the high moral and philosophical principles laid down in the 1st and towards the end of the 2nd book of the *Mathesis*. In the earlier work, an eminent adversary, such as Porphyry, is treated respectfully (7. 1. 1), whereas in the later work he is rudely insulted (*err.* 13. 4–5). Even worse, a public campaign for a deadly solution to the problem of paganism is trumped up with the aid of quotations from the Old Testament (*err.* 29. 1–2); in the same context our scribbler dares mention God's *misericordia*.

Both works share not only many stylistic features but also the adulation of the Emperor. The ending of the 1st book of the *Mathesis* contains a *laudatio* of Constantine, the *De errore*, a praise of his successors. Firmicus was not the one who provoked the decrees of persecution, but he reacted to them in order to prove his adherence to the official line. Ammianus attests the case of another astrologer who became even more 'Christian' than his Christian persecutors.[1]

The disgusting pamphlet *De errore* helps the modern reader understand why not much later, a noble nature like Emperor Julian would try to save civilization by restoring paganism, a desperate measure doomed in advance.

For all this, the book is not worthless. Firmicus is the only Latin apologist to attack overtly the real rivals of Christianity: solar theology and mystery cults. Thus, he gives us a glimpse of the depth of the religious conflict, a dimension elsewhere passed over in silence.

The image sketched out in the *Mathesis* of the types of men in his day and their lifestyles is of some value for cultural history, although much of it comes from our author's Hellenistic sources. In harmony with the mood of his age astrology becomes in his hands a kind of occult science or religion (2. 30. 2; 4 *pr.* 3; 5 *pr.* 4).

[1] Amm. 29. 1. 5; 2. 6–7.

Transmission

The transmission of *err.* rests exclusively on the mutilated Vaticanus Palatinus Lat. 165 (10th century).

The transmission of *Math.* is not uniform. For the first part (up to 4. 22. 15) the following manuscripts (of varying extent) are relevant: Montepessulanus H 180, 11th century, Parisinus Lat. 7311, 11th century, Vaticanus Reginae 1244, 11th century, Vaticanus Lat. 3425, 13th century, Parisinus Lat. 17 867, 13th century.

For books 5–8 we have more recent manuscripts from the 15th and 16th centuries, which fall into two categories.

The editio princeps (Venetiis 1497) is a witness relevant to textual criticism. The Aldina (*Astronomici veteres* 1497–99) stems from a lost recent manuscript abounding in mistakes.

Influence

The most detailed astrological work of antiquity was studied in the Middle Ages and enjoyed great popularity during the Renaissance. Pico della Mirandola pointed out serious astrological errors in Firmicus. Parts of the *Mathesis* were versified by Pontano in his *Urania*. N. Pruckner wrote a supplement.[1]

The poet G. E. Lessing (d. 1781) did philological work on Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*.[2] In 1559 the Church historian Flacius Illyricus discovered the manuscript of the *De errore* in Minden; he published the first edition in 1562. C. Bursian was the first to rediscover the codex and ventured a rather imperfect new edition.

Editions: math.: Venetiis 1497; books III–IV already Augsburg 1488. * *err.*: Flacius Illyricus, Argentinae 1562. * *math.*: W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, K. Ziegler, 2 vols., Leipzig 1897 and 1913; repr. 1968 (with addenda). * H. Thorsonn (Tr), Königsberg 1927. * P. Monat (TTrN), 2 vols., Paris 1992 and 1994. * J. R. Bram (Tr), Park Ridge, N. J. 1975. * *math. 1 and 2*: J. R. Bram (TrC), diss. New York Univ. 1972. * *err.*: K. Ziegler, Leipzig 1907. * G. Heuten (TTrC), Brüssel 1938. * K. Ziegler (TTrN), München 1953. * C. A. Forbes (Tr), New York 1970. * R. Turcan (TTrC), Paris 1982.

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[1] On Firmicus' influence: F. Boll 1909, 2374; W. Hübner 1979; 1982 (quoted above, p. 985) 430–439.

[2] *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur. Dritter Beitrag*, Braunschweig 1774, XIX. Ergänzungen des Iulius Firmicus = G. E. Lessings sämtliche Schriften, ed. by K. Lachmann 12, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1897, 271–274.

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MARIUS VICTORINUS

Life and Dates

C. Marius Victorinus lived roughly between 280 and 363.[1] As our manuscripts call him *vir clarissimus*, he must have been of senatorial rank. After having completed his studies in his African homeland, he became a famous teacher of rhetoric at Rome, where he also taught philosophy, as was expected of rhetors at that time (cf. Aug. *conf.* 4. 28). A statue was erected in his honor in the forum of Trajan in 354 (Hier. *chron. a Abr.* 2370). In his old age—probably before 357—Victorinus professed his Christian faith publicly after a long period of unofficial adherence. For him the conversion of the soul to the intelligible world was inseparable from the mystery of Christ.[2] Like Augustine later, he came to Christianity through philosophy. In 362, a law of Emperor Julian deprived him of his right to teach (Aug. *Conf.* 8. 3–5). A granddaughter's epitaph has come down to us.[3]

His extensive and momentous œuvre (largely consisting of translations and commentaries) can be classified into works on grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and, on the other hand, theological writings both dogmatic and exegetic.

Survey of Work

Grammatical Works

In the 4th book of Victorinus' *Ars Grammatica*, a book on metrics by Aelius Festus Apthonius has also been transmitted to us.

Two further treatises on grammar and metrics (GL 6, 187 ff.; 206 ff.) are ascribed to Marius Victorinus.—The *De ratione metrorum* and the *De finalibus metrorum* are spurious.

Works on Rhetoric

The *Commentary* on Cicero's youthful work *De inventione* has come down to us. Its focus is not on philology and antiquarianism but on rhetoric and philosophy. Of special interest are the digressions on syllogism, on definition, and on the notions of time and substance.

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[1] A. H. Travis 1943.

[2] The parable of the Prodigal Son reflects the centrifugal and centripetal stages of the itinerary of the soul (*adv. Arium* 1. 59. 25; 2. 6).

[3] CIL 6, 31 934; A. Silvagni, ICUR, n.s. 1, Romae 1922, 3268.

Treatises on Logic

We still have the *De definitionibus*, which is an independent piece of work. The translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* has partly survived in the first version of Boethius' commentary.[1]

Cassiodorus wrote a condensed version of the *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, while Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus did the same for the *Commentary on Cicero's Topica*. The detailed originals were lost.

The translation of Aristotle's *Categories* and the respective commentary have not been transmitted and are not well attested.[2] The same is true of the translation of Aristotle's Περὶ ἑρμηνείας.

Scholars guess that he also wrote a *Commentary on Virgil*, especially on the description of the underworld.[3]

Further Translations

Marius Victorinus translated *libri Platonicorum* (Aug. *conf.* 8. 3),[4] which certainly included Plotinus' *On Beauty* (*enn.* 1. 6), probably on *The Three Original Hypostases* (5. 1), perhaps also *On the Soul* (from book 4) and *enn.* 3. 2; 6. 6 and 6. 9.[5] Did this translation contain excerpts from Porphyry's *Aphormai*?

Theological Works

After his conversion Marius Victorinus wrote *Ad Candidum Arianum (= De generatione Verbi), Adversus Arium libri quattuor, De homousio recipiendo*, three *Hymns* on the Trinity and *Commentaries* to Paul, of which the commentaries on *Philippians, Galatians* and *Ephesians* are preserved.

Works of Doubtful Authenticity

Ad Iustinum Manichaeum contra duo principia Manichaeorum, et de vera carne Christi; De verbis scripturae: Factum est vespere et mane dies unus and *De physicis* (on unbelieving philosophers).

Sources, Models, and Genres

In the introduction to the *Ars grammatica* the basic ideas are handled to a certain extent in the style of the Stoic Ariston of Chios (about

[1] Boeth. *in isag. ed. prima*, CSEL 48, 1906.

[2] P. Hadot 1971, 111–113.

[3] P. Courcelle, Les Pères de L'Église devant les Enfers virgiliens, AHMA 30, 1955, 5–74; the pros and cons are pondered by P. Hadot 1971, 215–231.

[4] These are identical with *Plotini paucissimi libri* (Aug. *beat. vit.* 1. 4; cf. *conf.* 7. 13).

[5] The extent of the cultural impact of Plotinus (P. Courcelle) or Porphyry (W. Theiler, Porphyrius und Augustin, Halle 1933; P. Hadot) on Victorinus is controversial; for the state of the question, s. W. Erdt 1980, 262, 10.

250 B.C.). The section on metrics was written by Aelius Festus Apthonius, the appendix on Horatian meter perhaps by Victorinus. For metrical theory the models were Juba (probably end of the 2nd century) and Varro (116–27 B.C.), followed by Caesius Bassus (in the time of Nero). In trivial things there are similarities with Charisius (mid-4th century), Diomedes (probably second half of the 4th century), Dositheus (probably end of the 4th century); the more ambitious treatment of orthography is partly drawn from Verrius Flaccus, a contemporary of Augustus and Tiberius; and much can be traced back ultimately to Varro.[1] As a rule, Marius Victorinus consulted excellent sources and we are indebted to him for precious information. The tradition of the rhetorical school and the logical training of the Peripatos converge in Marius Victorinus. In addition he may have relied on the Apuleian corpus, as is to be expected from an African.[2]

The theological works were inspired directly by Plotinus[3] (d. about 270), some of whose works Victorinus had translated. Porphyry (d. after 300) and Cicero, too, are among his sources. Victorinus knew little of the Old Testament and had even less taste for typological and allegorical interpretation.[4] He concentrated on Paul's epistles—his commentaries were close to the text—and on the Prologue of the *Gospel according to John* which he explained in a Platonic vein.[5]

His *Hymns* were not composed in metrical form but according to the laws of parallelism. Their form is determined by the *Psalms* and prose artistry, a fact not surprising in a teacher of oratory. They represent a new type of Christian poetry, originating in and leading to meditation.

Literary technique

The *Ars grammatica* is sometimes lacking in systematical order. The reader feels its closeness to oral teaching and the bald matter-of-fact style of the *grammatici.*

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[1] H. Dahlmann 1970.

[2] G. Pfligersdorffer, Zu Boethius . . . nebst Beobachtungen zur Geschichte der Dialektik bei den Römern, WS 66, 1953, 131–154.

[3] P. Henry 1934

[4] He protests, however—in accord with Paul—against the *corporalis intellectus* of the Old Testament.

[5] P. Hadot 1971, 239–240.

When writing on the Trinity, Victorinus is uncompromising in matters of both content and form. By translating Plotinus he has acquired a good deal of that philosopher's way of thinking and writing. No wonder that Jerome objected to his 'obscurity'. Until then even educated readers of Latin books were unaccustomed to strictly scholarly discourse.

A typical literary device is the exchange of ideas with an addressee,[1] a person probably invented by the author, since that adversary uses the same language and literary technique as Victorinus. This method sheds light on a problem from two sides.

Since the days of the Gnostics Victorinus was the first Christian theologian to describe divine life within the Holy Trinity in terms of human psychology: in the human soul, the (Neoplatonic) triad of Being, Living, and Understanding becomes an image of the Trinity.[2]

In his commentaries, exegesis follows the text with a closeness unusual in his time but does not conceal the author's philosophical education. His method may be called scholarly in this respect, although his Platonizing ideas sometimes seem to develop a life of their own (in the *Commentary on Galatians* this happens less often than elsewhere, and is generally rarer in Victorinus than in Origen). In accordance with his education, Victorinus uses the philosophical language of his day, probably also hoping thereby to win educated readers over to Christianity.[3] The literary form of his discourse, which artfully changes over from theory to practice and vice versa, sometimes comes near to homily.

Language and Style

For a teacher of rhetoric our author's language and style are strikingly unrhetorical. His use of *quod* instead of an 'accusative with infinitive' is close to everyday speech. Victorinus is one of the few authors who, like Suetonius, let the facts speak for themselves, and he is even one of the still smaller group who build their text on consistent philosophical reasoning.

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[1] M. Simonetti, Nota sull'ariano Candido, Orpheus 10, 1963, 151–157; P. Nautin, Candidus l'arien, in: L'homme devant Dieu. Mélanges offerts au P. H. de Lubac, 1, Paris 1964, 309–320.

[2] In this respect, Victorinus is closer to Porphyry; in Plotinus' thought there is no space for a Trinity whose hypostases are on exactly the same level.

[3] W. K. Wischmeyer 1972.

By translating Plotinus, Victorinus acquired a mastery of Latin philosophical language and style. This was a milestone in the development of the philosophical potential of the Latin language. His translations are so precise that they practically have the value of an ancient manuscript of Plotinus; often they confirm the readings of the medieval tradition of Plotinus against so-called emendations. Marius Victorinus brought the technique of translating secular texts to a new level. With him the Latin language acquired philosophical precision, a quality which it had been lacking for a long time.

His reading of contemporary Greek philosophers encouraged linguistic creativity and a new awareness of dormant faculties of the Latin language. There are many Grecisms—such as the increasing use of the substantive[1] infinitive—, but there is also the extension of meaning of Latin words under Greek influence. An example is the adjective *risibilis*:[2] used by Victorinus, it dethroned the Apuleian word *cachinnabilis* and became a standard example in books on logic to denote laughing as a specific quality of man. Victorinus was a man of *the* word, not of words. He busied himself in discovering resemblances between biblical and Neoplatonic vocabulary.[3] Finally, he was one of the few authors of antiquity who in their own literary practice adhered to evangelical simplicity. This may be the salutary effect of the sober linguistic traditions of the *grammatici*. It was left to Jerome to create a synthesis of truth and beauty in the style of his translations.

In addition to all this, his non-metrical hymns open a new page in the history of poetry; the parallelism of prose artistry converges with the quasi-musical refrain to produce a powerful effect.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Reflection on his own writing is not Victorinus' first thought. As a grammarian he does not mind juxtaposing two heterogeneous expla-

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[1] M. D. Metzger, Marius Victorinus and the Substantive Infinitive, Eranos 72, 1974, 65–77.

[2] CSEL 48, 50, 5; 131, 3; G. Pfligersdorffer, Zu Boethius, *De Interpr.*... nebst Beobachtungen zur Geschichte der Dialektik bei den Römern, WS 66, 1953, 131–154, esp. 134.

[3] P. Hadot 1957.

nations of meters: with Juba he derives them from a series of basic rhythms (μέτρα πρωτότυπα and φυσικά) and at the same time, according to Varro and Caesius Bassus, from the hexameter and the iambic trimeter. Yet his philosophical interest comes into play as early as the rhetorical commentaries. Finally, in his discussion with the Arians, he comes to justify expressly his own philosophical efforts and to defend programmatically a 'modern' un-biblical terminology as a means of understanding and assimilating thoroughly what had been transmitted: *liceat ergo de lectis non lecta componere*, 'so it should be permitted to write in non-traditional terms on traditional matters' (*adv. Arium* 2. 7).[1] This insight prepared the way for a Christian philosophy in Latin.

Ideas II

In the *Adversus Arium* Marius Victorinus for the first time presented a perfectly coherent and systematic doctrine of the Trinity. While Victorinus can be understood only through Neoplatonism, the Monarchians used Stoic terms,[2] as shown from the letters from and to 'Candidus'. The Neoplatonic concept of God had gained a more personal character through the idea of will; this allowed it to merge with the Christian notion of God. Though Augustine would be influenced by Victorinus, there are differences:[3] while Victorinus viewed the Son as *voluntas Dei*, for Augustine the Holy Spirit was *voluntas* between Father and Son.

Our author was the first to write a Latin commentary on Paul (after 360); soon he would be followed by Ambrosiaster (under Pope Damasus 366–384), Jerome, and Augustine. Compared to Origen, mystical knowledge and allegorical interpretation are less prominent in Victorinus. Our author's commentary on *Galatians* is especially sober and close to the text. Law, sin, grace, faith (even *sola fides*), and ethics are thrown into relief. In Rome and Milan, Paul's reserves against imposing the Jewish Law on Christians were re-discovered.

Victorinus was a philologist and a philosopher. On the one hand, his commentaries re-stated for the first time some ideas of Paul which would gain great momentum for and through Augustine. By doing

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[1] P. Hadot 1957.
[2] P. Hadot 1951.
[3] Recently D. N. Bell 1985.

so he opened the third and most important phase of Paul's influence: Irenaeus and Tertullian had used the Apostle against Marcion, Origen against the Gnostics, and now Victorinus used him against the Arians. However, the reading of Paul had an impact on our author which went far beyond the momentary occasion: he gained a fresh insight into the pivotal role of Christ, faith, grace, and liberation.

On the other hand, the commentaries on Paul were a landmark in the history of the relationship between Neoplatonism and Christianity. For example, he interpreted (ad *Phil.* 2. 6) *forma dei* in terms of the Neoplatonic doctrine of the Trinity (*esse, vivere, intellegere*). Likewise, his exegesis of the first chapter of *Ephesians* has a Platonic ring: Victorinus is bold enough to discover in the Scriptures the full immortality of the soul (including its pre-existence).[1] Doubtless Neoplatonic philosophy helps him understand his text and convey its message to educated and intellectually independent readers. In Victorinus' view this method is justified by a convergence not only of words but of content: to him, revelation is identical with the very essence of philosophy. His development from a philosopher into a scriptural theologian is continuous and even consistent. Some of his statements sound anti-Manichean (ad *Gal.* 2. 19; ad *Phil.* 2. 6–8) and anti-Arian (ad *Gal.* 1. 1), although the adversaries are not named. However, he wrote specifically anti-Arian works during the Fifties and Sixties.

Paulinism and Platonism are linked in his mind by a totally non-materialistic approach to Christianity and a Roman sense of the importance of the individual. To become pure and perfect, the soul has to know itself and God: even this basic theme of Augustine is prefigured in Victorinus. He develops in Platonic terms what is a typically Western and Latin topic: psychology. By working out the antithesis of eternity—as eternal presence—and the lived moment as an image of eternity, he comes close to Augustine's philosophy of time. However, Victorinus' interpretation of predestination as preexistence of the souls would prove unacceptable to the later Augustine.

[1] Later on Victorinus would not repeat such thoughts; he developed from a philosopher into a scriptural theologian.

Transmission

The Bambergensis Patr. 46, 9th century, and the Sangallensis 831, 10th–11th centuries, are the best witnesses for the *First Letter of Candidus* and *Victorinus' Answer*, whereas, for the *Second Letter of Candidus, Adv. Arium, homous.* and *hymn.*, we only have the Berolinensis Phillips 1684, 10th century, and the editio princeps (s. below), which gives valuable evidence for the text.

For the *Commentaries on Paul*, the Vaticanus Ottobonianus Lat. 3288 A, 15th century, is the most ancient witness, for the *Commentary on Ephesians* it is the only one. The Parisinus, Nouvelles acquisitions latines et franç. 469, 17th century, together with the Ottobonianus, is traced back to a common source, the lost Herivallensis.

The *Ars grammatica* is transmitted in the Vaticanus Palatinus 1753, 9th century (to be supplemented with a copy, the Valentianus 395, 9th century) and the Parisinus Lat. 7539, 9th century. Both had a common source in late antiquity.

For the Commentary on Cicero's *De inventione* the authoritative manuscripts are: Coloniensis 166 (olim Darmstadtiensis), 7th century, Monacensis 6400 (olim Frisingensis 200), 10th century, Bambergensis M. IV, 4, 11th century.

The *De definitionibus* is found in the Monacensis 14 272, 10th–11th centuries, the Monacensis 14 819, 10th–12th centuries, and the Bernensis 300, 11th–12th centuries.[1]

Influence

Marius Victorinus is one of the great unknowns of Latin literature. He developed a precision hitherto unfamiliar to translators of secular texts, and perfected the Latin language into a subtle instrument of philosophical thought. In the sphere of Latin language he laid the foundations of scholarly philosophy, and prepared a linguistic arsenal for the Middle Ages, not only by setting his stamp on grammar and rhetoric. What is more: Augustine would owe to him the knowledge of Neoplatonic writings, and develop under his influence his authoritative doctrines of Trinity, predestination and grace. Victorinus' ideas on the Trinity pave the way for the Middle Ages, his discovery of Paul prepares the Modern Age.

Of course it is not the walls of the church that make a man a

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[1] On the Parisinus nouv. acq. 1611, 11th century: G. Schepss, Zu Marius Victorinus *De definitionibus*, Philologus 56, n.s. 10, 1897, 382–383.

Christian (Aug. *conf.* 8. 4), but some of Victorinus' brilliant findings on the Trinity entered the liturgy of the Church through Alcuin's hymns.[1]

His works meet with a pretty cool reception in Jerome, who in matters of exegesis deplores his lack of factual knowledge and in dogmatic theology his all too scholarly style (*valde obscuros*).[2] It is no accident that Jerome gets his definition of obscurity from him.[3] In many respects Victorinus is antipodal to Jerome: introvert, philosophical and, despite his profession, unrhetorical.

Victorinus had a lasting impact on rhetoric and logic. His translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* was first commented on by Boethius, then replaced with a translation of his own and a second commentary. Victorinus' influence is largely linked to that of Boethius, as can be seen, e.g., in Gerbert of Reims (10th century). Boethius also competed with the *Commentary on Cicero's Topica.* The highly esteemed *Commentary on Cicero's De inventione* would be used among others by Cassiodorus, Einhard, Lupus of Ferrières (9th century), John Scot Erigena (9th century: he possessed and corrected a Bambergensis containing theological writings),[4] Abbo of Fleury (10th century), Anselm of Besate (11th century), Bernardus Silvestris (12th century). The German Notker (10th century) testified to his general popularity. Flodoard of Reims (10th century) mentioned him in his *Annals* (10. 2. 24–25). Papias (11th century) compiled a *De divisione diffinitionum ex Marii Victorini libro abbreviata.*

With Victorinus Latin philosophy finally came of age. His work would become, as it were, an arsenal for intellectual battles to come. The efflorescence of Roman cultural life and Latin literature about 400 would be unthinkable without the school of the 4th century. A hundred years later, the founders of the Middle Ages would refer to our author again. As Victorinus the theologian had gained far-reaching influence through Augustine, the logician did through Boethius—until he was obscured by the greater brilliance of his successors: a forgotten *praeceptor Europae.*

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[1] P. Hadot, Marius Victorinus et Alcuin, AHMA 29, 1954, 5–19; P. Hadot, Les hymnes de Victorinus et les hymnes *Adesto* et *Miserere* d'Alcuin, AHMA 35, 1960, 7–16.

[2] *In Gal. praef., vir. ill.* 101.

[3] *In Ezech.* 13.

[4] A. Locher, ed., Marii Victorini opera theologica, Lipsiae 1976, pp. viii–ix and xxxiv.

Editions: Adv. Arium, homous., hymn. in: *Antidotum contra diversas omnium fere seculorum haereses*, ed. Io. Sichardus, Basileae 1528. * *In Gal., in Phil., in Eph.*: A. Mai, in: Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, 3, 2, 1, Roma 1828, 1–146 (= PL 8, 1145–1294). * *rhet.*: A. Zarottus, Mediolani 1474. * B. De Tortis (together with Cic. *inv.*), Venetiis 1481. * R. Stephanus, Paris 1537. * *gramm.* (chapter 4 only: *De orthographia*): Io. Sichardus, Basileae 1527. * *gramm.*: J. Camerarius (first complete edition of the *ars*), Tubingae 1537. * All theological Works (incl. *hymn.* and *phys.*): PL 8. * M. T. Clark (Tr), Theological Treatises on the Trinity, Washington 1981. * All grammatical works: GL 6, pp. 3–215. * *rhet.*: C. Halm, RhetLatMin, Lipsiae 1863, pp. 158–304; s. also: T. Stangl, Tulliana et Mario-Victoriniana, Programm München 1888. * *adv. Arium, homous., hymn.*: P. Henry (T), P. Hadot (TrC), SC 68–69, Paris 1960. * A. Locher, Leipzig 1976. * P. Henry, P. Hadot, Vindobonae 1971 (= CSEL 83, 1). * P. Hadot, U. Brenke (TrN), Zürich 1967. * *in Gal., in Phil., in Eph.*: A. Locher, Leipzig 1972. * *in Eph., in Gal., in Phil.*: F. Gori, Vindobonae 1986 (= CSEL 83, 2). * *gramm.*: I. Mariotti (TC), Firenze 1967. * M. de Nonno (s. Monographs). * Consentii *Ars de barbarismis et metaplasmis*. Victorini fragmentum *De soloecismo et barbarismo*: M. Niedermann, Neuchâtel 1937. * *isag.*: S. Brandt, CSEL 48, Vindobonae 1906. * Porphyrii *Isagoges* fragmenta M. Victorino interprete, edidit L. Minio-Paluello, adiuv. B. H. Dod, Bruges 1966 (= Aristoteles Latinus 1, 6–7). * *defin.*: T. Stangl, Tulliana et Mario-Victoriniana, Progr. München 1888, pp. 12–48. * A. Pronay (TTrC), Frankfurt 1997 (announced).

L. Abramowski, Marius Victorinus, Porphyrius und die römischen Gnostiker, ZNTW 74, 1983, 108–128. * L. Adamo, Boezio e Mario Vittorino traduttori e interpreti dell' *Isagoge* di Porfirio, RSF 22, 1967, 141–164. * D. N. Bell, *Esse, vivere, intelligere*, RecTh 52, 1985, 1–43. * E. Benz, Marius Victorinus und die Entwicklung der abendländischen Willensmetaphysik, Stuttgart 1932. * K. Bergner, Der *Sapientia*-Begriff im Kommentar des Marius Victorinus zu Ciceros Jugendwerk *De Inventione*, Frankfurt 1994. * F. Bömer, Der lateinische Neuplatonismus und Neupythagoreismus und Claudianus Mamertus in Sprache und Philosophie, Leipzig 1936, esp. 74–96. * M. T. Clark, The Earliest Philosophy of the Living God. Marius Victorinus, PACPhA 41, 1967, 87–94. * M. T. Clark, The Neoplatonism of Marius Victorinus, StudPatr 11, 1972, 13–19. * M. T. Clark, The Psychology of Marius Victorinus, AugStud 5, 1974, 149–166. * M. T. Clark, The Neoplatonism of Marius Victorinus the Christian, in: H. J. Blumenthal, R. A. Markus, eds., Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought. Essays in Honour of A. H. Armstrong, London 1981, 153–159. * P. Courcelle, Du nouveau sur la vie et les œuvres de Marius Victorinus, REA 64, 1962, 127–135. * P. Courcelle, *Parietes faciunt christianos?* In: Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à J. Carcopino, Paris 1966, 241–248. * H. Dahlmann, Zur *Ars grammatica* des Marius Victorinus, AAWM 1970,

2, 33–192. * A. Dempf, Der Platonismus des Eusebius, Victorinus und Pseudo-Dionysius, SBAW 1962, 3, 1–18. * M. de Nonno, Tradizione e diffusione di Mario Vittorino grammatico, con edizione degli *Excerpta de orthographia*, RFIC 116, 1988, 5–59. * W. Erdt, Marius Victorinus Afer, der erste lateinische Pauluskommentator..., Frankfurt 1980. * F. Gori, Per il testo dei *Commentarii in Apostolum* di Mario Vittorino, RFIC 104, 1976, 149–162. * P. Hadot, Typus. Stoïcisme et monarchianisme au IVe siècle d'après Candide l'Arien et Marius Victorinus, RecTh 18, 1951, 177–187. * P. Hadot, *De lectis non lecta componere.* Raisonnement théologique et raisonnement juridique, StudPatr 1, 1957, 209–220. * P. Hadot, Un vocabulaire raisonné de Marius Victorinus Afer, StudPatr 1, 1957, 194–208. * P. Hadot, L'image de la Trinité dans l'âme chez Victorinus et chez saint Augustin, StudPatr, 6, 1962, 409–442. * P. Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 2 vols., Paris 1968. * P. Hadot, Marius Victorinus. Recherches sur sa vie et ses œuvres, Paris 1971. * P. Henry, Plotin et l'Occident: Firmicus Maternus, Marius Victorinus, saint Augustin et Macrobe, Louvain 1934. * P. Henry, The *Adversus Arium* of Marius Victorinus, the First Systematic Exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity, JThS n.s. 1, 1950, 42–55. * W. Karig, Des C. Marius Victorinus Kommentare zu den paulinischen Briefen, diss. theol. Marburg 1924. * A. Labhardt, Le problème de l'*ictus*, Euphrosyne 2, 1959, 65–75. * H. de Leusse, Le problème de la préexistence des âmes chez Marius Victorinus Afer, RecSR 29, 1939, 197–239. * A. Locher, Formen der Textbehandlung im *Kommentar* des Marius Victorinus zum *Galaterbrief*, in: Silvae, FS E. Zinn, Tübingen 1970, 137–143. * B. Lohse, Beobachtungen zum *Paulus-Kommentar* des Marius Victorinus und zur Wiederentdeckung des Paulus in der lateinischen Theologie des 4. Jh., in: Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum, FS C. Andresen, Göttingen 1979, 351–366. * R. A. Markus, Marius Victorinus and Augustine, in: A. H. Armstrong, ed., The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy, Cambridge, 2nd ed. 1970, esp. 331–340. * E. Pöhlmann, Marius Victorinus zum Odengesang des Horaz, Philologus 109, 1965, 134–140; repr. in: E. Pöhlmann, Beiträge zur antiken und neueren Musikgeschichte, Frankfurt 1988, 135–143. * M. J. Roberts, The First Sighting Theme in the Old Testament Poetry of Late Antiquity, ICS 10, 1, 1985, 133–155. * M. Simonetti, All'origine della formula teologica una essenza—tre ipostasi, Augustinianum 14, 1974, 173–175. * A. Solignac, Réminiscences plotiniennes et porphyriennes dans le début du *De ordine* de saint Augustin, ArchPhilos 20, 1957, 446–465 (on Victorinus' translations of Plotinus). * A. H. Travis, Marius Victorinus, A Biographical Note, HThR 36, 1943, 83–90. * A. Vaccari, Le citazioni del Vecchio Testamento presso Mario Vittorino, Biblica 42, 1961, 459–464. * P. Wessner, Marius Victorinus, RE 14, 2, 1930, 1840–1848. * W. K. Wischmeyer, Bemerkungen zu den Paulusbriefkommentaren des

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HILARY OF POITIERS

Life and Dates

Hilary of Poitiers received a solid rhetorical education in the province of Gaul, at that time a stronghold of Roman culture. He found his way to Christianity through philosophy and its 'natural' knowledge of God, as Augustine would do later. After having been elected bishop of Poitiers he wrote his *Commentary on Matthew*.

As a zealous defender of the Nicene Creed he was charged with heresy by the Arian bishops before a court of inquisition; he was exiled to Phrygia by Emperor Constantius II. Determined not to give in, he acted through writing. At the synods of Seleucia and Constantinople (in 359 and 360) he defended the partisans of the Nicene Creed. He wrote a book (*De synodis*) for his fellow-believers among the bishops in Gaul and another for the Emperor (*Liber ad Constantium*). The twelve books *De trinitate* were meant to undermine the foundations of the Arian belief. He collected documents with which to accuse its leading representatives (*Liber adversus Valentem et Ursacium*). In 360 he returned to Gaul with a pamphlet against Constantius in his pocket (*Liber in Constantium imperatorem*), which he published after the emperor's death. In his exegetical works on the Old Testament (*Commentaries on Psalms* and *on Job*) and in his *Tractatus mysteriorum* he exploited ideas of Origen. Hilary introduced the practice of singing Latin hymns and founded a monastery directed by his student Martin. He died in 367 or 368.

Survey of Works

Exegetical Works: *In Matthaeum; In psalmos; Tractatus mysteriorum* (a Christological interpretation of passages from the Old Testament).

Dogmatic works: *De Trinitate; De Synodis* (among other subjects, the problem of consubstantiality is discussed).

Polemic works: *Collectanea antiariana* (only fragments survived); *Liber ad Constantium imperatorem* (asking to be allowed to expound the—correct—creed

during the synod of Constantinople). *Liber in Constantium imperatorem* (a passionate pamphlet); *Contra Arianos vel Auxentium.*

Hymns: *Ante saecula qui manes; Fefellit saevam verbum factum te caro; Adae carnis gloriosa et caduci corporis.*

Sources, Models, and Genres

Eusebius of Emesa is mentioned as a source for *De Trinitate.* The *Commentaries* were influenced by Origen in content and method.

Cicero is more than a cultural influence; Hilary owes to him categories of thought: for example, the theme of celestial *ornatus* (*in ps.* 134. 11), the polarity of *otium* and *negotium* (*in ps.* 64. 12). Virgil conveyed to him the idea of God's indwelling in everything and of men originating in him;[1] as for cosmology, he must have drawn on Lucretius.[2]

The idea for the hymns probably came from eastern church practice, which Hilary observed during his exile. His congregations in Gaul have difficulty in learning the unfamiliar songs.[3] Christian hymns are attested early. Before Hilary, Gnostics had used hymns for dogmatic teaching.

Literary Technique

The literary technique of the *De trinitate* is close to the genre of *Institutiones*: according to Jerome (*epist.* 70. 5), the structure of the *De trinitate* followed Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, which likewise consisted of 12 books. In 1. 20–36 there is a summary which is reminiscent of the *capita rerum* in Pliny and Gellius. The prefaces to single books echo famous works on rhetoric.[4]

The pamphlets are enlivened by narratives: in the *Contra Arianos*, for example, Hilary reports an arbitrary action of the Arian bishop Auxentius.

The ardent pamphlet against Constantius evokes the apocalyptical

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[1] J. Doignon 1989, 460 (bibl.).

[2] E. Goffinet, Lucrèce et les conceptions cosmologiques de saint Hilaire de Poitiers, in: Antidorum W. Peremans, Louvain 1968, 61–67.

[3] Cf. W. Bulst 1956, 8.

[4] Hil. *trin.* 6 *praef.*: Cic. *de orat.* 1. 1; Hil. *trin.* 12 *praef.*: Quint. *inst.* 10. 7. 23; J. Doignon 1989, 466.

atmosphere of the times of the great persecutions: imperial power is the antichrist.

Hilary follows a Horatian principle in collecting poems with different meters into a single book (*Liber hymnorum*: Hier. *vir. ill.* 100). The hymns occasionally use the non-Roman form of the Abecedarius (derived from *Psalm* 119/118); in such (and some other) instances the doctrinary element undercuts the poetic effect.

Language and Style

Hilary's stylistic skills distinguish him among the Latin Church Fathers; he is a champion of pointed style and irony. The impressive final prayer of the *De Trinitate* is a masterpiece of rhetoric.[1]

The *Hymns* are linked with the Roman tradition by their very meters; the strophe consisting of two asclepiadean distichs (*hymn.* 1) is found in Horace; no less familiar are the iambic senarius (2) and the versus quadratus (3). The strophic combination[2] in nos. 2 and 3, however, is unparalleled in Roman poetry: there are distichs of iambic senarii (2) and tristichs of trochaic septenarii (3). The first hymn in particular is not devoid of metrical licences. From the second hymn onward a new style seems to develop.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Like Origen, Hilary is convinced that a 'pneumatic' interpretation of the Old Testament is imperative. In search for a 'deeper understanding' (*altius intellegere*) he interprets the texts of the Old Covenant as prefigurations of Christ, the Church and the 'spiritual Man'. The prophetic significance of the *Psalms* is not limited to secular history; they present 'figures' (τύποι) foreshadowing the 'world to come'.[3]

In the *Hymns* we can trace the beginnings of Christian poetics.[4]

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[1] J. Doignon, 'L'esprit souffle où il veut' (*Ioh.* 3. 8) dans la plus ancienne tradition patristique latine, RSPh 62, 1978, 345–359.

[2] W. Bulst 1956, 8.

[3] References in J. Doignon 1989, 456–457.

[4] J. Fontaine, L'apport de la tradition poétique romaine à la formation de l'hymnodie latine chrétienne, REL 52, 1974, 318–355.

Ideas II

Hilary's thought centers on the doctrines concerning the Trinity and Christ. Though a passionate enemy of Arianism in the discussion on 'consubstantiality', he is cautious enough to search for a formula that would be accepted by a majority.

Hilary transposes categories of Roman law into theology; an example is the *distinctio personarum* in the *De Trinitate.*[1]

Transmission

The Aretinus (Arezzo, Bibl. com. VI 3, 11th century) is the sole manuscript to transmit *De mysteriis* and *Hymni.* These works were printed as late as 1887.

For the rest, we can only indicate here the most important manuscripts containing the *De trinitate.* Four of them date from about 500: Vaticanus, Arch. S. Pietro D 182 (= B); Paris. Lat. 8907 (= C); Paris. Lat. 2630 (= D); Veronensis, Bibl. capit. XIX (= V). The Codices BCD are 'corpora': B contains *trin., in Const., ad Const. I–II, c. Aux.*; in C there are *trin., c. Aux., syn.*; in D: *trin., syn.* In addition we have some very old fragments. The problems posed by the tradition are not insignificant.[2]

Influence

In Rufinus' view, Hilary is *lenis et placidus* (*hist.* 1. 31). Considering the vehement character of his writings, this verdict has an almost ironic ring to it. Augustine and Jerome would later praise his courage as a *confessor.* From this rank, our author was promoted to *doctor* (Aug. *c. Iul.* 2. 8. 28) and, finally, *sanctus* (Cassiod. *inst.* 18). Venantius Fortunatus idealized him in his *Vita S. Hilarii* and *De virtutibus S. Hilarii.* The *De Trinitate* would become an authority for many great theologians of the Middle Ages and still later for Luther and Calvin.[3]

Editions: G. Cribellus, Mediolani 1482 (not complete; later editiones principes s. editions of individual works). * PL 9, 1844, and 10, 1844. * *ad Const.*: A. Feder, CSEL 65, 1916. * *c. Const.*: A. Rocher (TTrN), Paris 1987 (= SC 334). * *hymn.*: J. F. Gamurrini, Roma 1887 (s. *myst*). * A. Feder, CSEL 65, 1916. * W. Bulst (TC), Hymni Latini antiquissimi, Heidelberg

[1] J. Doignon 1989, 464.
[2] Bibl. ibid. 462–463.
[3] References ibid. 467–468.

1956. * *in Matth.*: Badius Ascensius, Paris 1510 (editio princeps) * J. Doignon (TTrN), Paris 1978 and 1979 (= SC 254 and 258). * *myst.*: J. F. Gamurrini, Roma 1887 (editio princeps). * A. Feder, CSEL 65, 1916. * A. Hamman, PLS 1, 1958. * J. P. Brisson (TTrN), Paris 1965 (= SC 19bis). * *op. hist. frgg.*: N. Le Fèvre, Paris 1598 (editio princeps). * A. Feder, CSEL 65, 1916. * *in psalm.*: Badius Ascensius, Paris 1510. * A. Zingerle, CSEL 22, 1891. * *trin.*: P. Smulders, CC 62–62 A, Turnholti 1979; 1980. * S. McKenna (Tr), Washington 1968. ** *Indices* (incomplete): s. editions, esp. A. Feder and Brisson. ** *Bibl.*: fundamental J. Doignon 1989 (s. below).

G. Bardy, Un humaniste chrétien, saint Hilaire de Poitiers, RHE 27, 1941, 5–25. * C. F. A. Borchardt, Hilary of Poitiers' Role in the Arian Struggle, Den Haag 1960. * H. C. Brennecke, Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Constantius II, Berlin 1984. * W. Bulst, Hymni Latini antiquissimi LXXV, Psalmi III, Heidelberg 1956. * M. F. Butrell, The Rhetoric of Saint Hilary of Poitiers, Washington D.C. 1933. * J. Doignon, HLL 5, 1989, § 582. * J. Fontaine, La nascita dell'umanesimo cristiano nella Gallia romana, RSLR 6, 1970, 18–39. * P. Galtier, Saint Hilaire de Poitiers, le premier docteur de l'Eglise latine, Paris 1960. * E. Goffinet, L'utilisation d'Origène dans le *Commentaire des Psaumes* de saint Hilaire de Poitiers, Louvain 1965. * E. R. Labande, ed., Hilaire de Poitiers, évêque et docteur (368–1968). Cinq conférences données à Poitiers à l'occasion du XVIe centenaire de sa mort, Paris 1968. * E. R. Labande, ed., Hilaire et son temps. XVIe centenaire de la mort de saint Hilaire. Actes du Colloque de Poitiers (1968), Paris 1969. * G. M. Newlands, Hilary of Poitiers. A Study in Theological Methods, New York 1978. * E. Watson, The Life and Writings of Saint Hilary of Poitiers, Oxford 1899.

AMBROSE

Life and Dates

The figure of Ambrose belongs to general history, not literary history alone. He was born about 339/40 (or 333/4)[1] in Trier (Treves). Being a son of the *praefectus praetorio Galliarum* he was of good family, although the 'old Roman' *nomen gentile* of Aurelius ought not to be overrated. He is the first Latin eccesiastical author to have Christian parents. After his father's early death Ambrose followed his mother to Rome. There he studied, excelled as an orator and entered on a political career. As a rather young governor (*consularis*) of Aemilia

[1] On this, cf. M. Zelzer 1987, 203, n. 4.

and Liguria he came to Milan, where—in 374—Arians and Catholics were disputing, unable to find a bishop acceptable for both parties. He hastened to the church to do a governor's duty and enforce good order. Both groups spontaneously elected him bishop, although he had not even been baptized. Initially he hesitated to accept, for he wanted to dedicate his life to philosophy (Paulin. Med., *vita Ambr.* 7–9). Then Simplicianus, who had studied Platonic philosophy with Marius Victorinus, introduced him to his ecclesiastical obligations. As bishop Ambrose firmly defended the Nicene Creed. He was diplomatic enough, however, to accept all the priests that had followed his (Arian) predecessor so that the clergy of Milan unanimously backed him. To the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius the Great he was an independent and often troublesome counselor.

Ambrose proved victorious on three fronts: he overcame the Arian schism, he put paganism in its place, and he defended the independence of the Church even against the emperor. Under his influence, the Church Council of Aquileia rejected Arianism. Not only was the deity of Christ at stake, but also the Church's independence from intrusions on the part of the state. Ambrose resisted the demand of the Empress Justina to cede a church in Milan to the Arians; he had the people occupy the building after mobilizing them through new religious songs and the discovery of the bones of martyrs.[1]

In his struggle against ancient Roman religion, Ambrose thwarted the efforts of the conservatives to restore the altar of Victory to the Senate-house and to support pagan cults at public expense. Against this background, Symmachus' *Relatio* is a moving document reflecting the sunset of paganism. To understand Ambrose's attitude (*epist.* 17–18),[2] we should realize that the Church at that time had no financial support from the state. We should also keep in mind Ambrose's theology. In his view the traditional gods had not yet receded into mere literature; they were the work of demonic forces which were frighteningly real. Many of the leaders of the conservative senators would perish together with the usurper Eugenius in 394.

The bishop's courage does not waver even before orthodox emper-

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[1] G. Gottlieb, Der Mailänder Kirchenstreit von 385–386. Datierung, Verlauf, Deutung, MH 42, 1985, 37–55; ancient testimonia: G. Nauroy, Le jouet et le miel. Le combat d'Ambroise en 386 contre l'arianisme milanais, RecAug 23, 1988, 3–86.

[2] As for the conflict around the altar of Victory (with texts) R. Klein 1972; H. A. Pohlsander, Victory. The Story of a Statue, Historia 18, 1969, 588–597.

ors: 'The emperor is not above, but within the Church.'[1] Twice Ambrose brought to heel Emperor Theodosius the Great. He forced him to withdraw a decree ordering the Christians of Callinicum on the Euphrates to restore a synagogue they had destroyed in 388. The second case was more impressive: during a riot in Thessalonica, Roman officials were killed and the emperor took his revenge by ordering a massacre among the people assembled in the circus. Ambrose demanded a public act of penance—and the emperor submitted.[2] Ambrose diligently watched over the independence of the Church from the state. When he was about to die, he returned his episcopate to his tutor Simplicianus (in 397).

Survey of Works

Ambrose was a multifaceted writer. His works arose mostly from sermons. His *exegetical works* largely concern the Old Testament. In later years (after 386) he turned to the *Gospel of Luke.*

The best known of his *moral and ascetic works* is the *De officiis ministrorum.* Our author's interest in asceticism was inspired by his sister, who had become a nun: *De virginibus ad Marcellinam sororem; Exhortatio virginitatis; De institutione virginis et S. Mariae virginitate perpetua; De viduis; De virginitate.* Historians of law and economy might feel attracted to the *De Nabuthe Iezraelita* (against greed) and *De Tobia* (against usury).

The *dogmatic writings* adhere strictly to the *Nicene Creed: De fide; De spiritu sancto; Explanatio symboli ad initiandos* (3 versions, cf. p. 1634 n. 3); *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento.* The *De mysteriis* is on sacramental life.

Funeral speeches are a continuation of the genre of *laudatio funebris.* There are two books on the death of the author's brother Satyrus (379) and obituaries for Valentinian II (392) and Theodosius the Great (395).

The *Contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis* is a political pamphlet.

91 *Letters* reflect the bishop's fulfilment of his duties. Nevertheless the first nine books contain very few references to highly political matters. They were published about 394; the tenth book followed after the death of Theodosius (spring 395). Letters indicative of controversies with the emperor were originally suppressed and published later, probably by Paulinus of Milan, the secretary and biographer of Ambrose.[3]

The authenticity of some of the *Hymns* is controversial.

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[1] *C. Aux.* 36; cf. also *epist.* 21; 51.

[2] *Obit. Theod.* 34; cf. *epist.* 51.

[3] R. Klein 1970.

Lost Works
The *De philosophia* was probably written in his youth.

Spurious works

The important commentary to thirteen epistles of St. Paul, usually called *Ambrosiaster*, is not a work of Ambrose. This important document, which adheres to the literal meaning of the text, was written under Pope Damasus (4th century).

The spurious *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* would play a role in the juridic life of the medieval Church.

The authenticity of the following books is dubious: *De sacramentis*,[1] *De moribus brahmanorum*,[2] and *Explanatio symboli ad initiandos*.[3]

Sources, Models, and Genres

Ambrose possesses a solid classical education and has no difficulty in reading Greek; in matters of philosophy, he is astoundingly knowledgeable. As appears from longer literal parallels, he must have read Plotinus, Porphyrius, the Pythagorean Sextus[4] and some texts of Plato. The studies of his youth—to which his *De philosophia* belonged—were not abandoned after his baptism: partly under the guidance of Simplicianus he studied Greek sources in order to lay solid foundations for theological exegesis. Besides Philo and Origen he read Basil's *Hexaemeron*, an exegesis of *Genesis*. Like Origen's translator Rufinus he had the gift of eliminating typically Jewish or Greek extravagances from his models and bestowing on them an ecclesiastically inoffensive shape.

Among Latin authors he prefers Cicero and Virgil. His sermons are often inspired by Cicero's speeches;[5] the *De officiis* is of crucial

[1] Against the authenticity: K. Gamber, Die Autorschaft von *De sacramentis*, Regensburg 1967; for Ambrose as the author: J. Schmitz, Zum Autor der Schrift *De sacramentis*, ZKTh 91, 1969, 59–69 and 589; once more against: K. Gamber, ZKTh 91, 1969, 587–589.

[2] In favor of authenticity: F. F. Schwarz, Alexanders Gespräch mit den Brahmanen (*Vita bragmanorum Sancti Ambrosii*), eingeleitet und erklärt, Litterae Latinae 31, 1975–1976, 1–16.

[3] K. Gamber, Geht die sogenannte *Explanatio symboli ad initiandos* tatsächlich auf Ambrosius zurück?, ByzF 2, 1967, 184–203 (= FS F. Dölger, 2).

[4] G. Madec 1974, 316–317.

[5] M. Testard 1985.

importance for him (s. Literary Technique); he read the *Somnium Scipionis* perhaps already with the commentary of Macrobius.[1] In addition he knows Apuleius' *De Platone*.

Ambrose cultivates the genres of ecclesiastical prose familiar to his contemporaries. Pliny serves as a model for the structural design of his collection of letters, though not its language.[2]

Once and for all he determined the generic form of the hymn which, partly following Syriac church music, was to become a standard type of medieval poetry.

Literary Technique

As a writer Ambrose is a master of a technique which the French call collage. His ability to insert an allegorical interpretation from Origen into a Plotinian context—wisely avoiding everything that might look 'heretical' or pagan—testifies to remarkable skill (s. Ideas). The self-assured use of entire passages from other authors is reminiscent of Roman basilicas in which 'columns and other architectural elements of different genre and provenance are combined to produce a unified and characteristic effect'.[3]

Into his exposition of *Genesis* Ambrose inserts descriptions of landscapes and pictures of animal life as moral examples, many of them reminiscent of Virgil.[4] Numerous literary references to Terence help illustrate psychology through poetry; for example, Phaedria's state of mind in the *Eunuchus* (*paenit.* 2. 96. 47).[5] Small exemplary narratives enliven the ascetic writings.

In the *De officiis ministrorum* Ambrose contrives to Christianize an entire three-volume work of Cicero's. This is indicative of a literary program which has to be taken seriously. The number of books is the same; the dedication to the son becomes a dedication to the 'sons', i.e. the priests. The vocabulary remains the same, but the meaning turns out to be Christian instead of Stoic. The foundation of justice is *fides* as it had been to Cicero (Cic. *off.* 1. 23): the word

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[1] For a different view: M. Fuhrmann 1963.

[2] M. Zelzer 1987, 226.

[3] H. Eibl, Augustin und die Patristik, München 1923, 280.

[4] L. Alfonsi, L'ecphrasis ambrosiana del 'libro delle api' virgiliano, VetChr 2, 1965, 129–138.

[5] P. Courcelle, Ambroise de Milan face aux comiques latins, REL 50, 1972, 223–231.

is the same, but now it means 'faith' (Ambr. *off.* 1. 29. 142) instead of the ancient Roman 'adherence to contracts'.[1] In the preface, however, there is an explicit antithesis: Christian *silentium* replaces pagan *oratio*. Instead of Roman, biblical examples are used. In opposition to Cicero, who—like Pelagius later—had relied on man's own moral strength, Ambrose presupposes everywhere the 'preceding grace' (*in Luc.* 4. 4).

Not surprisingly we find in the funeral speeches the entire apparatus of the *laudatio funebris* and of the ancient literature of consolation.[2] Yet our author is able to draw subtle distinctions. *Gratiam referre* replaces the Ciceronian and Stoic *secundum naturam vivere* (*exc. Sat.* 1. 45–48). Stoic wisdom—which had been 'knowledge of things divine and human'[3]—cedes its territory to the ability to *distinguish* divine from human things (*exc. Sat.* 1. 48), a change of stress typical of our author.

Ambrose's readers should be cautious not to look for mechanical methods of work and arbitrary additions. A study of his obituary on Theodosius has clearly shown that Ambrose has a sense of form worthy of an ancient author.[4]

The same is true for the collection of letters, the structure of which conforms to Pliny's *epistulae*. As in the model, there are 10 (= 9 + 1) books, the last of which contains the correspondence with the emperor and is dedicated to the author's public activities.[5] The collection of letters, in its turn, forms an architecture composed of originally independent pieces.

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[1] Cf. R. Sauer, Studien zur Pflichtenlehre des Ambrosius von Mailand, diss. Würzburg 1981, 113–118.

[2] F. Rozynski, Die Leichenreden des hl. Ambrosius, insbesondere auf ihr Verhältnis zur antiken Rhetorik und zu den antiken Trostschriften untersucht, diss. Breslau 1910; C. Favez, La consolation latine chrétienne, Paris 1937; S. Ruiz, Investigationes historicae et litterariae in Sancti Ambrosii *De obitu Valentiniani* et *De obitu Theodosii* imperatorum orationes funebres, diss. München (1969) 1971; for the influence of Cicero's lost *Consolatio* on Ambrose's *De excessu Satyri* s. M. Zelzer 1987, 210–213.

[3] Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 57; *off.* 1. 153; 2. 5, SVF 2. 35; 36; 1017.

[4] W. Steidle, Die Leichenrede des Ambrosius für Kaiser Theodosius und die Helena-Legende, V Chr 32, 1978, 94–112, esp. 112.

[5] For a more detailed analysis (including numerology) J. P. Mazières, Un principe d'organisation pour le recueil des *Lettres* d'Ambroise de Milan, in: Y. M. Duval, ed., 1974, 199–218 and: Les lettres d'Ambroise de Milan à Irénée, Pallas 26, 1979, 103–114.

Language and Style

Ambrose's style[1] is highly rhetorical, as is the norm among Church Fathers. He pretends to write more simply than Symmachus (*epist.* 18. 2) but he does not. Augustine, one of his listeners, is deeply impressed by him as a speaker, whereas Jerome, who probably just read him, has no high opinion of his stylistic faculties.[2] Most of all in his dogmatic works he fails to infuse some artistic life into his language. Of course, their quasi-juridical severity of form might have some fascination of its own.

Before judging the style of his rather prolix exegetical writings, the reader should keep in mind that these are in part stenographic scripts[3] of real sermons, in which the delivery and the speaker's personality contributed considerably to the effect. We know, however, that Ambrose often wrote with his own hand (*epist.* 7. 3). Moreover, the sophisticated art of connecting different sources and the deliberate exploitation of semantic ambiguities of vocabulary tell against mere improvisation; suffice it to recall the author's preference for metaphors equally familiar to Christians and Platonists (s. Ideas). In contrast to the dogmatic works, here we see a 'delightful' style bordering on poetry. This is only one of the surprising overlappings of prose and poetry in that extraordinary man.

As for the letters, it is known that Ambrose sent them, before publication, to a friend versed in literature (Sabinus, bishop of Placentia) for stylistic and theological revision (*epist.* 48. 1). We also know that the structure of the collection is meant to meet literary standards. A study of linguistic minutiae would even allow us to

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[1] On Language and Style: M. F. Barry, The Vocabulary of the Moral-Ascetical Works of St. Ambrose. A Study in Latin Lexicography, diss. Washington 1926; M. A. Adams, The Latinity of the Letters of St. Ambrose, diss. Washington 1927; M. T. Springer, Nature Imagery in the Works of St. Ambrose, diss. Washington 1931; M. R. Delaney, A Study of the Clausulae in the Works of St. Ambrose, diss. Washington 1934; L. T. Philipps, The Subordinate Temporal, Causal, and Adversative Clauses in the Works of St. Ambrose, diss. Washington 1937; J. H. Gillis, The Coordinating Particles in Saints Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, diss. Washington 1938; B. Riposati, Lingua e stile nelle opere oratorie di Sant'Ambrogio, in: Sant'Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita, Milano 1940, 239–305; G. Bartelink, Sprachliche und stilistische Bemerkungen in Ambrosius' Schriften, WS 92, n.s. 13, 1979, 175–202.

[2] He declares that he will pass over him in silence (*vir. ill.* 124), *ne in alterutram partem aut adulatio in me reprehendatur aut veritas.*

[3] Cf. H. Hagendahl, Die Bedeutung der Stenographie für die spätlateinische christliche Literatur, JbAC 14, 1971, 24–38.

distinguish between conciliar letters merely influenced by Ambrose and others which he wrote himself.[1]

The *Hymns* produce an immediate impression on the reader. They are written in acatalectic iambic diameters. The use of this meter in strophes of four lines is not attested before Ambrose, which is not to say, of course, that he invented them. Each hymn has eight strophes. As the reformer of Christian lyrics—a genre which had begun with Hilary of Poitiers[2]—Ambrose found a language and music which were simple and noble, popular and dignified at the same time, a master-stroke not always achieved by authors of popular religious songs.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

In the footsteps of Alexandrians such as Philo and Origen,[3] Ambrose applied the methods of allegorical interpretation to the Old Testament. 'Typology' centered on the history of redemption was in his view the higher and truly theological form of exegesis. Even in the Old Testament, Christ was his sole point of reference.[4] This method allowed Ambrose to prevent his listeners from taking moral offense at certain scenes in the Old Testament, thus enabling him to convert Augustine. On the other hand, he also followed Basil, who, in the style of the school of Antioch, had respected the literal sense and even practised textual criticism. As for 'moral' exegesis, which holds a place in-between, he despised it on theory but admitted it in practice.

Ideas II

With determination Ambrose made philosophy a handmaiden of religion. He took over from Neoplatonism the philosophical interpre-

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[1] G. C. Menis, La lettera XII attribuita a Sant'Ambrogio e la questione marciana aquileiese, RSCI 18, 1964, 243–253 (on *nam/enim, igitur/itaque/ergo, licet, ideoque*; periodical sentence structure, prose rhythm).

[2] J. Fontaine, Les origines de l'hymnodie chrétienne latine d'Hilaire de Poitiers à Ambroise de Milan, Revue de l'Institut catholique de Paris 14, 1985, 15–51; W. Fauth, Der Morgenhymnus *Aeterne rerum conditor* des Ambrosius und Prudentius *cath.* 1, JbAC 27/28, 1984–1985, 97–115.

[3] However, Origen did not confine himself to allegorical exegesis; he was especially striving for a precise literal understanding of the text.

[4] Cyprian's *Testimonia* pursued similar aims.

tation of the Delphic maxim 'know thyself' and applied it to Christian salvation.[1] While Victorinus had assimilated Neoplatonic philosophy in the context of 'logic', Ambrose read it in terms of 'soteriology'. He adapted philosophical elements to Christian dogma: Plotinus had stressed the soul's preexistence, its kinship with God and its being at home in the intellectual world (cf. *enn.* 1. 6. 5; 1. 6. 8), whereas Ambrose emphasized the idea of creation (*Isaac* 8. 79): *solem nisi sanus* (for Plotinus' 'sun-like'!) *et vigens oculus non aspicit* (cf. Aug. *solil.* 1. 14. 25); *illic patria nobis et illic pater, a quo creati sumus* (Ambr. ibid. 8. 78; cf. Aug. *quant. an.* 1. 2), 'only a sound and thriving eye can behold the sun; there is a fatherland for us and there is the Father by whom we were created'. In the *De Isaac vel anima*, the idea of 'inward man'[2] from Plato's *Republic* (9. 589 A–B) merged with the corresponding concept from *Romans* (7. 22). Similarly, Ambrose exploited the metaphor of flight, which is attested both in Plato and the Bible.[3] As in Plotinus (*enn.* 3. 5. 9. 15), 'wealth' symbolizes the intelligibles.[4] Other elements of Platonism in Ambrose's thought are: the non-material concept of God, the mysticism of illumination, and the explanation of evil as 'privation' of what is good; this momentous idea (evoked in the *De Isaac vel anima*) will find important resonance in Augustine.[5]

In the *Hexaemeron* Ambrose ranks the Scriptures above Nature. Like other Church Fathers, he traces the wisdom of Plato and other philosophers back to the influence of the Bible.[6] Nevertheless, Ambrose shows solid knowledge even of medicine (ultimately based on Galen and Gregory of Nyssa); by shaping the ideal physician into the image of Christ he finds a new definition of medical ethics (*Nab.* 8. 40; *Hel.* 20. 75); actually, pagan medicine had served mainly the rich.[7]

His letters and writings are closely linked to real life; the necrologues

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[1] H. DÖRRIE 1964 stressed Porphyry's importance as a model. However, P. COURCELLE proved in several studies that Ambrose depends directly on Plotinus.

[2] For a slightly different view: G. MADEC, L'homme intérieur selon saint Ambroise, in: Y. M. DUVAL, ed., Ambroise de Milan. XVIe centenaire de son élection épiscopale. Dix études, Paris 1974, 283–308.

[3] R. T. OTTEN 1966.

[4] *Isaac* 5. 19; cf. *Matth.* 6. 20; also Aug. *epist.* 3. 2.

[5] Aug. *c. Iul.* 1. 9. 44; *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 4. 109.

[6] Ambr. *off.* 1. 12. 44; 1. 21. 94; 1. 28. 133–134; 1. 36. 180; 2. 2. 6; P. COURCELLE 1976, 189.

[7] G. MÜLLER, Arzt, Kranker und Krankheit bei Ambrosius von Mailand, Sudhoffs Archiv (AGM) 51, 1967, 193–216.

on his brother Satyrus and on the Emperors Valentinian and Theodosius are important historical sources. The letters to Emperors (book 10) and the commemorative speech on Theodosius were published to convey to the Emperor's sons and to their tutor Stilicho the idea of a harmonious balance of episcopal and imperial power. Clear evidence of this intention is the omission of some letters known to us from other sources and revealing differences of opinion.

In Ambrose ancient Roman moral standards are even more prominent than in earlier Fathers. Concerning warfare, he is one of the first Christians to adhere unequivocally to Roman tradition—an attitude historically inevitable after Constantine. Like Cicero, he acknowledges the *ius belli*: wars of defence are permissible, not, however, unfair means of gaining the advantage; contracts must be kept, and the conquered spared. While earlier ecclesiastical writers had defended pacifism,[1] Ambrose limits it to the private sphere, where he forbids even self-defence (*off.* 3. 4. 27). Civil war is ostracized; but against non-Christians and non-Romans ('natural enemies') neither war nor usury is excluded (*Tob* 15. 51). Ambrose occasionally praises heroism in battles (*off.* 1. 41. 201) and sometimes seems to comply tacitly with the use of violence against heretics, although he expressly disapproves the execution of the heretic Priscillian (*epist.* 26. 20 explains the 'background' to his clemency). As world history coincided with church history in his day, Ambrose could be a Roman patriot, though he was anything but a slave to power. In practice he knew how to organize passive resistance: *tradere basilicam non possum, sed pugnare non debeo*, 'I cannot surrender the basilica, but I am not allowed to fight' (*epist.* 20. 22).

Like Roman jurists he eschewed detailed casuistic prescriptions. Borrowing from the language of Roman land-surveyors, he created the term of 'cardinal virtues' (*exc. Sat.* 1. 57)—they set a standard, comparable to the *cardo maximus*, the main axis, starting from which the longitudinal and transverse axes (*cardines* and *decumani*) were counted. For him ethics is the interpretation of divine law; like a jurist he searches for 'precedents'. In his own theory and practice he transfers the moral code of the ancient Roman official to his understanding of ecclesiastical office, a metamorphosis of historical consequence.

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[1] Cf. Tert. *apol.* 37. 5; *idol.* 19. 3; *coron.* 11. 2; Orig. *c. Cels.* 2. 30; 3. 8; 8. 73; Lact. *inst.* 6. 20. 15–16.

Transmission

In view of the great number of his works, we must content ourselves with only a brief sketch of the manuscript tradition.[1] The manuscripts are impressive not only for their quantity (e.g. we have over 100 codices for the *In XII psalm.*) but also for the venerable age of some of them:

exc. Sat., patr. (Boulogne-sur-Mer 32, 7th century).

hex.: We have fragments of an Aurelianensis; the other manuscripts fall into two classes; the oldest manuscript of the better class is the Cantabrigiensis, Corp. Chr. 193, 8th century.

Iac., Isaac, obit. Valent., parad.: Audomaropolitanus (= St. Omer) 72, 8th–9th century; Paris. Lat. 1913, olim Colbertinus, 9th century, and others.

in Luc.: Bobiensis, 7th century.

Iob.: Paris. Lat. 1732, 8th century.

myst.: Remensis 376, 9th century.

obit. Theod.: Berol. theol. Lat. 2°, 908, 9th century, and others.

off.: Herbipolitanus (Würzburg), Ms. theol. 7, 9th century; Monacensis Lat. 14 641, 8th–9th century.

symb., sacr.: Sangallensis 188, 7th–8th century, and others.

Influence[2]

Ambrose is largely responsible for transmitting Greek ideas to Western Europe. With his gift of exploiting controversial sources in a dogmatically inoffensive form, he helped to keep alive the ideas of Plotinus and Philo. He deeply impressed Augustine, who very probably heard his sermons on *Isaac.* His knowledge of Platonism and his allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament facilitated Augustine's conversion. Likewise, Augustine's doctrines of original sin and grace would not have been possible without Ambrose's rediscovery of Paul.

Soon after Ambrose's death, Paulinus of Milan wrote his biography at Augustine's request. Another *vita* from the Carolingian period has been preserved in the *Codex Sangallensis 569* (9th century).[3] In iconography our churchfather's attribute is the whip, since the firm stand he made against the Arians was compared with the expulsion

[1] For the letters: M. Zelzer, Mittelalterliche 'Editionen' der Korrespondenz des Ambrosius als Schlüssel zur Überlieferung der Briefbücher, WS 96, n.s. 17, 1983, 160–180.

[2] On Ambrose's influence: P. Cherubelli, Sant'Ambrogio e la Rinascita. Fonti manoscritte, edizioni a stampa e iconografia del Santo nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI, in: Sant'Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita, Milano 1940, 571–592.

[3] A. Paredi, ed., Vita e meriti di Sant'Ambrogio. Testo inedito del secolo nono (TTr), illustrato con le miniature del Salterio di Arnolfo, Milano 1964.

of the merchants from the temple (*Ioh.* 2. 14–15). The name of Ambrose stood for the consolidation of the Church as a confessional church; because of his care for dogmatic correctness his works could be considered a common basis of both Eastern and Western Christianity. Again, he kept up succesfully the spiritual independence and the moral authority of the Church against the state. Paintings from the time of the counter-reformation show the bishop holding the cross in his hand and prohibiting the Emperor from entering the church. A mosaic[1] portrait made soon after his death in his titular church at Milan reflects a more human aspect: his mourning for his brother. In the same cathedral, the golden altar of Wolvinus (made before 859) shows scenes from his life.[2]

Although Isidorus in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* did not use Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*, Thomas Aquinas studied it (*Summa theologica, pars* 2), and one of Ambrose's greatest successors to the See of Milan, Carlo Borromeo (16th century), recommended it for reading.

For all his sober realism, our author exerted a lasting and far-reaching influence in the fields of poetry and music: Ambrose's hymns initiated both the medieval acme of Latin and vernacular lyrics—and the history of European music.[3]

Editions: Basileae 1492 (first complete edition). * J. du Frische, N. Le Nourry (Maurine edition), 2 vols., Paris 1686–1690; repr. PL 14–17; cf. PLS 1, 569–620; 672. * K. Schenkl, M. Petschenig, O. Faller, M. Zelzer, CSEL 32, 62, 64, 73, 78, 79, 82, Vindobonae 1897–1982. * C. Schenkl, F. Gori, F. Lucidi, C. Moreschini, G. Banterle, R. Palla, E. Bellini, M. Adriaen, G. Coppa, L. Pizzolato, M. Zelzer (TTrN, Indices), Milano 1976–1988. * *Selected Works*: F. X. Schulte (Tr), BKV 10–11, Kempten 1871–1877; J. E. Niederhuber (Tr), BKV 2nd ed. 17, 2nd ed. 21, 2nd ed. 32, Kempten 1914–1917. * *Seven exegetical works*: M. P. McHugh (Tr), Washington 1972. * *Selected Speeches*: T. Köhler (Tr), Leipzig 1892. * *apol. Dav.*: P. Hadot, M. Cordier (TTrN), SC 239, Paris 1977. * *bon. mort.*: F. Portalupi (TrN), Torino 1961. * W. T. Wiesner (TTrC), diss. Washington 1970. * J. Huhn (TrC), Fulda 1949. * J. Huhn (C), Münster 1923. * *epist.*: M. M. Beyenka (Tr), Washington (1954) corr. 1967. * cf. R. Klein (s. monographs). * *exc.*

[1] P. Courcelle 1973, I (plate); 155–156 (commentary); ibid. (i–xci) rich iconographic material up to the 18th century.

[2] P. Courcelle 1973, pp. xvii–xxx (plates); 169–179 (commentary).

[3] S. now: T. Bailey, Ambrosianischer Gesang, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd edition, vol. 1, Kassel 1994, 521–546 (with rich bibl.).

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V Chr 38, 1984, 18–66. * W. Steidle, Beobachtungen zum Gedankengang im zweiten Buch von Ambrosius, *De officiis*, V Chr 39, 1985, 280–298. * W. Steidle, Die Leichenrede des Ambrosius für Kaiser Theodosius und die Helena-Legende, V Chr 32, 1978, 94–112. * L. J. Swift, St. Ambrose on Violence and War, TAPhA 101, 1970, 533–543. * L. Taormina, Sant'Ambrogio e Plotino, MSLC 4, 1953, 41–85. * M. Testard, Observations sur le thème de la *conscientia* dans le *De officiis ministrorum* de saint Ambroise, REL 51, 1973, 219–261. * M. Testard, Observations sur la rhétorique d'une harangue au peuple dans le *Sermo contra Auxentium* de saint Ambroise, REL 63, 1985, 193–209. * M. Zelzer, Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition, WS 100, 1987, 201–226.

JEROME

Life and Dates

Jerome (Eusebius Sofronius Hieronymus) was born about 345/348 at Stridon (Dalmatia)[1] into a wealthy Christian family. When a boy he came to Rome to gain first-hand knowledge of Latin literature from the great grammarian Aelius Donatus; even in his later years he would take delight in quoting his master's favorite authors, especially Virgil and Terence. He was christened in the same city, though not before having tasted some of life's worldly pleasures. It was only later during a stay in the imperial city of Trier (Treves) in Gaul that he dedicated himself to ascetic discipline. The repeated dismissals and exiles of Athanasius had publicized the ideals of Egyptian monasticism in the West. From Aquileia, the home of his fellow-student Rufinus (d. 410) who translated Origen, he suddenly left for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[2] Disease compelled him to stay in Antioch;

[1] At the standard age of about 7 years he entered grammar school at Rome in 354 (*in Ruf.* 1. 30; *epist.* 128. 4); P. Jay, Sur la date de naissance de saint Jérôme, REL 51, 1973, 262–280 (birthdate between 345 and 347); A. D. Booth, The Date of Jerome's Birth, Phoenix 33, 1979, 346–353 (birthdate towards the end of 347 or early in 348). Earlier dates are less convincing: before September 30, 330: P. Hamblenne, La longévité de Jérôme: Prosper avait-il raison?, Latomus 28, 1966, 1081–1119; for 331: J. N. D. Kelly 1975, 337–339. For the localization of Stridon (= Strigova): I. Fodor, Le lieu d'origine de saint Jérôme. Reconsidération d'une vieille controverse, RHE 81, 1986, 498–500; for divergent views see ibid.

[2] A. D. Booth, The Chronology of Jerome's Early Years, Phoenix 35, 1981, 237–259 dates the departure from 368; for 372: J. H. D. Scourfield, Jerome, Antioch

then he lived about three years (probably until 377) as a hermit in the desert of Chalcis in East Syria, improving his knowledge of Greek (a language he had began to study only before his departure for the Orient) and learning Hebrew with a monk of Jewish origin (*epist.* 125. 12).[1] In Antioch he was among the audience of the exegete Apollinarius of Laodicea.[2] There Bishop Paulinus ordained him priest (between 377 and 379: *c. Ioh.* 41). During the Council of Constantinople (381) he hung on the words of Gregory of Nazianzus and became enthusiastic about Origen, whose writings he translated in part. In fact, without Origen's work as an editor and exegete, Jerome's œuvre would not have been possible. He also met Gregory of Nyssa.

Together with Paulinus and Epiphanius of Salamis he then went to Rome where he would stay three years (382–385). As secretary of Pope Damasus he was ordered to revise the Latin Bible, which would become his life's work. He won over a group of laymen for his ascetic ideals, among them the noble widows Marcella and Paula. When Paula's daughter Blesilla died—allegedly from excessive fasting—public temper exploded against the *genus detestabile monachorum* (*epist.* 39. 6). A few weeks later Damasus died (384) and Jerome received due acknowledgement for his criticism of the Roman clergy (*epist.* 22): he was ignored as a candidate for papacy and, in his turn, suspected of immorality. Disillusioned, he went first to Antioch, followed by Paula and her other daughter, Eustochium, then to Alexandria, where he attended the lectures of Didymus the Blind, an adherent of Origen. In Bethlehem, where he would stay from 386 until his death, he founded with Paula's generous help three nunneries and a monastery for men. He donated his big library to the monastery school, where he introduced sons of noble families to the Roman classics. Even there his life was not undisturbed: during the Pelagian conflict heretics set his cloisters on fire. Invasions of Huns, Isaurians, and Saracens followed. The Origenist controversy, a posthumous defamation of the greatest Greek ecclesiastical author, caused Jerome to reject loudly the teacher he had previously admired and to persecute with hatred his old friend Rufinus, who had shown more character.

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and the Desert. A Note on Chronology, JThS n.s. 37, 1986, 117–121, esp. 117.

[1] Before Jerome, Origen and Jerome's teacher Apollinarius had studied Hebrew; the letters *epist.* 29–30; 32 refer to 384 (Rome).

[2] P. Jay, Jérôme auditeur d'Apollinaire de Laodicée à Antioche, REAug 20, 1974, 36–41 dates the studies with Apollinarius *after* the stay in the desert.

He also participated in the hateful campaign against John Chrysostom, one of the noblest figures in ecclesiastical history. Jerome died about 420.

Survey of Works

Jerome's principal work is the Latin Bible, which from the 9th century onward would be called the Vulgate. The New Testament, written between 382 and 384, is a revised version of older Latin translations on the basis of the Greek original. The Old Testament is a completely new translation from the original languages: Hebrew, Aramaic,[1] or Greek[2] (391–405). Jerome omitted the following Apocrypha: *The Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), Baruch, Esdras 3–4, Maccabees.* We have three versions of the *Psalms*: a very conservative revision of the so-called *Psalterium Romanum,* a somewhat more radical adaptation following Origen's *Hexapla* (*Psalterium Gallicanum,* the *Vulgate*), and a translation faithful to the original (*Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*) which was never used in liturgy. Moreover, there are two versions of *Job* and the *Song of Songs.*

Jerome also translated some *Exegetical Sermons* of Origen, Didymus' *On the Holy Ghost* and the Monastic Rule of Pachomius of Egypt. His *Chronicle* is based on Eusebius and Suetonius (and updated until 378). He adapted the commentary on *Revelation* by Victorinus Pictaviensis.

He wrote commentaries on many biblical books: all *Prophets, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Matthew* and four of *Paul's Letters.* Other works connected with his study of the Bible are: *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (following the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius), *De nominibus Hebraicis* (according to pseudo-Philo). Especially noteworthy are the *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim.*

Most of the polemical works defend ascetic discipline: against Jovinian Jerome defends celibacy and fasting (in two books), against Helvidius the eternal virginity of Mary, against Vigilantius the cult of reliques, monastic life, and celibacy. At the same time he tries to cleanse himself from the suspicion of Origenism. In other pamphlets he attacks Origenists (*Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* and *Adversus Rufinum,* in three books) and Pelagians (*Contra Pelagianus,* in three books).

His *Sermons* are mostly exegetic in accordance with his main interest.

Of the 150 *Letters,* 26 were written by others (among these ten by Augustine). Further letters of Jerome are found in Augustine's correspondence, even in its recently discovered parts (CSEL 88, 1981 N° * 27).[3] There are

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[1] *Tobias* and *Judith.*
[2] The later parts of *Daniel* and *Esther.*
[3] 39; 68; 72; 75; 81; 123; 165; 172; 202.

exegetic and antiheretical epistles; there are missives encouraging ascetic discipline, personal communications, letters of recommendation and consolation, obituaries and biographies.

We owe to his tireless pen the first history of Christian literature: the *De viris illustribus*. This work, which contains brief portraits of 135 Christian authors, was written in 392 at the request of Jerome's friend Dexter.

The legendary *Lives of Saints* would meet with a good response through the centuries. Thanks to Jerome, Paul, the hermit of Thebes, became a Latin companion to the Greek monk Anthony; they would be painted together on Grünewald's (d. 1528) Isenheim Altar.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Before Jerome it was unheard of for a Latin author to learn Hebrew systematically. Many of his contemporaries, even Augustine, did not understand why he went back to the original. To revise the old Latin Bible translation, he used Origen's *Hexapla*. His exegetic works were also based on the original: the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* is the first Latin commentary on a book of the Bible which refers to the Hebrew text.

Jerome transmitted many Greek ideas to the West.[1] Most of all he learnt from Origen's works; nevertheless he defamed that giant among churchfathers as a heretic later on. He also used Greek sources for his *Chronicle* and his *De viris illustribus*.

He had a special liking for Latin literature, so much so that he felt guilty of 'Ciceronianism' before the Eternal Judge (*epist.* 22). He was not only familiar with the classics but also with Christian Latin authors. The influence of Tertullian, an author congenial to his temperament, shows in the denouncement of marriage in the *Adversus Iovinianum*.

For the influence of biographies, novels, and itineraries s. below.

Literary Technique

Jerome is a brilliant writer of letters, an enthralling story-teller—the reader will remember the monk imprisoned by the Bedouins in the *Life of Malchus*—and a pitiless pamphletist.

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[1] Cf. also W. C. McDermott, Saint Jerome and Pagan Greek Literature, V Chr 36, 1982, 372-382.

He also masters the sophisticated literary form of dialogue, as appears in his best polemical work, the *Adversus Pelagianos*. In the *Life of Malchus*, the story within the story gives the impression of multiple framing, thus enhancing the flavor of legend and fairy-tale. The narrative presented in the first person is reminiscent of Ulysses and the *Golden Ass*. The theme of chastity and adventurous action are constituents of the ancient novel.

The Romans' interest in biographies was developed further by Jerome, who insisted on typical and symbolic elements. Athanasius' *Life of Anthony*, Latinized by a friend of Jerome's, Evagrius of Antioch, had become for our author the Magna Charta of spiritual life. On this basis, he contributed to the rise of a Latin hagiography to meet literary standards. His legends of Paul of Thebes, Malchus, and Hilarion created a literary form out of elements from fairy-tales, novels, and aretalogies of pagan miracle-workers—such as Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*;[1] a comparable phenomenon is the *Life of Martin* by Sulpicius Severus. In a manner both learned and graceful, Jerome reports historical or quasi-historical events in order to propagate the ascetic way of life.

The obituary of Paula (*epist.* 108) combines two Roman traditions: *laudatio funebris* and *itinerarium*. At that time the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* or *Egeriae* had already been published.[2]

Language and Style

Lactantius' claim to be a 'Christian Cicero' was truly fulfilled by Jerome. It is true that he occasionally uses a late Latin word like *confortare* or an infinitive to denote an intention, but in general his Latin is pure and clear. His linguistic conscience even labels the use of *comparare* for *emere* as a barbarism (*c. Ruf.* 3. 6). Together with Plautus and Cicero Jerome is our most important source of Latin terms of abuse.

Like Cicero's, Jerome's Latin covers a wide range of modes of expression. On the one hand, there is the emotional and rhetorical

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[1] Cf. R. Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wundererzählungen, Darmstadt 3rd ed. 1974; A. Jolles, Einfache Formen, Tübingen 5th ed. 1974, 23–61; H. Rosenfeld, Legende, Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1972; H. Kech 1977; M. Fuhrmann 1977.

[2] Roughly in the same epoch Sulpicius Severus wrote three books of *Dialogi* with a report on Postumius' pilgrimage to the Egyptian monks, and Rufinus of Aquileia translated the influential *Story of the Egyptian Monks*.

style of the *genus grande*, on the other hand, the plain and factual language of teaching. In real life Jerome adheres to the *sancta simplicitas*; in literature he avoids the *verbosa rusticitas.*[1] His style, though intended to be plain, is anything but simplistic and is enlivened with an undefinable personal fervor.

Jerome was cut out to be a satirist. He denounces hypocrisy by using diminutives: *quasi religiosulus et sanctulus* (*c. Ruf.* 3. 7); a devastating antithesis unmasks incompetence: *tantam habes Graeci Latinique sermonis scientiam, ut et Graeci te Latinum et Latini te Graecum putent*, 'you are so skilled in Greek and Latin that the Greeks take you for a Latin speaker and the Latin speakers hold that you are Greek' (*c. Ruf.* 3. 6). His criticism of clerics deserves closer attention (*epist.* 22. 4): first there are indignant exclamations: *pudet dicere, pro nefas!* 'There is another scandal of which I blush to speak'. A dry statement follows: *triste, sed verum est*, 'yet, though sad, it is true'. Then a series of questions, anaphorically introduced by *unde: unde in ecclesias agapetarum pestis introiit? Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Immo unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: unde meretrices univirae?*, 'From what source has this plague of dearly beloved sisters found its way into the Church? Whence come these unwedded wives, these new types of concubines, nay, I will go further, these one-man-harlots?' The two last members of the series are graphically separated from the preceding text. While the sentences become shorter and shorter, the terms denoting the ladies become ever stronger: *agapetarum, uxorum, concubinarum, meretrices.* The most poignant paradox (*meretrices inivirae*) marks the ultimative climax. A more good-natured kind of humor shows in his address to Paula, whose daughter had become a nun, as 'God's mother-in-law' (*epist.* 22. 20).[2]

The ending of the prologue to his *Commentary on Jonah* is a typical example of the way he uses an entire series of antitheses to throw light on a problem, a technique sometimes reminiscent of Paul or Tertullian: *illi (sc. Iudaei) habent libros, nos librorum dominum, illi tenent prophetas, nos intellegentiam prophetarum; illos occidit littera, nos vivificat spiritus* (*2 Cor.* 3. 6), *apud illos Barabbas latro dimittitur, nobis Christus Dei filius*

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[1] *Nec reprehendo in quolibet Christiano sermonis imperitiam—atque utinam Socraticum illud haberemus; 'scio, quod nescio' et alterius sapientis: 'te ipsum intellege'—venerationi mihi semper fuit non verbosa rusticitas sed sancta simplicitas: qui in sermone imitari se dicit apostolos, prius imitetur in vita* (*epist.* 57. 12. 4).

[2] Cf. also N. Adkin, Some Notes on the Style of Jerome's Twenty-Second Letter, RFIC 112, 1984, 287–291.

solvitur, 'they have the books, we have the Lord of the books, they keep the prophets, we the understanding of the prophets; they are killed by the letter, we are vivified by the spirit; with them, Barabbas the robber is released, for us Christ, God's son, is given'. The same device occurs in his denial of Origen: *laudavi interpretem, non dogmatisten, ingenium, non fidem, philosophum, non apostolum*, 'I praised the translator, not the dogmatist; his intelligence, not his faith; the philosopher, not the apostle' (*epist.* 84. 2. 2).

His prose rhythm is indicative of the transition from quantitative metrics to metrics based on word accent.[1] In conspicuous passages Jerome is anxious to use clausulae meeting classical standards; an example is the ending of the *Vita Malchi* (10): *pudicitiam non esse captivam* (cretic and trochee) *hominem Christo deditum posse mori, non posse superari* (first paeon and trochee), 'that chastity is not taken by force, that a man devoted to Christ can die, but not be overcome'.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

Jerome considers the translation of the Bible as *his* work. His achievement was a synthesis of the traditional Roman art of free adaptation of Greek models—he himself points to Cicero and the writers of comedies—and the Christian tradition of literal translation. On the one hand, he was not satisfied with the 'inspired' *Septuagint* but referred to the Hebrew original, an innovation unheard of in the Latin West; on the other, he was eager to respect the spirit of the Latin language. His translation was meant to evince both the truth *and* the beauty of the Bible.

He believes in the infallibility of Scripture and its real (not verbal) inspiration. While acknowledging the deeper significance of the original word order and trying to preserve it in his translation (*epist.* 57. 4), he also knows that a living thought cannot be translated word for word into another language. He quotes Horace (133–134): *nec verbum verbo*[2] *curabis reddere fidus/interpres*, 'and you will not seek to render word

[1] In need of revision: P. C. Knook, De overgang van metrisch tot rythmisch proza bij Cyprianus en Hieronymus, Purmerend 1932; M. C. Herron, A Study of the Clausulae of St. Jerome, Washington 1937; innovative: J. H. D. Scourfield, Notes on the Text of Jerome, *Letters* 1 and 107, CQ n.s. 37, 2, 1987, 487–497.

[2] Cf. also Sen. *epist.* 9. 20.

by word as a slavish translator' and he sneers: *quam vos veritatem interpretationis, hanc eruditi* κακοζηλίαν *nuncupant*, 'what you call exactness of translation, the learned men call bad style' (*epist.* 57. 5. 5–6.).[1] His respect for the laws of his mother-tongue recalls Luther's *Missive on Translating*. For all his quoting of Cicero and Horace, Jerome was a much more faithful translator than they had been. The Vulgate is a momentous achievement.

In the Bible, which (in theory) had to replace pagan literature, he found pertinent examples of different literary genres (cf. *epist.* 53. 8. 16–19). Within a single genre he discovers individual differences of style: while his favorite Isaiah is eloquent, noble, urbane, Ezekiel is dark (*in Is. prol.*). He even discerns variation of style within single works, e.g. between prosaic and poetic passages (*interpr. Iob prol.*).

If the word of the Scriptures had to be taken seriously as a message for Jerome's time, an art of interpretation was indispensable. The very principle of literal adherence to the text called for hermeneutics. As Jerome deemed exegesis a *productive* activity, he compared it to literary creativity (cf. *epist.* 53. 7) and wanted it done by specialists. Just as the ancient Romans, starting with Livius Andronicus, had simultaneously become acquainted with Homer and his Greek interpreters and exploited both for new literary creations, now was the time to convey to the Occident both the Bible and its Greek exegetes. Jerome's literary activity was meant to serve the Word: *non tam disertudinem ostentet suam quam sensum eius quem exponit edisserat*, 'he should not so much show his own eloquence but rather render the meaning of the author he is explaining' (*in Ion. prol.*). Above all, he is an exegete: *optoque, si fieri potest, etsi adversarii saevierint, commentarios potius scripturarum quam Demosthenis et Tullii Philippicas scribere*, 'I had rather, if possible, and even if my opponents should rage, write commentaries of the Scriptures than Philippics like Demosthenes and Cicero (*epist.* 57. 13).

The ancient classics were his great love. The most difficult part of ascetic discipline for him was to renounce pagan books. The principle of 'use' (χρεία) made the classical literary forms available to Christian writers, notwithstanding their pagan content. Thus it became possible to adapt the noble language of classical literature to

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[1] Cf. Hieronymus, *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*epist.* 57). Ein Kommentar von G. J. M. Bartelink, Leiden 1980, 59–60.

Christian ideas and even to use classical and Christian examples indiscriminately.

However, Jerome deemed childish the Christian interpretation of isolated sentences from pagan texts and the poetry of *Centones* based on this 'method' (*epist.* 53. 9).

Biblical elements may find pagan parallels: Socrates' wise ignorance matches the thirst for God's justice in the Old Covenant. Both classical antiquity and the Old Testament are outshone by the Gospels: they are the sole source of true knowledge (*epist.* 53. 9).

Ideas II

Initially—e.g. in his commentaries on Paul's *Letters*—Jerome felt more attracted to allegorical interpretation, later—e.g. in his commentary on *Matthew*—he rather stressed the literal sense. His own interpretations suffer from haste and lack of independence; in addition, these same vices make his chronological information a real maze for historians of literature.

Independent thought was dangerous in that period. Jerome at any rate did not submit to this temptation. Whenever thinkers were called to account, he always made it to the 'right' side just in time, ready to follow the latest instructions and throw the first stone on former friends. He expressed his allegiance to the pope (whose secretary he was) more explicitly than any earlier writer. It was more important to him to belong to the group than to care for individual friends or ideas, a state of mind reminiscent of the old Roman unity of politics and religion. Calling him a great scholar would perhaps be giving him too much credit, classifying him as a mere compiler and intermediary, certainly much too little. To do justice to his personality we should keep in mind that he 'remains an exegete even when writing pamphlets'.[1] This has pros and cons; he frequently answers *logical* objections with indications of sources, quotations, and authorities.

Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to speak of a 'world of ideas' of Jerome. In accordance with inveterate Roman habits he shows an orator's indifference to philosophical truth. The monk's cowl did not prevent this disciple of Donatus from remaining

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[1] I. Opelt 1973, 196.

a philologist and humanist with all the good and bad qualities of that tribe. His spiritual importance can be fully assessed only through the mirror of his influence.

For us, he painted a priceless portrait of his time. His grief for Rome[1] is more moving and more humane than the corresponding remarks of Augustine, who soberly directs our glance from the earthly to the celestial City.[2] It is true that Jerome through his closeness to Damasus and Paula had a deeper emotional relationship to Rome than Augustine.

He uses his pen without any ascetic restraint. The more fervently he attacks the reading of pagan poets, the less he and his addressees renounce that pleasure.[3] He calls his own interest in *belles lettres* 'adultery with the foreign woman', an activity which served to enlarge the number of his companions in the service of Christ. Moreover, he has full command of the Greco-Roman art of scolding. When combating heretics he proves a master at scholarly polemics. Similarly, pagan philosophers had disparaged Epicureans, only to be paid back in their own coin by authors like Philodemus. Jerome's lively discourse is like a come-back of Horace, Persius, Juvenal, and the poets of Roman comedy.

In the course of his life, his ability for observing the human soul increased, especially under the influence of masters like Seneca and Tacitus: note the interplay of things told and untold in *epist.* 22.16: *Clerici ipsi, quos et magisterio esse oportuerat et timori, osculantur capita patronarum et extenta manu, ut benedicere eos putes velle, si nescias, pretium accipiunt salutandi. Illae interim, quae sacerdotes suo vident indigere praesidio, eriguntur in superbiam, et quia maritorum expertae dominatum viduitatis praeferunt libertatem, castae vocantur et nonnae, et post cenam dubiam apostolos somniant,* 'the very clergy, whose teaching and authority ought to inspire respect, kiss these ladies on the forehead and then stretch out their hand—you would think, if you did not know, that they were giving a benediction—to receive the fee for their visit. The women meanwhile, seeing that priests need their help, are lifted up with pride. They know by experience what a husband's rule is like and they prefer their liberty as widows. They call themselves chaste nuns, and after a so-so dinner they dream

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[1] *Epist.* 60.16–18: *Aen.* 2. 368–369; *epist.* 123. 16: *Aen.* 6. 625 ff.; ibid. *quid salvum est, si Roma perit* (freely adapted from Lucan. 5. 274); *epist.* 127. 12: *Aen.* 2. 361–365; *epist.* 126. 2; *in Ezech. lib. 1 praef; lib. 3 praef.*; cf. also K. Sugano 1983, 54–63.

[2] *Serm.* 105. 7.

[3] *Epist.* 21. 13; 22. 29. 6–30. 6; 53.

of apostles'. His sophisticated portrayal of characters—suffice it to recall the obituary of Paula—betrays a keen sense of what is individual. Praise and blame are anything but one-sided (*epist.* 84).[1]

Jerome's insistence on practical life is a Roman feature. As a spiritual adviser and propagandist he has learned a good deal from Seneca. He makes his rhetorical skills serve his ascetic ideal. The stress laid on asceticism, a feature rather surprising to the modern reader, was a bold innovation in his day, at least in the Western empire. In those times of satiety it must have been experienced as liberation, not enslavement. Like Augustine, Jerome is under the spell of Athanasius and his *Life of Anthony*. He acknowledges the purifying power of the Word and of scholarly work, thus spiritualizing the practical sense of the Romans. His aim is the transfiguration of all dimensions of life through the Word, the permanent dialogue with the Scriptures, and a continuous exercise in scholarship. In this respect, he has to be considered a great reformer of his age.

He transformed the didactic impulse typical of many Romans, the *summum vel discendi studium vel docendi*, 'the highest zeal both for learning and teaching' (Cic. *rep.* 2. 1 on Cato the Elder), by mastering a multitude of literary genres, and by reading with his students Virgil and the great authors of comedy, lyrics and history. He also possessed a Roman sense of history and the penchant for encyclopedic knowledge typical of his nation. After Cicero in the *Brutus* and Quintilian in the *Tenth Book*, Jerome was the third important author to try to write in Latin a history of literature, naturally under the auspices of Christianity. Like many other Romans he searched for his spiritual ancestors in the past—he sympathized with Tertullian, who like Jerome could be regarded as a victim of the Roman clergy. With the lack of modesty proper to classical antiquity he said of himself: 'I am a philosopher'—this needs qualification—'a rhetor, a grammarian, and a dialectician, a Hebrew, a Greek and a Latin'. Less euphoric was his subconscious: He dreamed that on doomsday the Lord told him: 'Thou art Ciceronian, not Christian' (*epist.* 22. 30).[2] He created a synthesis of what was Christian and Roman (as Clement, Origen, and Basil had done for the Greeks), thus contributing to the continuity of European culture. Jerome's Christian humanism

[1] Cf. the tradition of biography since Suetonius.

[2] N. Adkin, Some Notes on the Dream of Saint Jerome, Philologus 128, 1984, 1, 119–126.

was not an easy compromise but rather the first spiritualized metamorphosis of Roman culture.

Tradition

Jerome was one of the most widely known authors in the Middle Ages. The transmission of his works is especially rich; here it will suffice to refer to a few of his works.

It is extremely difficult to restore the text of the *Vulgate*, since the manuscripts are numerous and mostly offer a mixed text (s. the editions quoted below). The codex Amiatinus in Florence (8th century) is a complete manuscript of the entire Bible; the Fuldensis (from the year 645) contains the New Testament; another manuscript of venerable age is the Foroiuliensis (6th–7th century).

Of the *De viris illustribus* we have numerous later and several early manuscripts: the Vaticanus Reginensis 2077 (6th–7th century), the Parisinus 12161 from Corbie (7th–8th century), the Veronensis XXII (XX) (7th–8th century), the Vercellensis 183 (8th century), the Montepessulanus 406 (8th–9th century). The Greek translation is also worthy of consideration.

For the *Chronicle* we might cite: Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auct. T. II. 26, olim Claramontanus, postea Meermannianus (O; 5th–6th century); Amandinus B. 229 (A; 7th–8th century); Middlehillensis 1872, now Berolinensis 127 (M; 8th–9th century); Bernensis 219, olim Bongarsianus (B; end of 7th–9th century); Leidensis Freherianus Scalig. 14 (F; early 9th century); Oxoniensis Mertonensis H. 3.15 (9th century); Petavianus Leidensis Vossianus Lat. Q 110 (P; 9th century; in addition, P contains 6 sheets, the fragmenta Petaviana Voss. Lat. Q 110 A (S; 4th century) and is to be completed by two sheets from the Vaticanus Reginensis Lat. 1709 (9th century) and 14 sheets from the Parisinus Lat. 6400 B (6th century); Londinensis Mus. Brit. 16 974 (L; 10th century); Leidensis B.P.L. 30 (c; 12th century); Vaticanus Reginensis 560 (R; 13th–14th century). OML are most important for the *constitutio* of the text.

In his lifetime Jerome published two collections of his letters; the collection which came down to us was in circulation soon after his death (150 letters, about 124 of which were written by Jerome). Editors select the following 'leading' manuscripts out of an especially rich tradition:[1] Lugdunensis 600 (6th–8th century); Parisinus nouv. acq. Lat. 446 (6th–8th century); Neapolitanus VI. D. 59 (6th–7th century); Spinaliensis 68 (8th century); Monacensis Lat. 6299 (8th–9th century); Turicensis Augiensis 41 (9th century); Parisinus Lat. 1868 (9th century); Coloniensis 35 (8th–9th century);

[1] B. Lambert 1969, vol. 1 A and B.

Berolinensis Lat. 17 (9th century); Vaticanus Lat. 355 und 356 (9th–10th century); Vaticanus Lat. 5762 (10th century); Berolinensis Lat. 18 (12th century).

As for the *Biographies of Saints*, the *Vita Pauli* is transmitted in the Veronensis XXXVIII (36) from the year 517, which is, however, inferior to Cotton Caligula A XV (8th century), Parisinus Lat. 11 748 (10th century), and Carnotensis 507 (193; 10th century). The best witness of the *Vita Hilarionis* is the same Parisinus, as is the Neapolitanus Lat. VI. D. (6th–8th century)[1] for the *Vita Malchi*.

Influence

Along with Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, Jerome was acknowledged as one of the four great teachers of the Western Church. He was doubtless the most learned, though not the most sagacious of the four. The *Legenda aurea* suitably called him 'The judge of his own and other people's words'.[2] His creative use of language had an influence unparalleled in world literature.

His knowledge of Hebrew was an exceptional phenomenon in the Latin world, and after him, linguistic competence in the West decayed. His greatest achievement, however, the Latin translation of the Bible, was not immediately recognized. Even Augustine could not appreciate it and regretted the fact that Jerome had not instead followed the Greek *Septuagint* (Aug. *epist.* 71. 4; 82. 35). The most faithful of his three versions of the *Psalms* was never taken into account. For all this, the impact of the language and content of the *Vulgate* on European culture was deeper than that of any other Latin book; for more than a millennium—from the Carolingian epoch to the second half of the twentieth century—the *Vulgate* was the canonical text for the Catholic Church.

He earned an equally enduring reputation as a teacher of asceticism and a brilliant narrator of edifying stories. Legend transformed into a saint even him, who had not been ignorant of the world. When talking of his justice and peace of mind, posterity praised what he wanted to become, not what he had been. (In a similar way the phantom of a wise and dispassionate Horace was cherished by some

[1] W. A. Oldfather, ed., Studies in the Text Tradition of St. Jerome's *Vitae Patrum*, Urbana 1943; B. Lambert 1969, 2, 261–263.

[2] Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. by T. Graesse (3rd ed. 1890) repr. Osnabrück 1965, 653.

classicists). Artists painted Jerome in his hermitage,[1] a tame lion couched at his feet. Was this a symbol of a temper never wholly mastered? Once and for all Jerome determined the ideal of the Western monk, an ideal combining ascetic discipline[2] and scholarship. The unity of asceticism and scholarship survived the Middle Ages and was represented in modern times by scientists like Mme. Curie.

At a time when the political and economical order was decaying, the foundation of monasteries was of seminal importance to the survival of intellectual culture. Under Diocletian the intricate system of the Roman economy, which was based on division of labor, was locked into a planned economy and widespread governmental exploitation. When disturbed from outside, this highly vulnerable system necessarily turned into domestic economies with small self-sufficient economic units. Monasteries, which were such units, granted stability and good chances of survival to scholars and books in times of insecurity. Jerome, a great reformer in this respect, bequeathed to the monks of Western Europe the bacillus of humanistic education, thus making possible all the renaissances to come. At the same time he was himself the best example of a creative reading of the Classics. All this made him a *praeceptor Europae.*

Not surprisingly he was a favorite of Erasmus. Martin Luther, who was his match both as translator and master of invective,[3] hated the man who had initiated the thousand year tradition which he had to bring to an end.[4] Melanchthon, however, gave a serene and mild appraisal of Jerome, knowing well what he owed to him *in legendis prophetis et in Ebraicae linguae interpretatione*, 'in reading the Prophets and

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[1] Illustrations and a catalogue: R. Jungblut, Hieronymus. Darstellung und Verehrung eines Kirchenvaters, diss. Tübingen 1967.

[2] Cf. the iconographical pattern 'Jerome in the Desert'.

[3] 'St. Augustine is not so angry. St. Jerome is like all of us: me, Doctor Jonas, Pommer: we are more irascible' (*Table Talk* 347; W.A. 2, 1, 1912 [repr. 1967], 140). As a translator, he sympathized with Jerome: 'When he was translating the Bible, everyone schooled him. He was the only one to know nothing; and that good man's work was judged by people unworthy of cleaning his shoes' (*Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, WA 30, 2, 1909, 634).

[4] *Ergo nullum doctorem scio, quem aeque oderim, cum tamen ardentissime eum amaverim et legerim . . . Si tantum urgeret opera fidei et fructus evangelii; tantum dicit de ieiuniis etc. Staupicius meus aliquando dicebat:* Ich wolt gern wissen, wie der man wer selig worden! *et antecessor eius Doctor Proles dixit:* Ich wolt S. Hieronymum nit gern zum prior haben gehabt (*Table Talk* 445 = W.A. 2, 1, 194); for the development of this antipathy: H. Junghanns, Der junge Luther und die Humanisten, Göttingen 1985, passim.

translating from Hebrew'.[1] Though consulting the Greek and Hebrew originals and Erasmus' Latin translation of the New Testament, Luther often remained under the spell of the *Vulgate*. The same is true of biblical translations in other vernacular tongues. Thus Jerome indirectly influenced the development of modern languages. The following proverb from the preface to his *Commentary on Ephesians* has become popular: *Don't look a gift horse in the mouth.*[2]

Editions: C. SWEYNHEIM, A. PANNARTZ, Romae 1468. * D. VALLARSI, 11 vols., Verona 1734–1742; Venetiis 2nd ed. 1766–1772, repr. in PL 22–30. * Cf. PLS 2, 17–328. * Not yet complete: CC 72–79, Turnholti 1959–1982. * *Letters, hagiograph. and polem. writings*: P. LEIPELT (Tr), BKV 45–46, Kempten 1872–1874. * *Hist., homil., and dogm. writings*: L. SCHADE (Tr), 3 vols., BKV 15, Kempten 1914, 16 and 18, München 1936–1937. * *Dogmatic and Polemical Works* (Tr) J. N. HRITZU, Washington 1965. * Editions of individual works: *Vulgate: Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem*, H. QUENTIN and others, Roma 1926 ff. (not yet complete); *N.T.*: J. WORDSWORTH, H. J. WHITE, H. F. D. SPARKS, Oxford 1889–1949; J. WORDSWORTH, H. J. WHITE, ed. minor, Oxford 1911; 1920. * *adv. Rufin.*: P. LARDET (TTr, Index), SC 303, Paris 1983. * P. LARDET (C), Leiden 1993. * *epist.*: J. HILBERG, CSEL 54–56, 1910–1918. * J. LABOURT (TTr), 8 vols., Paris 1949–1963. * C. C. MIEROW, T. C. LAWLER, (TrN); vol. 1 only (*epist.* 1–22), Westminster, Md. 1963. * *epist. 57*: G. J. M. BARTELINK (TC), Leiden 1980. * *epist. 60*: J. H. D. SCOURFIELD (TTrC), Oxford 1993. * L. SCHADE, rev. by J. B. BAUER (Tr, selection), München 1983. * *hom.*: M. L. EWALD, 2 vols., Washington 1964–1966. * *in Ion.*: Y.-M. DUVAL (TTrC), SC 323, Paris 1985. * *in Is.*: R. GRYSON, P.-A. DEPROOST (T), Freiburg 1993. * *in Matth.*: E. BONNARD (TTrC), 2 vols., Paris 1977–1979. * *vir. ill.*: E. C. RICHARDSON, Lipsiae 1896. * G. HERDING, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1924. * *vita Hilar.* and *epist. 108*: A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN, J. W. SMIT, E. CANALI, C. MORESCHINI, C. MOHRMANN (TTrC), Verona 1975. * *vita Malchi*: C. C. MIEROW (TTr), in: Classical Essays Presented to J. A. KLEIST, St. Louis 1946, 31–60. * *Three Legends*: M. FUHRMANN (TrN), Zürich 1983. ** *Indices*: Incomplete Indices verborum, sententiarum et rerum memorabilium in vols. 2, 3, and 4 of the Maurine edition, 5 vols., Paris 1693–1706, not yet replaced. * Index of the words studied by the author,

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[1] *Declamatio (oratio) de vita D. Hieronymi*, Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 11, Halle 1843, no. 90 (1546), 734–741, esp. 741 (ref. kindly given to me by H. SCHEIBLE).

[2] *In Eph.* 1, *praef.*: *noli . . ., ut vulgare proverbium est, equi dentes inspicere donati*; Jan GRUTER, who ought to know better, deems it a Germanic proverb (*Florilegium ethico-politicum numquam antehac editum* . . . Frankfurt 1612, 43); cf. also C. LEHMANN, *Florilegium Politicum, Politischer Blumen Garten*, 4th ed. 1639, facsimile, ed. by W. MIEDER, Bern 1986, 288, 38.

in: H. Goelzer, Etude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de saint Jérôme, Paris 1884, 453–468. ** *Bibl.*: Altaner 9th ed. 1980, 394–404. * Bibliographia Patristica 28 (1983), ed. by K. Schäferdiek, Berlin 1987, 113–114 (more volumes to come).

N. Adkin, Some Notes on the Content of Jerome's Twenty-Second Letter, GB 15, 1988, 177–186. * N. Adkin, 'Adultery of the tongue', Jerome, *Epist.* 22. 29. 6 f., Hermes 121, 1993, 100–108. * N. Adkin, Terence's *Eunuchus* and Jerome, RhM 137, 1994, 187–195. * P. Antin, Recueil sur saint Jérôme, Bruxelles 1968. * J. B. Bauer, Hieronymus und Ovid, GB 4, 1975, 13–19. * Y. Bodin, Saint Jérôme et l'Eglise, Paris 1966. * H. von Campenhausen, Lateinische Kirchenväter, Stuttgart 1960, repr. 1986, 109–150. * F. Cavallera, Saint Jérôme. Sa vie et son œuvre, 2 vols., Louvain 1922. * E. A. Clark, The Place of Jerome's *Commentary on Ephesians* in the Origenist Controversy. The *Apokatastasis* and Ascetic Ideals, V Chr 41, 1987, 154–171. * Y.-M. Duval, ed., Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient. XVIe centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986), Paris 1988. * M. Fuhrmann, Die Mönchsgeschichten des Hieronymus. Formexperimente in erzählender Literatur, Entretiens 23 (1976) 1977, 41–89. * G. Grützmacher, Hieronymus, 3 vols., Leipzig 1901; Berlin 1906 and 1908, repr. 1969. * G. Guttilla, Tematica cristiana e pagana nell'evoluzione finale della consolatio di San Girolamo, ALGP 17–18, 1980–1981, 87–152. * W. Hagemann, Wort als Begegnung mit Christus. Die christozentrische Schriftauslegung des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus, Trier 1970. * H. Hagendahl, Latin Fathers and the Classics. A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers, Göteborg 1958, on Jerome: 89–328. * H. Hagendahl, Jerome and the Latin Classics, V Chr 28, 1974, 216–227. * H. Hagendahl, Von Tertullian zu Cassiodor. Die profane literarische Tradition in dem lateinischen christlichen Schrifttum, Göteborg 1983. * J. N. Hritzu, The Style of the Letters of St. Jerome, diss. Washington 1939. * P. Jay, Jérôme et la pratique de l'exégèse, in: Le monde latin et la Bible, sous la direction de J. Fontaine et C. Pietri, Paris 1985, 523–542. * A. Kamesar, Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesin*, Oxford 1993. * H. Kech, Hagiographie als christliche Unterhaltungsliteratur. Studien zum Phänomen des Erbaulichen anhand der Mönchsviten des hl. Hieronymus, Göppingen 1977. * J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome. His Life, his Writings, and Controversies, London 1975. * A. F. J. Klijn, Jérôme, Isaïe 6 et l'évangile des Nazoréens, V Chr 40, 1986, 245–250. * B. Lambert, Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de saint Jérôme, vols. 1 A and B, 2, 3 A and B, 4 A and B, Steenbrugge and Den Haag 1969–1972. * B. Löfstedt, Hieronymus' Kommentare zu den Kleinen Propheten, AClass 25, 1982, 119–126. * I. Opelt, Hieronymus' Streitschriften, Heidelberg 1973. * I. Opelt, Lukrez

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RUFINUS AND OTHER TRANSLATORS

Translators, a modest and often despised group of authors, deserve to be mentioned here, if only briefly. Their influence was greater than their renown. Translations were especially important both during the early period of Latin literature and during its revival in late antiquity, though in different ways. In the epoch under consideration here they exerted a short term and a long term influence.

For the moment these Latin translations answered the need of western readers for information about the monastic life style which had emerged in the east; moreover, there was increasing interest in Greek philosophy and its Christian metamorphosis, Origen's biblical exegesis. The rise of Latin literature in the second half of the 4th century and in the early 5th century only became possible owing to such translations.

In the long run these translations from the Greek would strongly influence medieval philosophy and science.

In the west Victorinus Pictaviensis (of Pettau; end of the 3rd century) was a harbinger of biblical exegesis in the style of the Greek Fathers. He probably was a Greek. Of the numerous mediators and translators, Marius Victorinus, Hilary,[1] Ambrose, and Jerome are discussed in their own chapters. Here we would like to draw our readers' attention to two names: Rufinus of Aquileia and Calcidius.

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[1] In his commentaries which resemble free translations, Hilary conveys Origen's ideas to his readers.

Tyrannius (Turranius) Rufinus[1] of Aquileia, Jerome's friend (and later his enemy) translated numerous works of Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, monastic literature and Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Several important texts have come down to us owing to Rufinus only, who never disclaimed Origen, whereas Jerome (though tacitly copying that great master) publicly condemned him and defamed his friend.

The influential *Vita of St. Anthony* of Athanasius was twice translated into Latin in the 4th century; the first anonymous version[2] was rough in style, the second one, by Evagrius[3] (2nd half of the 4th century), was more elegant. The *Life of Anthony* had a strong influence on the mode of life of Christians and, in addition, on the literary genres of biography and autobiography.

C(h)alcidius[4] wrote a rather careful translation of and a commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* (up to p. 53 c). This work was formerly assigned to the first half of the 4th century; today a date after 400 is preferred; his models are mostly traced to the 2nd century (Adrastus, Numenius). Today scholars suppose that Calcidius was influenced by Neoplatonism (Porphyry), although this had been denied. Our author, who was a Christian, added biblical and Roman *exempla*. Up to the end of the 12th century, Calcidius would remain the principal source for the knowledge of Plato.

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[1] *Editions*: M. Simonetti, Tyrannii Rufini opera, Turnholti 1961 (= CC 20); *De principiis*: H. Görgemanns, H. Karpp, Darmstadt 1976; *hist. mon.*: E. Schulz-Flügel (with bibl.), Berlin 1990; *reg. Bas.*: PL 103, 487–554 Migne; *A commentary on the Apostles' Creed*. Translated and annotated by J. N. D. Kelly, London 1955; further bibl. in W. Berschin, Medioevo greco-latino, Napoli 1989, 61–62 with n.; A. Seele, Römische Übersetzer. Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten. Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Darmstadt 1995; F. X. Murphy, Rufinus of Aquileia, Washington D.C. 1945; M. Wagner, Rufinus the Translator, Washington D.C. 1945.

[2] *Edition*: H. Hoppenbrouwers, diss. Nijmegen 1960; cf. W. Berschin, ibid. 64–65.

[3] *Edition*: Patr. Graec. 26, 835–976 Migne.

[4] *Editions*: Aug. Iustinianus, Paris 1520 (editio princeps); J.-H. Waszink, in: Plato Latinus, vol. 4, 1962; J. Den Boeft, Calcidius on Demons (*comm.* ch. 127–136), Leiden 1977; *bibl.*: W. Berschin, ibid. 57; 59; 64 with n.; 323; 338; E. Mensching, Zur Calcidius-Überlieferung, V Chr 19, 1965, 42–56; J. Den Boeft, Calcidius on Fate. His Doctrine and Sources, Leiden 1970; J.-H. Waszink, Calcidiana, V Chr 29, 1975, 96–119.

AUGUSTINE

Aurelius Augustinus (Augustine) was born at Thagaste in Numidia on November 13, 354.[1] His father Patricius, a landowner and member of the city council, became a Christian only on his death-bed, whereas his mother Monnica had practiced her faith throughout her life. Having studied 'grammar' at Madaura and rhetoric at Carthage, he worked as a *grammaticus* in Thagaste and (from 376) as a public teacher of rhetoric in Carthage. From a woman whose name he never mentions he had a highly gifted son, Adeodatus, who died as a young man. The dialogue *De magistro* is a monument to him. At an age of nineteen, Augustine lived a first 'conversion': a reading of Cicero's *Hortensius* convinced him to embrace a philosophical way of life. At that time he also read some Aristotelian texts in Latin translation. Taking offence at the anthropomorphous features of the God of the Old Testament, our youthful philosopher was estranged from the Church which he had attended as a catechumen. Now he hoped to find a more consistent idea of God with the Manicheans, who rejected the Old Testament. In the long run, however, he could not help noticing the problems inherent in their dualism and their unscientific astronomical and cosmological views. A disenchanting encounter with the famous Manichean bishop Faustus increased his doubts (*conf.* 5. 6. 10–11). His move to Rome, where the Manicheans had procured him a chair as *rhetor*, may be called psychologically a 'flight'. His deliberate separation from his mother was accompanied by serious illness; all these symptoms complete the general tableau of a crisis, reflected intellectually in his change to Academic scepticism.[2] Even his teaching activity, which had previously been successful and created friendships with students interested in philosophy, was not devoid of disappointments in Rome. Soon, however, the head of the non-Christian senators, Symmachus, recommended Augustine for a distinguished chair of rhetoric in Milan. There he met with Neoplatonism, both through the sermons of Bishop Ambrose, and through Neoplatonic books, translated by Marius Victorinus and supplied to him by the Consul Mallius Theodorus.

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[1] For Augustine's life: P. Brown 1967; O. Perler, Les voyages de saint Augustin, Paris 1969; for a larger public: G. Wehr, Aurelius Augustinus. Größe und Tragik des umstrittenen Kirchenvaters, Gütersloh 1979; C. Cremona, Augustinus. Eine Biographie (transl. M. Haag), sine loco 1988.

[2] Skepticism as a path toward revelation: A.-J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, 1, Paris 1950, ch. 1.

Thus Augustine gained important insights: God was immaterial, and evil could be explained platonically as 'non-being'.[1] At the same time Ambrose's allegorical interpretations rendered the anthropomorphisms of the Old Testament less scandalous to our author (*conf.* 5. 14. 24): in a word, scientific arguments, both philosophical and hermeneutic, paved the way for Augustine's acceptance of Christianity. He was converted only after his reason had been convinced. To him the Neoplatonic idea of God was not mere theory; it became a personal experience and a religious conviction (*conf.* 7. 10. 16). Initially, however, Augustine's progress as a mystic was not matched by moral progress: the woman who loved him and had born his son had to go to a monastery because she was an obstacle to his projected marriage to a genteel virgin. To while away the two years he had to wait for the wedding, he lived together with a third lady (*conf.* 6. 15. 25). After an insincere speech delivered in honor of the Emperor, an encounter with a drunk beggar made him aware of his pride (*conf.* 6. 6. 9). From acquaintances he heard of monastic discipline, then a new life style (8. 6. 14–15). After centuries of laissez-faire, in Augustine's day asceticism had gained the fascination of the unknown, the spell of adventure. In the famous garden scene at Milan (*conf.* 8. 8. 19–12. 30), a child's voice became the voice of God for him. He found and followed the call to abandon the world when opening Paul's *Letter to the Romans*, a book which, in many regards, would accompany him throughout his life. During a period of reflection, which he spent with his friends and his caring mother on a country-seat at Cassiciacum, he prepared to be baptized, together with his son, by Ambrose. After his mother had died at Ostia, Augustine stayed at Rome for a year, since Africa had temporarily fallen to the enemy and was under Gildo's sway. Then he resumed philosophical and religious community life with his spiritual friends (388). During an unscheduled stay at Hippo Regius he was ordained a priest against his will. He asked for a leave (*epist.* 24) to prepare for his new duties and to study the Scriptures, which would increasingly affect his style. Soon he became an adjunct to the bishop and finally

[1] Augustine's thought would develop in this respect; cf. H. Häring, Das Problem des Bösen in der Theologie, Darmstadt 1985, 68–69; H. Häring, Die Macht des Bösen. Das Erbe Augustins, Zürich 1979; G. R. Evans, Augustine on Evil, Cambridge 1982; cf. G. Thome, Vorstellungen vom Bösen in der lateinischen Literatur. Begriffe, Motive, Gestalten, Stuttgart 1993.

his successor, probably in 396, and certainly before August 397. Augustine died on August 28th, 430.

In the *Retractationes* (completed in 427) Augustine mentions 93 of his works, comprising 232 books. To these we must add works written after that time as well as numerous letters and sermons. Chronologically[1] Augustine's œuvre can be divided into three groups:

During the first period, before his becoming a bishop (386–396), he wrote dialogues close to Platonism, and anti-Manichean works, in which the convert settled accounts with his former convictions. As an exegete, the young Augustine worked especially on the *Psalms* and Paul's *Letters*.

The second phase (396–411) was determined by the bishop's new tasks: the *De doctrina Christiana* and the *Confessiones*, his great autobiography (397–401), were originally meant to be read by priests. Augustine would exploit the psychological insight developed in these books to analyze processes within the deity in his dogmatic masterpiece *De Trinitate* (399–420). Our author's discussions with the Donatists were reflected in many treatises covering, among others, the problems of the unity of the Church and of the legitimacy of sacraments. During those years Augustine especially studied the *Book of Genesis*.

During the last period of his creativity (412–430) Augustine developed his doctrines of grace and predestination as a bullwark against the Pelagians. The sack of Rome by the Visigoths (410) provoked the monumental *De civitate dei*, which refutes ancient Roman religion and, on the other hand, displays a Christian conception of history (412/13–426/27). Our author explained the *Gospel according to John* in 124 treatises. The *Enchiridion* on faith, hope and love (421–423) was an epitome of the teachings of Augustine's old age.

Thus each of his writings occupied a specific place within his life. In this respect the 'philosopher of inwardness' remained surprisingly close to the classics and to the real world. In each single case he addressed a specific audience, persons or groups with whom he sympathized or with whom he had to discuss burning problems. It would

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[1] For a general chronology of his life and work: F. GLORIE 1965; P. BROWN 1967, chron. Tab. A, 16; B, 74; C, 184; D, 282–284; E, 378; C. ANDRESEN, ed., Bibliographia Augustiniana, 2nd ed. 1973, 254–263; A. SCHINDLER, Augustin, in: TRE 4, Berlin 1979, 690–692; K. FLASCH, Augustin. Einführung in sein Denken, Stuttgart 1980, 466–471; cf. further: A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, Recherches de chronologie augustinienne, Paris 1965.

be impoverishing and limiting should we claim that Augustine wrote only when an opportunity presented itself but it is salutary to keep the genesis of his works in mind before petrifying and falsifying his living word into a rigid system. Augustine remained a Roman. He formulated his ideas to express life experience and a personal understanding of his existence. Such an attitude has its own value, conveying, for instance, to the doctrine of grace (which was shaped in the discussion with the Pelagians) a strong religious impact, despite its theoretical deficiencies.

Another tendency which makes just as big an impact on the reader of Augustine's biography, stands in apparent contrast to what was said above: his relentless search for the knowledge of truth, which determines his whole way of life. Unlike the majority of Latin authors, Augustine was a born philosopher. At the end of this chapter we hope to make clear the connection between the two strains mentioned here.

Survey of Works

The following survey is arranged according to genre. After this, a few important works are presented in more detail.

Philosophical Works

De pulchro et apto (380–381, Augustine's first work); *Contra Academicos libri tres* (a dialogue; Cassiciacum 386–387); *De beata vita* (386); *De ordine* (386; on theory of knowledge and Theodicy); *Soliloquiorum libri duo* (Cassiciacum 386–387); *De immortalitate animae* (a treatise, Milan 387); *De quantitate animae* (a dialogue on the corporality of the soul, Rome 387–388); *De magistro* (a dialogue with Augustine's son on teaching and learning; Thagaste 389–390); *De musica* (6 books; Thagaste 387–389).

Philosophical and Rhetorical Works

De grammatica (two extracts of dubious authenticity); *Principia dialecticae; Principia rhetorices* (of dubious authenticity). For the *De doctrina christiana* s. below pp. 1692–1695.

Autobiographical Works

Confessiones (13 books, written between 396/97 and 400/01: the story of Augustine's life, told to God, s. below pp. 1672–1674). *Retractationum libri duo* (Augustine reviews his own literary output up to 426/27).

Apologetic Works

De divinatione daemonum (written between 406 and 411; the demons' gift of divination is inferior to that of angels and prophets); *De civitate Dei* (22 books, written and published[1] gradually between 412/13 and 426; Augustine's principal work on the philosophy of history, s. below pp. 1677–1681); *Tractatus adversus Iudaeos* (date unknown, perhaps 429/30; an apologetic sermon).

Dogmatic Works

De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus (388–395/96); *De fide et symbolo* (393); *Sermo de symbolo ad catechumenos* (since 418, of dubious authenticity); *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum libri duo* (about 396–397); *De agone Christiano* (about 396; the adversary in the dispute is the devil); *De trinitate libri XV* (between 399 and 420; principal dogmatic work, s. below); *De fide rerum, quae non videntur* (after 399; in the style of a sermon); *Quaestiones expositae contra paganos; De fide et operibus* (412–413; *opera* are indispensable); *De videndo Deo* (413); *De origine animae et de sententia Iacobi* (415); *De adulterinis coniugiis libri duo* (419–420; the conjugal union is indissoluble); *De fide, spe et caritate = Enchiridium ad Laurentium* (421–423); *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (421–422); *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* (421–422 or rather 424–425).

Polemical Works on Dogma

Against Manicheans:

De libero arbitrio (3 books; begun and mostly written at Rome, published at Hippo in 395; a dialogue between Augustine and Evodius. Virtue and sin depend on the autonomous activity of free will); *De vera religione* (between 389 and 391; one of the conversations at Cassiciacum; against Manichean dualism); *De genesi contra (adversus) Manichaeos* (probably 388–389; in a detailed exegesis, Augustine justifies his general attitude to the Old Testament); *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (written at Rome, changed at Hippo about 389; book 1: cardinal virtues in the Church; book 2: heresies and vices of the Manicheans); *De utilitate credendi* (391; Honoratus, whom Augustine had brought to the Manicheans, shall now be dissuaded from that error; on the difference between faith and knowledge); *De duabus animabus* (391 or 392; good and evil in man are not due to the activity of a good and an evil soul): *Acta seu disputatio contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (a record of a dispute between Augustine and Fortunatus of August 28th and 29th 392 at Hippo); *Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum* (394 or 395; a re-examination of antitheses from the Old and New Testament compiled by Adimantus); *Contra epistulam quam vocant fundamenti* (396–397; polemics against Mani; we

[1] Publication: 1–3: before September 413: 4 and 5: A.D. 415; 12: A.D. 417/18; 14: about 420; 15 and 16: after 419; 18: 425.

only have the beginning of the discussion of the *Fundamental Letter*); *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (33 books; between 398 and 400; in defence of the Old and the New Testament); *Contra Felicem Manichaeum* or *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo* (a record of the dispute of December 7th and 12th, 404); *De natura boni contra Manicheaos* (probably 405; with reference to the *Fundamental Letter* and *The Treasure of Life*); *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* (405; Secundinus had tried to reconvert Augustine to Manicheism); *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* (2 books; 420; a defence of the Scriptures against Manichean and Marcionite critics).[1]

Against Priscillianists and Origenists:
Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas (415).

Against Donatists:
Psalmus contra partem Donati (394–395; a popular exposition of the history and essence of Donatism; an abecedarius in 20 strophes of 12 lines each); *Contra epistulam Donati* (lost; of the same period); *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* (3 books); *De baptismo contra Donatistas* (7 books; both works about 405); *Contra partem Donati* (2 books; lost); *Contra quod adtulit Centurius a Donatistis* (lost); *Contra litteras Petiliani Donatistae* (3 books, 400/01–405; containing rich material for a reconstruction of the treatises of that Donatist bishop); between books 2 and 3 of the *Contra litteras* there is an *Epistula ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum* (usually called *De unitate ecclesiae*), the authenticity of which is dubious.

Contra Cresconium grammaticum et Donatistam (4 books, between 405 and 408; Cresconius had reacted to the 1st book *Against Petilianus*; the 4th book deals with the Maximianist schism);[2] *De unico baptismo contra Petilianum ad Constantinum* (410 or 411; against a homonymous work of Petilian); *Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis* (acts of the religious dialogue between Catholics and Donatists at Carthage, published towards the end of 411); *Ad Donatistas post conlationem* or *Contra partem Donati post gesta* (412);[3] *Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem* (a polemic sermon of September 18th, 418); *Gesta cum Emerito Donatistarum episcopo* (record of a dispute of September 20th, 418); *Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum* (2 books; 419–420; Bishop Gaudentius of Thamugada had participated in the religious dialogue of 411); polemic features abound also in many *Letters, Sermons,* and asides in the *Commentaries* on *John* and on *Psalms*.[4]

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[1] Spurious: *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis qui convertuntur.*

[2] Lost: *Probationum et testimoniorum contra Donatistas liber* (about 406); *Contra Donatistam nescio quem* (about 406); *Admonitio Donatistarum de Maximianistis* (about 406); *De Maximianistis contra Donatistas* (no earlier than 410).

[3] Lost: *Ad Emeritum Donatistarum episcopum post conlationem* (probably 416).

[4] Spurious: *Sermo de unico baptismo; Sermo de Rusticiano subdiacono; Libellus adversus Fulgentium Donatistam; Liber testimoniorum fidei contra Donatistas.*

Against Pelagians

De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum (3 books; book 3 is styled as a letter to Marcellinus; written in 411/12; against Pelagius' views on free will, sin, and grace, still without personal attacks); *De spiritu et littera* (412; on the relationship between Law and Gospel); *De gratia novi testamenti* (412; an epistle to Honoratus who had dedicated his books on free will to Augustine); *De natura et gratia* (413–415; instructions for Timasius and Jacobus whom he had won over to an ascetic way of life; against Pelagius' *De natura*: the grace of creation is confronted with the grace of salvation); *De perfectione iustitiae hominis* (before 415; refutation of Caelestius' *Definitiones*); *De gestis Pelagii* (417; to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage; concerning the synod of Diospolis); there are also *Letters*, indicative of the ecclesiastical struggle against Pelagianism, for example: *De praesentia Dei* (417); *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali contra Pelagium et Caelestium* (418); *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* (418–419 or 420–421); *De natura et origine animae* (*De anima et eius origine*; 4 books, late in 419; in favor of traducianism); *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* (4 books, 419–420); *Contra Iulianum* (6 books, a complement to his work on matrimony); *Contra secundam Iuliani responsionem imperfectum opus* (6 books, 428–430); *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (426–427); *De correptione et gratia* (426–427; like the preceding work directed to the monks of Hadrumetum and their abbot Valentinus: Augustine refutes the reproach that he is denying free will and undermining ecclesiastical discipline); *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (429); *De dono perseverantiae* (428–429):

Against Arians:

Contra sermonem Arianorum (418/19); *Contra Maximinum haereticum Arianorum episcopum* (2 books; 427 or 428; a draft for a projected disputation with the Gothic Bishop Maximinus); *Adversus haereses* (about 429; a catalogue of all heresies since the rise of Christianity; Augustine made the list but did not live to write down the refutations).

Fundamental Work on Hermeneutics

De doctrina christiana (4 books; the 1st books were probably written about 397; having progressed as far as the middle of book 3, the author interrupted his work for decades to resume and finish it only in 426–427; a fundamental work of methodology, s. below pp. 1691–1695).

Exegetic Works on the Old Testament

De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duo (388/89; an allegorical interpretation of the beginnings of history); *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber* (393/94; the exegesis stops at *Gen.* 1. 26); *Adnotationum in Iob liber* (after 404); *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* (404–414; on *Gen.* 1. 1–3. 24); *CLIII Enarrationes in Psalmos*

(394–424);[1] *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri septem* (from 419 onward; discussing difficulties of content); *Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri septem* (from 419 onward; discussing linguistic difficulties).

Exegetic Works on the New Testament

De sermone domini in monte libri duo (393–394; the Sermon on the Mount is the *summa* of Christian life; the Beatitudes and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer give occasion to arithmological speculation); *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistula ad Romanos* (394–395). *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas* (394); *Epistulae ad Romanos expositio inchoata* (394–395 or somewhat later; only on the introduction of that Epistle); *Quaestionum evangeliorum libri duo* (after 404; on *Matth.* and *Luc.*); *De consensu evangelistarum libri quattuor* (after 404; when objecting to contradictions between the Evangelists, Neoplatonists and Manicheans do not consider that they are four limbs of one body whose head is Christ); *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus decem* (407; *caritas* and *ecclesia* are inseparable); *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV* (406–420);[2] an interpretation of the *Gospel according to John* against the background of the Pelagian dispute).[3]

Works on Moral and Pastoral Theology

De mendacio (about 395, a dialectic inquiry); *Contra mendacium* (probably late 419/early 420 to Consentius; lies are unacceptable even if well-intentioned; *De continentia* (after 418; clearly a sermon; in opposition to 'Manichean folly' Augustine exalts the 'fruitful and praiseworthy' striving for true abstinence even in matrimony); *De bono coniugali* (after 404; against Jovinian); *De sancta virginitate* (same period); *De bono viduitatis* (414; a letter to Juliana); *De opere Monachorum* (after 404; against intellectual arrogance).

De patientia (about 418; a sermon; cf. Tertullian's and Cyprian's treatises on the same subject); *Speculum* (probably 427; extracts from the moral code of the Old and New Testament in 51 chapters meant for moral self-examination); *De catechizandis rudibus* (written after 404 for the Carthaginian diacon Deogratias); *Ad inquisitiones Januarii* (two books, dating from after 404, transmitted among the letters; dealing with problems of ecclesiastical practice: fasting, the washing of feet, church songs, the calculation of the Easter date etc.); the *Contra Hilarum* has not come down to us (it was written some years later and was on the singing of psalms during the altar service).

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[1] For the date: R. Lorenz, Zwölf Jahre Augustinusforschung (1959–1970), ThRdschau 38, 1974, 327–328.

[2] For the date R. Lorenz ibid. 326–327.

[3] Lost: *Expositio epistulae Iacobi ad duodecim tribus* (406–412). Spurious: *Quaestiones XVII in evangelium secundum Matthaeum; Expositio in Apocalypsim B. Iohannis.*

Letters

The collection of his correspondence contains (as counted in the Maurine edition) 270 letters and a fragment, of which 217 (218) were written by Augustine (including seven collective letters); later there were found five letters and a fragment, and most recently a series of further letters (CSEL vol. 88. 2. 6). There are private letters, but also treatises on pastoral and dogmatic theology in the form of letters meant for a large public.

Sermons

Of the *sermones* in the Maurine edition, 363 were certainly written by Augustine, 32 are of dubious authenticity, some are fragmentary, 317 are spurious. The editors distinguish the following groups according to their subject: *sermones de scripturis, de tempore, de sanctis* and *de diversis.*

Poems

Psalmus contra partem Donati (an abecedarius in 20 strophes of 12 lines in trochaic tetrameters); *De anima* (53 hexameters); *Epigrams.*

Survey of some main works

Confessiones

The *Confessiones* is a work without a parallel in earlier or later literature, an autobiography and psychological analysis of a depth unknown before. It is both a personal document and an accomplished work of art, both individual and typical; its rich psychological experience is no less captivating than the author's faculty of viewing himself with an artist's detachment. A combination of rhetoric and spontaneity confers on the present work a janus-faced and enigmatic character. Anyone who wants to regard it as a mere autobiography has to surrender after book 9, at a loss for how to explain the overall structure. Why did the author write a purely introspective 10th book and the long exegetic ending (books 11–13)? A genetic analysis of chronological layers is not pointless, but it is unable to explain how the author came to yoke together these three divergent elements.[1] Which cues are furnished by the text itself?

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[1] General works on the *Confessiones*: G. Wunderle, Einführung in Augustins *Konfessionen*, Augsburg 1930; A. Holl, Die Welt der Zeichen bei Augustin. Religionsphänomenologische Analyse des 13. Buches der *Confessiones*, Wien 1963; K. Grotz, Die Einheit der *Confessiones*. Warum bringt Augustin in den letzten Büchern seiner *Confessiones* eine Auslegung der *Genesis*?, diss. Tübingen 1970; L. F. Pizzolato, Le fondazioni dello stile delle *Confessioni* di Sant'Agostino, Milano 1972; E. P. Meijering, Augustin über Schöpfung, Ewigkeit und Zeit. Das 11. Buch der *Bekenntnisse*, Leiden 1979; H. Chadwick 1986, 66–74; for the structure of the work: G. N. Knauer, 1955, 19–20 (with bibl.); H. Kusch, Studien über Augustinus. I. Trinitarisches in den Büchern 2–4 und 10–13 der *Confessiones*, in FS F. Dornseiff, Leipzig 1953,

Confessio has several meanings: confession of sins, confession of faith and, above all, praise of God. Interspersed prayers and frequent quotations of *Psalms* add a lyric touch to his prose and keep the reader aware of the divine addressee. Unlike modern 'Confessions', Augustine's work centers on the praise of the Creator, a praise including preaching (11. 3): the redeemed sinner wants to sing his psalms to the entire world (9. 4. 8). His coming before the public does not interfere with the idea of confession, nor is it an artificial extension or disruption of it. His book is a confession before men, a justification of his own conversion, and an instructive example to show others the way to God.

This aim determines the austere choice of facts. Augustine only reports what can be understood as a token of divine guidance (11. 2. 2). Sins are not mentioned for their own sake, but as examples: the detailed story of the theft of pears (2. 4. 9–10. 18), in no way the result of a pathological sense of guilt, is a 'neutral' case; as a typical example it helps to make evident the nature of sin: it is not the body but the mind that commits it. Augustine even explains some trespasses as momentary aberrations of efforts which are basically correct.

The report of his own experiences of divine guidance (books 1–9) is followed by an explanation of God's word (books 11–13). In between, the pivotal book 10 is on self-examination.

In another sense the three unequal parts of the work can be related to past, present, and future: the biography up to Augustine's baptism and his mother's death (books 1–9) is succeeded by a description of his actual state of mind (book 10) and an example of his future activity as a preacher of the world (books 11–13; cf. esp. 11. 2. 2). Part Three surpasses Part One by being centered on God's word instead of the words of men. At the same time the author understands Creation (*Genesis*) as an allegory of the Church: the essence of Nature had been depraved through estrangement from God; in the *conversio* this depravity is annulled through grace and the original intention of Creation is re-established. Through baptism, in which the autobiography culminates, the individual gains access to the city of God, which is indirectly mirrored in the last books.

Moreover, the initial and final parts of the *Confessiones* juxtapose two forms

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124–183; P. Courcelle, 2nd ed. 1968, 13–29; G. Pfligersdorffer, Das Bauprinzip von Augustins *Confessiones*, in: FS K. Vretska, Heidelberg 1970, 124–147; E. Dönt, Zur Frage der Einheit von Augustins *Konfessionen*, Hermes 99, 1971, 350–361; W. Steidle, Augustins *Konfessionen* als Buch, in: K.-H. Schwarte, J. Heinrichs, eds., Romanitas—Christianitas, FS J. Straub, Berlin 1982, 436–527; esp. 500–527; W. Steidle, Gedanken zur Komposition von Augustins *Confessionen*, in: P. Neukam, ed., Struktur und Gehalt, München 1983, 86–101; W. Desch, Augustins *Confessiones*. Beobachtungen zu Motivbestand und Gedankenbewegung, Frankfurt 1988.

of knowledge: one of them is secular and based on experience and *ratio*; it led Augustine, if on detours, to the vision of the unique God: the second kind of knowledge is religious and is based on the study of the Scriptures (*meditabor in lege tua*, 11. 2. 2, following *Ps.* 1. 2). Between these two there is self-knowledge, which, while seminal to the whole of the work, is concentrated in book 10. The *Confessiones* thus form a unity.[1]

This unity is rooted in Augustine's thought, especially in his analysis of time in book 11. The terms used there fully apply to the three parts of the *Confessiones*: presence of the past (books 1–9), presence of present (book 10: Augustine is inquiring into his present state of mind, since some friends wanted to know about it), presence of the future (books 11–13: an interpretation of Creation as *ecclesia*, as presence of the world to come).

Is it conceivable that Augustine built his *Confessiones* on a 'trinitarian' pattern? This question deserves to be studied all the more as Augustine did give a 'trinitarian' interpretation to a central experience of his life: his 'Neoplatonic' vision of God (*conf.* 7. 10. 16).[2] To understand this better, let us examine his principal dogmatic work:

De trinitate

The author worked on the *De trinitate*[3] for many years (with a pause after book 12). We find in this work, especially from book 8 onward, psychological patterns of thought, partly related to book 11 of the *Confessiones.*

As usual, Augustine starts with burning problems of his day, which were especially relevant to his criticism of Arianism: the unity of the Trinity, the equality of the three Persons, especially the Deity of the Son and the Spirit, and the two natures in Christ (book 1).

He explains creation from God's will, the revelations in the Old Testament (books 2 and 3), the role of Christ as mediator of life as opposed to Lucifer, the mediator of death, and the descent and mission of the Holy Ghost (book 4). The Trinity is incorporeal and immutable; if we are talking about it in terms of history, this does not affect its essence (book 5). The

[1] On this, cf. also H. Chadwick 1986, 68.

[2] He first juxtaposes terms corresponding to the three Persons of the Trinity, only to intertwine them later: *qui novit veritatem, novit eam* (sc. *lucem*), *et qui novit eam, novit aeternitatem. caritas novit eam. o aeterna veritas et vera caritas et cara aeternitas! tu es Deus meus.*

[3] For an analysis of content: D. Pintarič, Sprache und Trinität. Semantische Probleme in der Trinitätslehre des hl. Augustinus, Salzburg 1983, 39–82; for the young Augustine's (before 391) trinitarian theology: O. Du Roy, L'intelligence de la foi en la trinité selon saint Augustin, Paris 1966; cf. also F. Genn, Trinität und Amt nach Augustinus, Einsiedeln 1986.

problem of the imperfection of our discourse on God prepares indirectly for the mention of natural parallels to the Trinity.

The last chapter of the 6th book, which had been on the unity of God's essence, hints at the fact that the Trinity is reflected in Creation (*esse, vivere, intellegere*: 6. 10. 11–12). The 7th book illustrates the unity of divine power and wisdom and the relationship between the three hypostases and the one essence. Two or three persons of the Trinity together are no greater than each one of them: this is how the train of thought continues in book 8. Knowledge of God comes from knowledge of truth, the idea of the supreme good and an innate liking for justice, and, above all, love. In love there is a 'footprint' (*vestigium*) of the Trinity: the lover, the beloved and love (10).

Book 9 shows that in man, who is God's image, there is some trinity (*trin.* 9. 4. 6): conscience, self-knowledge and self-love. These three are of equal range and of one essence. The inner word is perceived—for love either of a creature or of the creator. In intellectual life conception and birth (of the word) are identical, in material life not at all. (This approach is basic to Augustine's philosophy of nature, too: hence, in his view, creation in one moment and biological evolution are not mutually exclusive).

In the 10th book a further trinity within man appears: *memoria, intelligentia, voluntas* (10. 11. 18; cf. the rhetorical categories *ingenium, doctrina, usus*). Likewise, in the bodily existence of man there is a trace of trinity (book 11): the visible body, its image in the observer's eye and the intention of the will which combines both. It is true that these three elements are not of equal range, but within the soul there is a corresponding trinity which is derived from physical observation: *imaginatio corporis* (in our memory), *informatio* (as realized in our conscience) and *intentio voluntatis* which links both together. The mental process of rendering incommensurable elements commensurable by limiting analysis to their mental images is reminiscent of Augustine's discussion of past, present, and future in the 11th book of the *Confessiones*, s. above pp. 1674.

Book 12 distinguishes between wisdom and science. Science refers to what is human, wisdom to what is divine. Only the human intellect (νοῦς), which considers the eternal, is entitled to be called an 'image' of God. Book 13 illustrates the distinction between wisdom and science using the prologue of the *Gospel according to John.* A 'human' starting-point is the striving of man for happiness as expounded in Cicero's *Hortensius*; however, the believer's happiness is superior to that of the philosopher, which is limited, as Terence's statement illustrates: *quoniam non potest id fieri quod vis, id velis quod possit* (*Andr.* 305–306). Beatitude is unthinkable without immortality, which is based on Christ's incarnation. Our so-called merits are gifts of God. It is not by force, but by justice that Christ conquers the devil to whom we all are submitted because of Adam's sin. The Word (λόγος) incarnate possesses the

treasures of both wisdom and science (*Col.* 2. 1–3; *1 Cor.* 12. 7–8.). Augustine's inquiry into the lower 'traces' of trinity in nature is a kind of intellectual exercise following an inductive method.[1] For Augustine the progression from the visible to the invisible is a general principle. Applied to the domain of faith, it even has an ancient Roman root: *fides* (fidelity to contracts) presupposes the belief in something invisible in the partner.

Like Lactantius, Augustine equates wisdom and piety (book 14). There is a kind of trinity in faith, consisting of remembrance, contemplation and love, though this is not yet the image of God. And the author takes another step upward: in the νοῦς, who 'thinks himself' (being both subject and object), there is a trinity. The intellect remembers God, knows, and loves him. The human spirit becomes wise by pondering such thoughts. The renewal of God's image in man is performed not only at the moment of conversion but in daily progress. In eternity the analogy to the Trinity will be completely re-established. Just as in other instances Augustine had felt free to quote Virgil, he now refers to Cicero's *Hortensius*, to which he owes his first conversion (14. 19. 26). He disclaims only its last skeptical sentence, while subscribing unconditionally to the central idea of sharpening the intellect, the mind's eye, and of the return to the heavens.

Augustine does not come to speak of God's Trinity before the last book (15). His path led him from creation to the Creator. Since we must always search for God, it makes sense to search for traces of the Trinity in creation. Nature testifies to the Creator as do the Scriptures; he combines all superlatives in his own person (15. 4. 6). God is everything that he is, *secundum substantiam: aeternus, sapiens, beatus*. The Trinity is *sapientia, notitia sui, dilectio sui*. However, we are not allowed to judge divine Trinity by visible trinities. We see only a reflection of God as in a mirror or in enigmatic parables (*1 Cor.* 13. 12). Here our teacher of rhetoric discusses allegory, tropes and enigmas (15. 9. 15–16). Our words are but signs of thoughts. The image of the divine word can only be found in the inner word, which is spiritual. Our inner word becomes an audible *vox*, as God's Word became flesh. To be more precise: it takes a bodily form. God's Word is more than a word silently thought (*neque prolativum in sono, neque cogitativum in similitudine soni*), it exists 'before' all signs and is generated from the knowledge dwelling in the νοῦς. Any human action is preceded by some inner word. Against academic skepticism (cf. *Contra Academicos*) Augustine holds: 'I know that I know'. Likewise, sense perception is reliable. It is true that we know many things only through the testimony of people whom we believe. God's knowledge is of

[1] *Placuit quippe velut gradatim ascendentibus in utraque requirere apud interiorem hominem quandam sui cuiusque generis trinitatem, sicut prius apud exteriorem quaesivimus; ut ad illam trinitatem quae Deus est, pro nostro modulo, si tamen vel hoc possumus, saltem in aenigmate et per speculum contuendam exercitatiore in his inferioribus rebus mente veniamus* (13. 20. 26).

a different kind: he is prescient of everything, and everything is, because he knows it. Our word will never compare to God's Word, even if we become similar to him. The trinities observable in man are different functions of a single *ego*, whereas in God there are three persons in one essence. It is true that the Father corresponds to our memory, the Son to our intelligence, the Spirit to our will and our love. Each person has one of these characteristics *proprie* and those of the other two *universaliter*. In a narrower sense the Holy Spirit is love, in a broader sense it is God as a whole. In this context Augustine states that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, a doctrine which would later on produce the Great Schism between Eastern and Western Christianity.[1]

Can God be known? Augustine emphasizes that the Apostle did not say 'We now see a mirror' but: '*through* a mirror' (15. 23. 44–24. 44; *1 Cor.* 13. 12). The mirror, our heart, is cleansed by faith (*1 Tim.* 1. 5) and thus enabled to see God (cf. *Matth.* 5. 8; Aug. *trin.* 24. 44; against radical skepticism in matters of epistemology). The idea which we have in our memory corresponds to the Father. The image that we see in front of us, when we direct our attention to it, corresponds to the Son. The Spirit (which is will and love) links both. Will springs from faith (since nobody wills a thing he has no knowledge of) but will is not an image of the thought. This is the difference between the Son's 'being born' and the Spirit's 'proceeding'.

The *De trinitate* is indicative of an intimate connection between Augustine's two great themes: 'God' and the 'soul'. At the same time it prepares the epistemological pattern for other important philosophical discoveries of Augustine: the philosophy of time (a key to the structure of the *Confessiones*) and of nature (cf. on book 9).

De civitate Dei

No less important to the history of ideas are the 22 books *De civitate Dei*.[2] This work was written on the occasion of the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 Many pagans regarded this catastrophe as a divine punishment, all the more as Emperor Theodosius had recently sealed the Christianization of the empire by the confiscation of pagan temple treasures. Hence it was Augustine's first task to prove that Christianity was not responsible for the

[1] 15. 17. 29; 15. 26. 46; cf. *Ioh.* 20. 22.

[2] J. C. Guy, Unité et structure de la *Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin, Paris 1961; J. O'Meara, Charter of Christendom: The Significance of the *City of God*, New York 1961; H. Fuchs, Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke. Untersuchungen zum 19. Buch der *Civitas Dei*, Berlin 2nd ed. 1965; V. Hand, Augustin und das klassisch römische Selbstverständnis. Eine Untersuchung über die Begriffe *gloria*, *virtus*, *iustitia* und *res publica* in *De civitate*, Hamburg 1970; J. Laufs, Der Friedensgedanke bei Augustinus. Untersuchungen zum 19. Buch des Werkes *De civitate Dei*, Wiesbaden 1973; H. Chadwick 1986, 96–106.

fall of Rome. In this respect the work was the continuation and crowning of apologetic literature.

The first part, which is basically 'destructive', proves that the cult of the pagan gods does not contribute anything either to happiness on earth (books 1–5) or to life eternal (books 6–10). He first refutes Roman patriots like Symmachus, then the Platonic philosophers who support paganism. In the first ten books arguments are drawn from roughly three domains: history, state religion, and philosophy. The pessimistic view of history recalls Sallust's *Histories*, Horace's *Seventh Epode* and Lucan's prooemium. Romulus, who murdered his brother, reminds Augustine of Cain. Roman history is a chain of unfortunate accidents.

The second domain is state religion: the gods have not helped Rome. Their ritual plays were a school of dissolution; no educated person has ever believed in such gods. It is Varro who supplies the material to reinforce the argument: here Augustine preserves precious elements from the *Antiquitates* and the *De gente populi Romani*. Augustine's rejection of Varro's *theologia tripartita* was a sign of the times. The tolerant pagans had attributed different theologies to different social spheres (philosophy, theater, politics) and to different layers of the personality (rational, sensitive and volitive): there had been a coexistence of philosophical monotheism, poetic myth and practical cult of the state gods. As a Christian, Augustine posed the question: 'If you think that monotheism is the only correct theology, why then do you need the other two?' In this criticism we see the clash of two epochs.

A further source of arguments is the idea of the state as rapaciousness institutionalized and, more generally, Carneades' speech against injustice from the 3rd book of Cicero's *De re publica* (we owe important fragments from Sallust and Cicero to the Church Fathers' interest in this subject). Augustine is clever enough to throw the pagans' reproach back on them: during the civil wars Romans suffered worse from Romans than they do now from barbarians already civilized by Christianity.

The second part of the work is constructive. It unveils a panorama of world history between two poles: city of God and city of the world, 'Jerusalem' and 'Babylon'. The former is based on the love of God and is social and organic, the latter is founded on self-love, which leads to isolation. In the one we find unity, monotheism and peace, in the other war, polytheism and the idolatry of the self. Inspired by suggestions found in Ambrose (and his sources, e.g. Philo), Augustine develops the (biblical) idea of the city of God in the style of Plotinus and Cicero.[1]

In due course Augustine discusses the celestial beginnings (books 11–14),

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[1] H. Leisegang, Der Ursprung der Lehre Augustins von der *Civitas Dei*, AKG 16, 1926, 127–158; s. also: R. H. Barrow, Introduction to St. Augustine, The City of God, London 1949, 267–273.

the development on earth (books 15–18), and the end of history (books 19–22).[1]

Even before the beginning of world history, the city of God, which comprised those predestined to everlasting bliss, was accompanied by the city of the world as a consequence of the fall of some spirits from God. The evil inherent in the city of the world is not rooted in matter but in spirit, i.e. self-love.[2]

History falls into six epochs; Augustine compares them with the ages of man (an analogy found in Roman historians). During childhood (I), Abel and Seth embody the city of God, Cain the city of the world. In boyhood (II), there were on the one hand Noah, Sem (the ancester of the Jews) and Japhet (the forefather of good pagans), on the other hand Cham and Nimrod. The Tower of Babel was the beginning of the confusion of tongues and of war; and the Semites were the only ones to preserve the original language. From a psychological point of view, the connection of boyhood with the problem of language is a masterstroke. In humanity's adolescence (III), Abraham and Isaac are historical foreshadowings of the Church. Moses proclaimed the law of the Old Covenant. On the opposite side there were the Mesopotamian Empire (Ninus) and the beginnings of Greek apotheoses of rulers (Argos, Cecrops). Manhood (IV) entailed for the city of God a progress from prefiguration to explicit prophecy (Samuel, David); for the city of the world it brought the beginning of the second great empire: the foundation of Rome. The association of Romans with manhood in this context is artistically convincing. In the fifth phase—Augustine speaks of *senioris aetas* (V)—further prophets arose, and the temple was restored, while, on the other hand, Israel was deeply humiliated by the Romans. Old age—which is true only of the 'old' Man (Israel, which had lost its temple)—is simultaneously the period of grace (VI), prepared for among both Jews and pagans by unusually clear prophesies. As Adam had been created on the Sixth Day of Creation, Christ appeared in the Sixth Period of history. His milennium is not limited to the future. Not only does he fulfill the Old Testament but also the presentiments of Plato (whom Augustine imagined to have been inspired by Moses): the unique God and his *logos* have become historically real and accessible to all in Christ. The *requies aeterna* will match the Seventh Day of Creation. Augustine's originality stands out against the background of older parallels between history and the Seven Days of Creation (beginning with the book of Enoch) or with the Hours of

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[1] The eschatological ending of the *De civitate* parallels the mythical finales of Plato's and Cicero's *Republic*, cf. J. L. Treloar, Cicero and Augustine. The Ideal Society, Augustinianum 28, 1988, 565–590.

[2] Self-love is only acceptable if it springs from love of God and is accompanied by love of one's neighbor: K. Jaspers, Augustin, München 1976, 55–56; O. O'Donovan, The Problem of Self-Love in St. Augustine, New Haven 1980.

the workers in the vineyard (Origen). Starting with Ambrose's exegesis of biblical genealogies, he arrives at a systematic division of history into 6 periods. Moses is less prominent than David, the singer of *Psalms* and of God's praise. It is typical of Augustine's thought that his epochs are represented by persons rather than by events. The omission of chiliasm[1] strikes us as a modern feature. At the end of history the two cities will be separated once and for all and will reach their antithetic goals: salvation or condemnation.

In historical reality neither of the two cities exists in pure form. The city of God also includes the Jews and pagans of pre-Christian times insofar as they are predestined for salvation. On the other hand, the Church comprises some elements of the city of the world, which in its turn could not exist without some admixtures of divine provenance. These views allow Augustine to accept the 'natural state' (for which Adam and Eve had been destined before original sin) as part of the *ordo* and even to discover some positive features in the Roman state. Correspondingly, he distinguishes three kinds of law: natural law expressed in terms of conscience and international law; eternal law operating in the Church as grace; temporal law, serving to promote justice in a real state. While Cicero had defined the state in practical terms as a community based on laws common to all and on utility (*rep.* 1. 25. 39), Augustine emphasizes intangible factors: concord, reason and, above all, love for the common cause: *populus est coetus multitudinis rationalis, rerum quas diligit concordi communione sociatus*, 'a people is a large gathering of rational beings united in fellowship by their agreement about the objects of their love' (*civ.* 19. 24).

The grandeur of Rome is a work not of demons but of divine providence. Deeming Rome the second empire, Augustine reacts against Jerome's doctrine of the four empires and follows Ticonius' commentary on *Revelation*. The ancient Roman virtues, especially love of honor, generosity, and selflessness, can serve as an example to be imitated by Christians in the city of God; the same is true of the ideal of the Roman official. Augustine also recognizes political achievements of the Romans such as Roman citizenship for all and universal peace. Unlike older apologetic writers who yearned for the fall of Rome, Augustine appreciates the fact that Rome secured peace. He does not expect the empire to end, but to be divided into and succeeded by a group of smaller political units.

Far from being an 'imperial theologian', Augustine nevertheless finds words of praise for the authority of Christian emperors and admits that secular jurisdiction was ordained by God—even to the point that the Christianized

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[1] Rod. SCHMIDT, *Aetates mundi.* Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte, ZKG 4, 5, 67, 1955–1956, 288–317; K.-H. SCHWARTE, Die Vorgeschichte der Augustinischen Weltalterlehre, Bonn 1966.

Roman empire comes close to the 'natural state'.[1] The tensions inherent in this attitude are evident. The possible solutions (state church, church state, strict separation of church and state) were rehearsed theoretically and practically in the course of medieval and recent history, and the representatives of the most divergent conceptions referred to Augustine's authority.

In this work Augustine synthesizes pagan and Christian criticism of Rome, historiographical and apologetic traditions. The latter tradition culminates in his strictly scholarly polemics against paganism. On the other hand Augustine goes rather far to acknowledge Platonism and the achievements of Roman virtues.[2] His penetrating analysis of the history of salvation was to have a great impact on posterity. In so far as 'philosophy of history' is a teleological view of the historical development, the *De civitate Dei* must be called a work on the philosophy of history. If Augustine, unlike Schelling and Hegel, did not believe in an ascending evolution of God himself, he certainly believed in a gradual revelation to mankind. Doubtless, Augustine took an important step towards modern philosophy of history, since he limited his outlook to a single aeon which, being unique and irrevocable, encouraged a more serious attitude to life.

For the content of *De doctrina christiana* s. below, pp. 1692–1695.

Sources, Models, and Genres

Sources. As for the material aspects of tradition, Augustine owed his knowledge of Roman religion to Varro, while turning to Livy for historical information. The pessimistic prologue of Sallust's *Histories* and the discussion of justice in the 3rd book of Cicero's *De re publica* were a platform for his criticism of Rome. However, his true intellectual adversary was Virgil with his theology of history. Augustine considered Varro, Seneca, and Virgil (s. esp. *serm.* 105) prisoners of their times and their societies, and he discovered a second meaning in their words. While reading Cicero's *Hortensius*, Augustine experienced his first conversion; moreover, Cicero was the most important Latin representative of academic scepticism to which Augustine turned in his middle life. Finally, Cicero's rhetorical writings gained seminal importance for the *De doctrina christiana.* Never, therefore, is Cicero's

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[1] On the whole his theological underpinning of the state is less thorough than, e.g., Luther's doctrine of the two empires (*Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount*).

[2] E. von Ivanka, Römische Ideologie in der *Civitas Dei*, AugMag 3, 1955, 411–417; V. Pöschl, Augustinus und die römische Geschichtsauffassung, AugMag 2, 1954, 957–963.

influence limited to form; it extends to philosophical thought as well.

Like earlier Fathers of the Church, Augustine obtained information on philosophical doctrines from doxographies; but he also read works of Neoplatonists (Plotinus and Porphyry) translated by Marius Victorinus. Many Jewish and Christian authors who wrote in Greek were known to him, mostly through translations[1] by Rufinus, Jerome, and Eustathius. Ambrose was an important mediator of Philonian and Plotinian thought. He strongly influenced Augustine: suffice it to mention the (Platonizing) definition of evil as privation of goodness and the method of allegorical interpretation; in the *De trinitate*, Augustine used Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*,[2] and in the *Quaestiones evangeliorum* and in some *Sermones* he referred to Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke*. Finally, there are undeniable Manichean[3] influences in the *Confessiones* and in the *De civitate Dei*; the dualism evident in the latter work may be explained psychologically as a pseudomorphosis of Manichean thought.

Models, Genres. Augustine followed many literary traditions. After Plato and Cicero, he contributed to develop the genre of philosophical dialogue: his conversation with his own Ratio in the *Soliloquia* anticipated Boethius' consultation with Philosophy. Rhetoric, Augustine's secular profession, was more than external ornament to his

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[1] Philo (*Exegesis of the Book of Genesis*), Flavius Josephus (*Jewish War*), Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses*), Origen (*De principiis, 1st and 2nd Homily on Genesis, 5th Homily on Leviticus, Explanations to the Song of Songs, 14th Homily on Luke*), Eusebius (*Church History; Chronicle*), Basilius (*Homilies on the Hexaemeron*), Gregory of Nazianzus (nine *Orationes*), Didymus the Blind (*De spiritu sancto, Historia monachorum in Aegypto*) John Chrysostom (*Homilia ad neophytos*, in Greek), Ps.-Epiphanius (Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις). On Augustine's relationship to Greek patristic literature: P. Courcelle, Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore, Paris 1948, 183–194; B. Altaner, Augustinus und die griechische Patristik. Eine Einführung und Nachlese zu den quellenkritischen Untersuchungen, RBen 62, 1952, 201–215; B. Altaner, Die Benützung von original griechischen Vätertexten durch Augustinus, ZRGG 1, 1948, 71–79; For Augustine's knowledge of Neoplatonism (and Marius Victorinus) s. also: C. Boyer, Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de saint Augustin, Rome 2nd. ed. 1953; M. F. Sciacca, Saint Augustin et le Néoplatonisme. La possibilité d'une philosophie chrétienne, Louvain 1956; A. H. Armstrong, St. Augustine and Christian Platonism, Villanova 1967; M. T. Clark, Victorinus and Augustine: Some Differences, AugStud 17, 1986, 147–159.

[2] F. Glorie 1965.

[3] See now the interpretation of the recently found Mani-text: L. Koenen, Augustine and Manichaeism in the Light of the Cologne Mani Codex, ICS 3, 1978, 154–195; according to Koenen, the exegesis of *Genesis* at the end of the *Confessiones* in an attempt to work up his Manichean past.

writings. It was transfigured into an inward discipline, into an art of mental planning and memory training without waste of paper; it penetrated his works as a structuring principle and was a technical prerequisite of his breathtaking literary proficiency and his much-admired ability to preach extempore.

Other literary genres cultivated by Augustine had been prepared by Latin Fathers: sermons, exegetical works, pamphlets, and different forms of letters sometimes interfering with the quoted genres. Augustine felt especially attracted to Cyprian, who had been a teacher of rhetoric and a bishop like himself (cf. also *serm.* 309). The *De civitate Dei* became the key-stone of Latin apologetic literature; it even went far beyond the traditional genre, by drawing a panorama of world history.

As for the *Confessiones*, the theme of 'conversion'[1] (ἐπιστροφή, *conversio*) had already played a role in the edifying philosophy of the pagan diatribe; Augustine adhered to this tradition by evoking Seneca and Persius both in the *Confessiones* and the *Sermons*. The meaning of the Greek term is 'focusing one's attention on one's better self', 'retreat from the world of appearances for contemplation', ultimately: 'self-consistency'. In the *Septuagint* and with the Christians there was a shift of meaning: 'focussing one's attention on the live person, being faithful to God'. In Augustine the term kept the personal touch it had acquired in Graeco-Roman tradition along with its semantic closeness to Plotinus (*enn.* 6. 5. 7). The idea of autobiography as a search for truth also crowns an existing tradition. *Peregrinatio vitae* had been a basic pattern of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*; Augustine took from the latter the theme of *curiositas*, an intellectual *concupiscentia* repeatedly seducing Psyche and Lucius to neglect what is really important.

A Christian autobiography could refer to Paul's conversion, which in the *Acts of the Apostles* was partly reported in the first person (26. 4–18; cf. 22. 6–16; in the third person 9. 1–19). Augustine is closer to the beginning of Cyprian's *Ad Donatum* (Aug. *serm.* 311; 312; *doctr. christ.* 4. 14. 31). Place (*horti*) and time of action (*feriae vindemiales*) seem to have been typical (Cyprian had followed Minucius Felix' choice of the time of the year). When describing his *locus amoenus*, in a manner not austere enough to Augustine's taste, Cyprian had

[1] P. Courcelle 1963, 111–117; for the theme of conversion cf. also Hilary (*De trinitate*), the *Passio Perpetuae*, and Gregory of Nazianzus, further Epict. *diss.* 2. 20. 22; Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 53.

evidently meant to compete with Minucius and Cicero. Finally, our author's calling conversion a gift of God is verbally reminiscent of Cyprian (Aug. *conf.* 9. 6. 14; Cypr. *ad Don.* 4).

Although Roman literature had known many forms of self-portrayal—suffice it to recall Lucilius, Catullus, Horace, Ovid on the one hand, and Sulla, Caesar and Cicero on the other—it was left to Augustine to enrich it with a new sort of autobiography, a work both crowning the previous Roman development and liable to provoke new secularized literary forms in the future. The genre of autobiography, as newly shaped by Augustine in his *Confessiones*, was a description of the author's intellectual evolution. In this respect it had some precedents, for instance Ovid's autobiographical elegy (*trist.* 4. 10), his praise of the Muse and his confession that she is the source of his life. Another example had been Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, a novel narrated in the first person;[1] it culminated in its hero's conversion to the cult of Isis and in an important speech of the Deity in the last book. Unlike his model, Augustine did not write a novel redolent of magic and fairy tale but told the story of his own life. However, he made a critical selection of facts. He only mentioned what was—positively or negatively—relevant to his way to God—or to God's ways with him. This is true of his intellectual life—hence the large space given to philosophical problems—and of subconscious factors: feelings, forebodings, dreams and reactions to encounters and premonitions, observed with Roman diligence (*religio*) despite their seemingly fortuitous character. From this point of view many details we would nowadays expect to find in a biography became irrelevant. On the other hand, 'lyrical' or 'exegetic' elements—though surprising the modern reader at first glance—can be understood as integrating parts of the whole. As *confessio* means not only confession of sin or biographical confessions but also praise and confession of faith, the theological and exegetic chapters are justified. Moreover, after conversion, the 'ecclesiological' orientation of the exegesis of *Genesis* in the last books places the individual into a new social context. Simultaneously, the human discourse of the biographical narrative gives way to the word of God. The 10th book, which contains a systematic self-examination and a profound analysis of memory, has

[1] On Augustine's *Confessiones* and Apuleius: W. Hübner, Autobiographie und Metamorphose, in: Jahrbuch der Universität Augsburg 1985, publ. 1986, 161–170, esp. 166–167.

a pivotal role. It is true that, in the long run, Augustine's psychological analysis, both intense and subtle, would be more influential than his overall design. Without any doubt, however, a new content and the crossing of elements of multiple generic provenance conspired to produce a new literary genre.

Literary technique

Typical of Augustine's literary technique are his personal variants of patterns of classical literature: the opening prayer, for instance, is comparable to pagan invocations of gods or Muses. Its Augustinian character is fully developed as early as the *Soliloquia*, though the most famous examples are found in the *Confessiones*. There the initial prayer serves as a double introduction to the subject matter: in fact, while being a hymnic predication, it also propounds the serious intellectual problems disquieting the author.

Augustine's artful use of quotation deserves special attention. In the *Confessiones* there are innumerable allusions to the Bible, especially to the *Psalms*[1] and *Paul's Letters*. The cited words fit surprisingly well into their new context, not serving as superficial adornments, but revealing the quintessence of the author's intended meaning. This unusually high degree of assimilation, comparable only to Virgil's imitation of Homer, originates in Augustine's intimate acquaintance with these texts, an acquaintance constantly renewed in daily meditation. So the step towards explicit exegesis made in book 11 is less abrupt than it might seem. In fact, as early as book 9, large passages read like an exegesis of the 4th Psalm.

The subtlety of Augustine's literary technique creates a polyphony of prayer, narrative and exegesis, of texts exhortatory and meditative, of talking and listening. His methods allow Augustine to develop central ideas in a rhetorical fashion, but also to dismantle false opinions and restlessness methodically by putting rhetoric into the service of silence (e.g. *conf.* 9. 10. 25 in Neoplatonic tradition).

Augustine's imagery is not a merely linguistic phenomenon, it deeply affects the structure of his text. His metaphors apply a partly biblical vocabulary to the realm of psychology; the inward landscape thus created is described as 'woods', 'cataracts', 'fog'. On the one hand, the clear structure of his metaphors and his thoughtful use of them

[1] G. N. Knauer 1955.

reflect the lucidity of his mind; on the other, the intensity and vividness of the images testify to a strong and passionate imagination. *Rapere* graphically reflects the irresistible attraction of men to God; man's relationship to the world of the spirit is symbolized by metaphors of eating and drinking which have a clearly sensuous ring.[1] If such pictures are not completely new, Augustine certainly shows an exceptional ability to integrate and relate them as leitmotifs to the central idea of his *Confessiones*. In Augustine's imagery conscious and subconscious elements interfere with each other: God is not only called 'Father' in the Bible; in fact, Isaiah compares him to a mother (*Is.* 66. 13). This religious attitude is congenial to Augustine's yearning for a place of safety for his restless spirit, a yearning not reducible to a mere projection of his attachment to his mother. In search of 'sources' for individual images, scholars sometimes neglect what is obvious: Augustine's vision of world history as a gigantomachy is not primarily rooted in Manicheism,[2] but in Hellenistic and Roman literature. Virgil, who was Augustine's antipode as a philosopher of history, had described the battle of Actium as a battle of gods (*Aen.* 8. 698–705).

Augustine's methods of logical reasoning are unique in Roman literature for their depth and subtlety.[3] They are based on his relentless striving for truth.

The problem of rhetorical devices is intimately linked to the problem of the literary methods used to reveal (or conceal) the narrator's ego. This is the time to discuss the historical reliability of the *Confessiones*.[4] There have been equally peremptory pleas in favor of and against it. An examination of the authentic witnesses outside the autobiography argues against radical skeptisism. Given Augustine's main concern (which was not history but a paradigmatic description of a philosopher's way to God as well as, secondarily, a bishop's vade-mecum to his clerics), the reader is surprised to find facts reliably recounted, hidden motives pitilessly unmasked, and grievous faults

[1] Also *epist.* 1.3 *philosophiae uber; verum* as *animi pabulum.* Metaphors taken from eating are also found in Seneca (e.g. *epist.* 2) and Paul (e.g. *1. Cor.* 3. 2).

[2] A. Adam, Das Fortwirken des Manichäismus bei Augustin, ZKG 69, 1958, 1–25, esp. 19.

[3] In C. F. Meyer's short story 'Plautus in the nunnery', the humanist Poggio fondly calls the *Confessiones* 'the subtle booklet'; cf. Calvin's judgments on Augustine's *argutiae* (in: P. Courcelle 1963, 380–382).

[4] P. Courcelle 2nd ed. 1968, 29–40 (with bibl.).

reported with a curtness and dryness unexpected in an otherwise so eloquent author.

To assess the degree of literary transformation of his subject matter in the *Confessiones* and the means employed by the author, we cannot help asking if Augustine's literary account of the relationship between Neoplatonism and Christianity in the context of conversion is believable. Christianity prevails in the *Confessiones*, Neoplatonism in the writings contemporary to his conversion. Augustine himself is aware of this discrepancy (*conf.* 9. 7; *retract. prol.* 3). Doubtless in his old age the biblical and the ecclesiastical components are more prominent than in his middle life, but in Augustine's time Neoplatonism and Christianity were not incompatible as they might seem to us today. In fact, Augustine wants to show that a consistent study of philosophical problems in the light of Neoplatonism can lead to the threshold of Christianity. It is true that this convergency of science and religion falls short of the historical incarnation of the Logos and the scandal of crucifixion, and our author honestly avows this in the *Confessiones.* Compared to Minucius Felix and Lactantius, Augustine's philosophical reasoning is more penetrating and more revealing. The prevalence of philosophy in his early works need not be a precise reflection of his state of mind at that moment, for at the same time he had begun to study profoundly the *Psalms* and *Paul's Letters.* It only shows in what areas the author then felt competent enough to publish treatises.

Language and Style

Augustine's Latin style cannot be understood without considering his special interest in music and rhythm. It shows not only from his rhetorical analysis of passages from Paul in terms of 'periods' and 'commata' (*doctr. christ.* 4. 7. 11–13), but also in the surprising avowal of our saint that the musical beauty of psalmody[1] sometimes attracted him more than its content (*conf.* 10. 33. 49–50). In the same passage he emphasizes the positive role of music played in his conversion; the church songs introduced by Ambrose had had personal impact on him at a time when he did not yet care for relics and miracles (*conf.* 9. 6. 14–7. 16).

[1] For the praise of psalmody cf. Jerome *in Eph.* 3. 5. 19. PL 26. 561–562; Ambr. *in psalm.* 1, *praef.* 9. PL 14. 968–969; bibl. s. below 'Ideas I'.

His sermons, mostly written in short, impressive sentences, testify to an extremely sensitive ear for acoustic effects. Ostensibly, Augustine was striving for popularity: *melius in barbarismo nostro vos intellegitis, quam in nostra disertitudine vos deserti eritis*, 'we had better use vulgar speech and be understood by you than deploy eloquence and leave you alone' (*in psalm.* 36 *serm.* 3. 6); but even this programmatical utterance exhibits a highly rhetorical style; it is anything but 'popular Latin'. Repetitions of words and homoeoteleuta are the main adornments of such 'rhymed prose'[1] which anticipates the style of sermons in later centuries. At its best, this style is not a mere rhetorical game but a form appropriate to paradoxical truths.

An unbelievably rich gamut of linguistic and stylistical colors was at Augustine's disposal. Even within single works there are differences of style. The *Confessiones* are strongly influenced by the style of the Bible—sometimes even by its syntax—, especially in contemplative passages bordering on poetry.[2] The ornate abundance typical of large parts of his work often alternates with a sober and factual style and the severe logic of philosophical discussion. The richness of stylistic resources is reminiscent of Cicero.

Augustine's *poetic attempts* are problematic but of historical interest. As he admitted himself, African ears in his day were unable to discern long and short vowels. Taking into consideration this fact in his Anti-Donatist psalm, he became a precursor of later non-quantitative poetry.

The style of his *Letters* reveals other facets of our author. Rarely does Augustine write on his own behalf: e.g. when he asks Bishop Valerius of Hippo for a leave in order to prepare himself (21) or when he talks about his sermons on fasting (29). He mostly reacts as an official of the Church to the problems of his fellow Christians.

The style of his letters is mainly reserved and cool, even when addressing his student Nebridius (*epist.* 10). Open-mindedness, thirst

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[1] Norden, LG 126; for Augustine as an observer of the spoken language: B. Löfstedt, Augustin als Zeuge der lateinischen Umgangssprache, in: H. Rix, ed., Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der 5. Fachtagung der Idg. Gesellschaft (Regensburg 1975), Wiesbaden 1975, 192–197; G. J. M. Bartelink, Augustin und die lateinische Umgangssprache, Mnemosyne ser. 4, 35, 1982, 283–289; s. now G. Vogt-Spira, ed., Strukturen der Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur, Tübingen 1990 (ibid. on Augustine: C. Gnilka, K. S. Frank, S. Döpp, M. Erler).

[2] M. Verheijen, *Eloquentia pedisequa.* Observations sur le style des *Confessions* de saint Augustin, Nijmegen 1949; J. Fontaine, Sens et valeur des images dans les *Confessions*, AugMag 1, 1954, 117–126; still valuable: C. I. Balmus, Etude sur le style de saint Augustin dans les *Confessions* et la *Cité de Dieu*, Paris 1930.

for knowledge, and truthfulness are the features our author appreciates in his addressees; in such cases his tone becomes even cordial, as appears from the letter to Gaius (19), accompanying a package of Augustine's works. Still more effusive is the style of a letter to Paulinus (31), full of urbane kindness and not sparing with superlatives. If these rhetorical asseverations sound exaggerated to us, none the less we may suspect that there is some human relationship underneath. The opposite of this flowery manner of writing is the barren dryness of the letter to Macrobius (106), who had wanted to re-baptize a subdeacon (409). Here we hear the bishop's authoritative voice. Sentences are as concise as possible (*Noli*: 'Don't'). Repetition of words—the sole ornament admitted here—enhances intensity to the point of inexorability. A surprise (ἀπροσδόκητον) comes with Augustine's sardonic request that the adressee should rebaptize him, the bishop. No less gruff is *Letter* 26, which gives a young poet a good scolding worthy of the old Tolstoy: 'You cultivate your style and neglect your soul.' Such antitheses are a suitable vehicle for a 'Stoicizing' rigorism, which Augustine also used against his own musical penchants in the 10th book of the *Confessiones*; in the *De doctrina Christiana* his tone would become milder.

We have examined three levels of Augustine's manner of writing: the contemplative style of philosophical discourse, which is mainly rational; the pleasant tone of urbane dialogue, which appeals to gentle and friendly feelings; and the imperious speech of the official, who has to impose his will on others. The didactic epistles are close to the first group, whereas the polemical mode belongs to the third. All these manners of discourse are indicative of a personality knowing how to protect his privacy and revealing just as much as is appropriate to the given occasion. The intention and ability to teach is obvious everywhere; the author is too reserved to expose himself, a feature surprising in the author of the *Confessiones*.

It appears that the style of the *Confessiones*, animated with lyrical emotion, readily taking over quotations from psalms and Ambrosian hymns, is only one of many tones available to Augustine. On the whole, doctrinal austerity is even more prominent. There is also a chronological development in Augustine's use of language. In his old age our author takes exception to pagan words he had used in earlier years: e.g. *fortuna, omen, Musae*.[1] On the other hand, only hesitatingly

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[1] Chr. Mohrmann, Comment saint Augustin s'est familiarisé avec le latin des chrétiens, AugMag 1, 1954, 111–116.

and gradually did he adopt specifically Christian terms such as *salvator* and *exorcisare.*[1]

The lack of spontaneity in the letters is due to the fact that Augustine was talking to most of his addressees as a teacher or spiritual adviser, a didactic and psycho-therapeutic role in accordance with both his secular profession and his spiritual vocation. Even before he came to know of Christian monasticism, he had cherished the ideal of a community of unanimous friends, couched first in Ciceronian, then in Platonic and Pythagorean terms;[2] Christian humility and asceticism form a creative polarity with the consciousness of being an elect and the lordly manners of a monsignore in the spirit of Ambrose.

The distinguishing qualities of Augustine's way of writing come to the fore if we compare our author to Cicero.[3] It is well known that in the composition of the works of the greatest Latin prose authors, some licences occur which are due to the use of sources, to their delight in digressions and *exempla* and especially to their living in an atmosphere of a lively exchange of thought with friends. Yet there is a crucial difference: at the moment of writing, Cicero's process of thinking has already got its final shape, so that the form of the work has the poise of a classical sculpture. Augustine, however, has his readers participate in the evolution of his ideas, developing them as if they were a piece of music. In Cicero's practice, meditation precedes the written form, which is not identical with the process of research but a didactic presentation of its results. Augustine's prose, which is, of course, no less planned, is meditation itself, 'research' and 'teaching' in unison. A symptom of this is the frequency of questions in many paragraphs, e.g. in the *De genesi ad litteram.* Rhetoric, which had been largely 'forensic' in Republican times, had become in late antiquity an art of learning, of inward dialogue, and monologue. This conveys to Augustinian discourse a vivid warmth, immediately involving the reader in the mental process.

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[1] G. Finaert, L'évolution littéraire de saint Augustin, Paris 1939.
[2] P. Courcelle 1963, 537.
[3] M. Testard 1958, vol. 1, 343.

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature

What were Augustine's ideas on literature? Of a projected encyclopaedia we possess the *De musica*, an independent achievement typical of his scholarly approach to all arts favored by the Muses; hence it deserves to be mentioned here as a preliminary. Augustine distinguishes the manifestations of musical numbers in sound (*numeri sonantes*), in the sense of hearing (*occursores*), in the act of playing (*progressores*), in memory (*recordabiles*), and in the judgment of the listener (*numerus iudicialis*). Our author inquires into the hierarchic order of these phenomena and gives philosophical and theological explanations.[1] As he does in his theory of time—the dimension appropriate to musical arts—Augustine emphasizes the psychological and mental aspects. Audible music does not matter much: thought and will are crucial. Pythagoras and David, acoustic theory, and the practice of psalmody ultimately tend towards the same goal: The 'true music' is the *conversio* of the soul—including the body—to God through love.

Let us now turn to rhetorical theory in the proper sense of the word. The *Principia rhetorices* which have come down to us show little independence of thought and are probably spurious; the early work *De pulchro et apto* is lost. Being a *rhetor*, Augustine has a sophisticated sense of Latin style; from the outset, the unsophisticated language of the Bible is the main obstacle to his reading it (*conf.* 3. 5. 9). His youthful enthusiasm for philosophy was certainly provoked not only by the content of Cicero's *Hortensius* but also by its good style, despite his assertion to the contrary. At first, Augustine attended the sermons of Ambrose for rhetorical interest; subliminally, the polished form may have contributed to render the content acceptable (*conf.* 5. 13. 23). Yet this was but partly true, for the alluring rhetoric of the Manichean Faustus, which lacked all depth of thought, could not

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[1] Aug. *mus.* 6, 2–4; H. Pfrogner, Musik—Geschichte ihrer Deutung, München 1954, 97–104; A. Michel, Sagesse et spiritualité dans la parole et dans la musique: De Cicéron à Saint Augustine, in: Musik und Dichtung, FS V. Pöschl, Frankfurt 1990, 133–144; Arbogast Schmitt, Zahl und Schönheit in Augustins *De musica, VI*, WJA, NF 16, 1990, 221–237; A. Keller, Aurelius Augustinus und die Musik. Untersuchungen zu *De musica* im Kontext seines Schrifttums, Würzburg 1993; M. von Albrecht, Zu Augustins Musikverständnis in den *Confessiones*, in: Philantropia kai Eusebeia, FS A. Dihle, Göttingen 1993, 1–16; M. von Albrecht, Musik und Befreiung. Augustinus *De musica*, International Journal of Musicology 3, 1994, 89–114.

deceive Augustine. Soon he would place rhetoric on new philosophical foundations.

The first step towards a scientific theory of signs[1] was taken in the *De magistro*. The *De doctrina Christiana* advanced the study of the problem. This work is related to the theory of science in the *De ordine* where Varronian and Neoplatonic elements were traced. In order to instruct the clergy and probably also to answer some charismatics who presumed to do without methods, Augustine created in the *De doctrina Christiana* a theory of science which set a scholarly standard for priests and monks of the Western Church, and even went far beyond its original purpose.

The *De doctrina Christiana* is more than an introduction to the reading of the Bible for clerics: viewed as a work of literature, it surpasses Cicero's *De oratore* and *Orator*, unfolding not only hermeneutics and homiletics but an entire theory of signs and of science.The text was first written up to chapter 3. 25. 35 (about 396/97) and finished only in 426/27 The first three books are on *inventio*: how to find the object of our understanding. The last book is on the *modus proferendi*: how to convey the message. Our author differentiates between objects (*res*; book 1) and signs (*signa*; books 2 and 3). Objects are either destined for mere use (the world) or for fruition, because their fruition ensures salvation (love of God and fellowmen). Who knows how to read correctly? Only those inspired by love for the supreme 'object' which is the Triune God. This shows the correlation of love and knowledge, which implies a return from the 'copy' to the original.[2] The same principle governs Augustine's relationship to the reality of nature: his goal is not knowledge of detail, philological or physical, but a philosophical and theological view of the universe. Consequently, science has a solid ethical component. *Contemplatio* is superior to *actio*, as is *sapientia* to *scientia* (*trin.* 12. 15. 25). Intellectual vision is knowledge based on experience: *cognoscibilia cognitionem gignunt, non cognitione gignuntur*, 'the objects of knowledge produce knowledge; they are not produced by knowledge' (*trin.* 14. 10. 13). The point is to understand the 'signs'. Similarly, Cicero had drawn conclusions concerning the nature of God (*nat. deor.* 2. 16) from 'endeictic' signs (i.e. signs pointing to invisible things). For our author the objects of creation are natural signs;

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[1] C. P. Mayer, Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie des jungen Augustinus, diss. Würzburg 1969; id., Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie Augustins. II.: Die antimanichäische Epoche, Würzburg 1974.

[2] R. Lorenz, Die Wissenschaftslehre Augustins, ZKG 4, 5, 67, 1955–1956, 29–60; 213–251.

ultimately, we are not entitled to oppose nature as a secular domain to the realm of grace. In the *Confessiones* Augustine interprets God's creation of nature as a prefiguration of the Church, the 'second creation' of grace; this is more than allegory. What is relevant is that God is the only active and the only real: in this our author's Paulinism and Platonism converge.

When developing an intriguing approach of his own to natural philosophy in the *De genesi ad litteram*, Augustine does so in terms of organic life, not technology (e.g. germ and growth). In this theory (today forgotten) pictures of love and care dominate, in direct opposition to the technological patterns of our natural science which bears the mark not of Augustine but of nominalism. On the other hand, Augustine is more 'modern' than Aquinas: his approach, which draws a clear distinction between *ratio creandi hominis* and *actio creati* (*gen. ad litt.* 6. 9. 17) even allows for an 'evolutionist' interpretation.[1]

Sciences investigating external facts are subject to the formula *bene uti temporalibus*, 'make the right use of temporal objects' (*trin.* 12. 14. 22). History (including natural history), according to rhetorical traditions, serves as a treasury of exempla. The dignity of history is enhanced by the fact that God created its time-table; we have to discern the οἰκονομία (*dispensatio*) of revelation; πίστις (*fides*) is the form of knowledge Plato had assigned to this sphere. Faith refers to the word. Augustine writes a doctrine of interpretation (hermeneutics) of revelation.

The 2nd book of the *De doctrina Christiana* is on signs, the most important of which is the word. To understand signs we need not only proficiency in languages and secular sciences—especially history and dialectics (*doctr. Christ.* 2. 31. 48–37. 55)—but also the gifts of the Spirit, the essence of which is wisdom. The word alone does not teach us much (*mag.*); we need Christ as our inward teacher. The truth of the word is confirmed by reality; it is equally true, however, that *res per signa discuntur*, 'reality is understood by means of signs' (*doctr. Christ.* 1. 2. 2). The autobiography in the *Confessiones* is an account of God's signs as observed by a man; this is the best application of Augustine's theory of knowledge which—following a good Roman tradition—starts with the observation of signs. The ending of the 2nd book of the *De doctrina Christiana* dwells on the difference between sacred Scripture and secular literature. We should not be afraid of the discoveries of philosophers, especially the Platonists, we should rather snatch them away as though from unlawful owners. To confirm this, Augustine appeals to Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, Hilary (2. 40. 61), and even Moses, who had been instructed in all wisdom of the Egyptians (*Act.* 7. 22). The golden rule of studying the Scriptures is: *scientia inflat, caritas aedificat*, 'knowledge puffs up, but love builds up' (*1 Cor.* 8. 1). The Cross extends to all dimensions of space (*Eph.* 3. 17–19).

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[1] Cf. *gen. ad litt.* 5. 23. 44–45; 6. 5. 8; 6. 6. 10.

The 3rd book is on the multiple sense of signs, especially of the Holy Scripture. If ambiguity is caused by the wording this is a question of punctuation (3. 2. 2–5) or pronunciation (3. 3. 6–7). Ambiguity can be clarified by consulting the context, the different exegeses, or the original. We must not take literally what has to be understood metaphorically. This is especially true of all biblical passages offending religious or moral feelings.[1]

The Jews were in a position to observe *signa rerum spiritualium pro ipsis rebus*, 'they adhered to the signs of things spiritual, not to those things themselves' (3. 6. 10). They were enslaved by useful signs, the pagans by useless ones (3. 7. 11). This is why the Church interprets the signs of the Jews while discarding those of the Greeks (polytheism). Augustine deemed the *Septuagint* inspired; hence at the outset he did not understand why Jerome referred to the Hebrew original. There are even single remarks illuminating the method and theory of interpretation: the same word does not necessarily have always the same meaning. To give an example, in *Matth.* 16. 11, *fermentum* has a negative meaning, in *Luc.* 13. 21 a positive one. In this case our author avoids a danger inherent to our working with parallels picked up from dictionaries: the idolization of a vocable into a hypostasis. On the other hand, Augustine justly emphasizes the importance of parallels (3. 28. 39) and readily admits that a verse can have several meanings (3. 27. 38). Moreover, the exegete has to know tropes, especially allegory, which according to our author is inherent in the nature of language and of God's Word.[2]

The 4th book (*de proferendo*) contains instruction for the preacher; school rhetoric is ostensibly discarded, actually presupposed.

Rhetoric is needed to defend the truth (4. 2. 3). Rhetorical education is indispensable, at least through reading (4. 3. 4–5). A preacher must know how to structure a speech and adapt its style to the intended aim (4. 4. 6). Of course, it is more important to speak *sapienter* than *eloquenter* (4. 5. 7–8). The authors of the Bible combine wisdom and eloquence. The words of the Scriptures are born from the essence of things. Wisdom herself comes immediately forward from her house, and Eloquence follows in her footsteps as her servant (4. 6. 10). This gives a new solid foundation to the ancient Roman *rem tene, verba sequentur*. With a new seriousness our Christian theoretician of speech stresses the ties between rhetoric and truth as postulated by Plato in the *Phaedrus*. An unconditional striving for truth is typical of Augustine (e.g. *conf.* 3. 6. 10; 4. 15. 27). Revelation is imagined as a speech: God speaks by acts (cf. *civ.* 22. 8 and 22). Augustine transfigures rhetoric into a theory of knowledge. *An sit, quid sit, quale sit*: rhetorical categories help to understand the essence of things (*conf.* 10. 10. 17).

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[1] 3. 5. 9 cf. the criteria of Origen: ἄλογον, ἀδύνατον (*princ.* 4. 3. 4).

[2] In this context Augustine takes into account—mostly with approval—the exegetic rules of the Donatist Ticonius. They are mainly tropological.

'Rhetorical' passages from Paul and the prophet Amos (in Jerome's translation!) are examples of the 'unintentional' rhetorical beauty of the Bible. Cyprian and Ambrose parade as examples for the famous three levels of rhetorical style and their proper use. In general, Augustine's theory of literature and communication is a doctrine 'of the beautiful and appropriate', subject to severe criteria of truth. This title of a lost work of Augustine's youth touched a keynote of his philosophy.[1]

With regard to both his profession (as *rhetor*) and his vocation (as an epistemologist) Augustine is in his element in the *De doctrina Christiana*. Aristotle had written the first philosophy of rhetoric; it had been a doctrine of the logical and psychological means of persuasion and at the same time a topography or typology of emotions. In his *De oratore* Cicero had made an attempt which was totally different but no less important. Rhetoric served education and, in harmony with the Roman situation, political practice. Augustine, the third great philosopher of rhetoric, placed rhetoric within the context of a general theory of signs, hermeneutics and epistemology.

It is not enough to refer this shift of interest to the external situation of the bishop as scriptural exegete, significant as this connection may be. A more essential reason is the fact that Christianity was more intransigent about the orator's truthfulness: by linking rhetoric to truth, Augustine met the challenge which had formed the basis of Plato's criticism of rhetoric

Ideas II

At the beginning of the *Soliloquia* Augustine asks his basic religious and philosophical question: *Deum et animam scire cupio*, 'I want to know God and the soul' (1. 7). In the impassioned language of the *Confessiones* it runs: *inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te*, 'our heart is restless until it rests in Thee' (1. 1). In our biographical survey, we followed the different stages which led to a clarification of his idea of God. Now it remains to add the ultimate phase. Philosophically, Augustine's opinions on grace are extremely difficult; ultimately they are rooted in his personal experience of life. The explanation is not

[1] Augustine's philosophy of rhetoric is to be found in an embryonic state as early as in his *De natura et origine animae*, which in this regard is a noteworthy precursor of the *De doctrina*: M. C. Preus, Eloquence and Ignorance in Augustine's *On the Nature and Origin of the Soul*, Atlanta 1985.

to be found in the typically 'Greek' field of theory, but that of practice, which is closer to the Roman mind: he felt as a sinner undeservedly pardoned.

Augustine excelled in the field of psychology, a favorite domain of Roman literature. Tertullian had been an especially creative predecessor. Ovid and Seneca had been masters at relentlessly unmasking the soul to the point of discovering man's delight in evil-doing. Like them, Augustine used rhetoric to fathom the abysses of the human heart. His psychology enriched his discussion of philosophical subjects like memory (*conf.* 10) and time (*conf.* 11). By transferring psychological categories onto the Trinity he enlivened theology and gave the dogmatic subject an original, specifically 'western' touch. In conformity with his time, Augustine turned his attention to the inner world, as appears from his autobiography which is the culmination of Roman self-portrayal. The same is evinced from his basic question noted above: from late antiquity until the Renaissance, philosophical interest was less focused on nature,[1] a development prepared by Socrates, Hellenistic and Roman philosophers, who had concentrated on anthropology and ethics.[2]

To begin with the psychology of children, our author analyzes problems caused by disproportionate severity (fear of getting a beating from the teacher of Greek) and inadequate clemency (the father's smiling on his son's sexual lapses). The discussion of an act of disobedience to prove one's personal independence (book 2). From the world of the adult we might mention two passages: one discussing the pleasure taken in tragic subjects, and another describing the torture of being unable to make a moral decision.[3] Here Augustine joins the ranks of the great classical psychologists from Euripides to Seneca. His eagle's eye for evil motives recalls Sallust and Tacitus. Not surprisingly, historians of philosophy consider Augustine the discoverer of *mala voluntas*[4] (although there are important precedents in Roman legal thought).

And there is more. By formulating the first certitude of epistemology (*dubito ergo sum*) he anticipates Descartes' *Cogito, ergo sum.* Together

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[1] Expressly e.g. Aug. *enchir.* 5. 16 against Verg. *georg.* 2. 490 and 479–480.

[2] *Sed bonarum et malarum rerum causas nosse debemus: enchir.* 5. 16.

[3] Aug. *conf.* 8. 5. 10–11; on the two *voluntates* in man cf. *Rom.* 7. 18–20.

[4] N. W. Gilbert 1963; cf. A. Dihle, The Theory of Will in Classical Antiquity, Berkeley 1982, 123–144.

with this, he gives an answer to Gassendi's *Ambulo, ergo sum.*[1] His subjective approach which starts with the individual—prepared for by Protagoras and Socrates—makes Augustine one of the fathers of the Modern Age.

He is the first to give a purely subjective basis to the philosophy of time. In this he was ahead of all other classical philosophers including Aristotle. It is true that the latter knows that time is within the soul (*Physics* 4. 14), that past and future do not exist and that the Now seems to have almost no existence. Yet his thought is not subjective enough: it is in space that he is searching for what is earlier and later in time (*Physics* 4. 11), and in his view the motions of planets (which certainly are something outside the subject) determine the measure of time. Augustine, however, is aware that time is measured in our mind by something impressed in our memory. What is present is my attention. Future becomes real in the present, whereas the present perishes in the past: We are passing through God's Now (*conf.* 1. 4; 11. 13). All momentary worlds coexist in God's eternal present. Augustine's intuition is the only real Now which exists in the soul. We know neither past nor present nor future, but only the presence of the past (in our memory), the presence of the present (in our view), and the presence of the future (in our expectation). This philosophy of time was 'a great advance . . . it contains a better and clearer statement than Kant's of the subjective theory of time.'[2] Augustine's epistemological approach is fruitful in many domains: from the understanding of sense perception to that of the Holy Trinity.

We observed the priority of subjective consciousness in Augustine's philosophy of time, in his *De trinitate*, and in his theory of knowledge. This same principle may also help to explain his doctrine of grace. If taken as an objective philosophical statement, the doctrine that everything is done only by God and his grace amounts to the idea that God does not want all people to be saved (e.g. *enchir.* 24. 97–26.

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[1] *Tu qui vis te nosse, scis esse te?—Scio.—Unde scis?—Nescio.—Simplicem te sentis anne multiplicem?—Nescio.—Moveri te scis?—Nescio.—Cogitare te scis?—Scio (soliloq. 2, 1).*

[2] B. Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, New York 1945, 354; on Augustine's theory of time: J. Guitton, Le temps et l'éternité chez Plotin et saint Augustin, Paris 3rd ed. 1959; O. Lechner, Idee und Zeit in der Metaphysik Augustins, München 1964; J. F. Callahan, Augustine and the Greek Philosophers, Villanova 1967, 74–95; S. Böhm, La temporalité dans l'anthropologie augustinienne, Paris 1984; the originality and topicality of Augustine's philosophy of time is justly stressed by N. Fischer, Sein und Sinn der Zeitlichkeit im philosophischen Denken Augustins, REAug 33, 1987, 205–234.

102). This view contradicts the Scriptures (*1 Tim.* 2. 4; *enchir.* 27. 103) and portrays a God hardly deserving to be called good. Yet these criticisms miss Augustine's point: what matters for him is the believer's personal experience and subjective consciousness of having been saved from death by grace alone.

Subjective consciousness equally determined Augustine's approach to the problem of free will: what is freer than free will that is not enslaved by sin? (cf. *corrept.*, PL 44, 936). Like the Stoics he was not concerned with external conditions but with the consciousness of being free.

In all important domains of thought Augustine is true to his character. His doctrine of grace is a statement referring to subjective consciousness. By pondering its objective consequences, we transpose it from the sphere of religious existence into the abstractness of philosophical thought (a mistake avoided, alas, not even by Augustine himself). Through such an approach, we certainly cannot do justice to a subject which is rooted in the speaker's mental history.

Transmission[1]

For reasons of space, we will deal here only with three major works—the *Confessiones*, the *De civitate Dei*, and the *De trinitate*.

We have no less than 258 manuscripts for the *Confessiones*, ranging from

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[1] M. Comeau, Sur la transmission des *sermons* de saint Augustin, REL 10, 1932, 408–422; R. Hanslik, Zur Aufarbeitung der Augustinus-Überlieferung, WHB 10, 1967, 15–19; M. Oberleitner, Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des hl. Augustinus, vols. 1, 1 and 1, 2 (Italy), Wien 1969; 1970; F. Römer, (same title) 2, 1 and 2, 2 (Great Britain and Ireland) 1972; 3 (Poland and Scandinavia) 1973; J. Divjak, (same title) 4 (Spain and Portugal) 1974; R. Kurz, (same title) 5, 1 and 5, 2 (West Germany and West Berlin) 1976; 1979; D. Weber (same title) 6, 1 and 6, 2 (Austria) 1993; cf. also: F. Römer, Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Werke des hl. Augustinus, RhM 113, 1970, 228–246; id., Probleme der Augustinus-Überlieferung im Lichte neuerer Forschung, WHB 13, 1971, 25–34; J. Divjak, Die neuen *Briefe* des hl. Augustinus, WHB 19, 1977, 10–25; Les lettres de saint Augustin découvertes par J. Divjak, Communications présentées au colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982, Paris 1983; R. Kurz, Zur Überlieferung von Sammlungen der Briefe des hl. Augustinus im Mittelalter, CodMan 10, 1984, 121–134; M. M. Gorman, The Diffusion of the Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* in the Early Middle Ages, RBen 95, 1985, 11–24; A. G. Hamman, La transmission des *sermons* de saint Augustin. Les authentiques et les apocryphes, Augustinianum 25, 1985, 27–64; M. Avilés, Apéndice. Manuscritos del *De doctrina christiana* existentes en Europa, Augustinus 31, 1986, 379–390.

the 6th to the 15th century: the oldest known codex is the Sessorianus bibliothecae Romanae Victoris Emanuelis 2099, olim ecclesiae s. Crucis 55 (6th–7th century). Over 120 printed editions are known after the editio princeps of Johann Mentelin (Strasbourg, between 1465 and 1470). The edition of the Maurine monks was a landmark (for the *Confessiones* as well as for other works), for it was not based on the contaminated group of manuscripts as the editio princeps had been; but mainly on Codices E, H, G (cf. below), as well as on a Thuaneus and Benignianus which can no longer be identified. The influential edition of M. Skutella (Leipzig 1934) and the new Corpus Christianorum edition of L. Verheijen (Turnholti 1981) show preference for the following manuscripts:[1]

- Bambergensis 33 (B III 23), 11th century (= B);
- Parisinus 1913, olim Colbertinus 711, Regius 3762, 9th century (= C);
- Parisinus 1913 A, olim Colbertinus 3275, Regius 4000/2. 2., 9th century (= D);
- Parisinus 12 191, olim S. Germani a Pratis 237, ante S. Mauri Fossatensis 70, 10th century (= E);
- Parisinus 10 862, olim S. Germani a Pratis, ante Echternach., 9th century (= I);
- Parisinus 12 193, olim S. Germani a Pratis 757, 9th century (= G);
- Parisinus 12 224, olim S. Germani a Pratis 736, ante S. Petri Corbeiensis, 9th century (= H);
- Fuldensis A a 9, olim Weingartensis (excerpta), 8th–9th century (= J);
- Monacensis Clm 14 350, olim monasterii S. Emmerami Ratisbonensis, 10th century (= M);
- Parisinus 1911, olim Obrechtinus, Regius 4004/2., 9th century (= O);
- Parisinus 1912, olim Bethunianus, Regius 4004, ante S. Mariae de bello Prato, 9th century (= P);
- Romanus bibliothecae Victoris Emanuelis 2099, olim Sessorianae ad eccl. s. Crucis 55, 6th–7th century (= S);
- Vaticanus 5756, olim S. Columbani Bobiensis 17, 9th/10th century (= V);
- Turonensis 283, 10th/11th century (= Z);—Stutgardiensis ('Stuttgartensis') HB. VII 15, olim monasterii Weingartensis, 10th century (= A in Verheijen).

Another family of manuscripts is represented by the excerpts of Eugippius (oldest manuscript: Vaticanus 3375, 7th century).

For the tradition of the *De civitate Dei* one should examine separately two groups: books 1–16 and 17–22. For books 1–16 we possess very old and reliable manuscripts:

[1] A stemma for the transmission of the *Confessiones* is found in L. Verheijen, edition, p. lviii.

- Lugdunensis 607 (books 1–5), 6th century;
- Corbeiensis, postea Sangermanensis 766, nunc partim Parisiensis (B.N. Lat. 12. 214; books 1–9), partim Petropolitanus Q. v. I, No. 4; book 10, 6th century;
- Veronensis XXVIII (26) (books 9–16), early 5th century; the last named manuscript goes back to the time of Augustine.

For books 17–22 we must rely on later manuscripts, though they are very faithful to the original, e.g. the
- Patavinus 1469, 14th century.

The edition of Dombart-Kalb, CC 47, 14, 1 and 48, 14, 2 (2 vols.), Turnholti 1955 is mainly based on these manuscripts. Since the tradition poses different problems for each book, a stemma for the entire work cannot be made. A tentative stemma for book 1 is to be found in the Teubner edition of Dombart-Kalb, 5th ed. 1981, vol. 1, p. xxxiii. Moreover, divergent readings are, in the main, more relevant to the history of transmission than for the text. Some *variae lectiones* might even go back to a revision of the text by Augustine himself, as attested in a letter to Firmus discovered only in our century. The same letter contains information on how the author organized this work and on the so-called 'chapter headings' which Augustine wanted to place in front of the entire work as an 'analytical index'.

The *De trinitate* was torn away from the author in an unfinished form and was published against his will, as he says in a letter to Bishop Aurelius. Only many years later he finished this interrupted work, though with several intermissions, according to the original plan. Soon after the editio princeps by Henricus Ariminensis (Strasbourg ca. 1474) Leonardus Pachel (Milan 1489) published the text in excellent quality not even surpassed by the Maurine edition. Hence, the new edition of Mountain-Glorie, CC 50–50a, Turnholti 1968, could limit itself basically to a clarification of the history of the text. It is mainly based on the following manuscripts:
- Parisinus B.N. Lat. 2088, 11th–12th century (= codex Bigotianus);
- Parisinus B.N. nouv. acq. Lat. 1446, 10th–11th century;
- Parisinus Bibl. de l'Arsenal 303 (419 T. L.), 12th century;
- Vindocinensis Bibl. municipale 37, 11th century;
- Parisinus B.N. nouv. acq. Lat. 1445, 9th century; as well as on *testimonia* in Florus and Benedictus Anianensis.

Influence

Augustine gave the Latin language a flexibility and precision which made it suitable for any philosophical discussion. Together with Boethius, who would follow in his path, he became one of the fathers of medieval and modern philosophical language.

His creation of new literary forms—psychological autobiography and the grand essay on philosophy of history—was born from a new way of thinking which had great impact on future generations.

Augustine's description of the first certitude of epistemology[1] anticipated Descartes. His discoveries in the field of the philosophy of time were to be recognized by Bertrand Russell (s. above) and Edmund Husserl: 'Our modern age, proud as it is of all its knowledge, was not brilliantly successful in these matters and certainly not much more successful than this great thinker who struggled so earnestly'.[2]

Augustine also laid the foundations of a philosophy of will, combining elements from the Old Testament with Stoic and Roman ideas.[3] While for Epicurus and Lucretius will had been the principle of motion in animals, the Stoic Chrysippus considered it a durable and reasonable desire possessed only by the wise (similarly: Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 6. 13). Seneca's idea of an animus subject to emotions (*dial.* 3 = *ira* 1. 7–8) was reinforced by Augustine, who, in the style of Paul, opposed *bona voluntas* and *mala voluntas.* The latter was the intellectual root of sin. Will became independent of knowledge. In retrospect Arthur Schopenhauer would discover surprising parallels between Augustine (*civ.* 11. 27) and his own idea of 'will to live': 'I have quoted *several* passages of St. Augustine which most surprisingly agree with my views'.[4]

Along with Dionysius the Areopagite, Augustine became one of the patrons of medieval Platonism. Bonaventura's (d. 1274) *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* was based on Augustine's seminal idea that man has to retreat within himself in order to find union with God.

Augustine's psychological self-analysis influenced medieval autobiographies,[5] which represented their authors' lives as *imitatio Augustini.*

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[1] Aug. *soliloq.* 2. 1; *lib. arb.* 2. 3. 7; *trin.* 15. 12. 21.

[2] E. Husserl, Vorlesungen zur Phänomenologie des inneren Zeitbewußtseins, ed. by M. Heidegger, Halle (Saale) 1928, 2 (= Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung 9, 1928, 368).

[3] N. W. Gilbert 1963; cf. esp. *lib. arb.* 3. 1. 3: *non enim quicquam tam firme atque intime sentio quam me habere voluntatem eaque me moveri ad aliquid fruendum; quid autem meum dicam, prorsus non invenio, si voluntas qua volo et nolo non est mea.*

[4] Letter to Bähr, January 12, 1860 (= Schopenhauer-Briefe, ed. by L. Schemann, Leipzig 1893, 379); on Aug. *civ.* 11. 27 cf. *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* 2, ch. 28 (ed. by L. Berndl, vol. 2, München 1913, 456).

[5] P. Courcelle 1963 passim (with bibl.); P. Lehmann, Autobiographies of the Middle Ages, in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., vol. 3, London

The writer of what was probably the most important of these works was by Aelred of Rievaux; in modern times authors like Rousseau, Sainte-Beuve, and Renan were inspired by Augustine's psychology in the *Confessiones*.[1] A parallel branch of influence pursued pedagogical aims (Vincent of Beauvais, Guibert of Tournai, Vegio, Fénélon). Augustine's Platonism intrigued the great 'humanists' of the Middle Ages: Scotus Erigena,[2] Abelard, John of Salisbury, Petrarch.[3] His view of history—a new beginning in the philosophy of history—would later inspire Hegel and Toynbee. Augustine's radical religious reliance on grace irresistibly attracted deep and uncompromising religious thinkers[4] (Wycliffe, Meister Eckhart, Tauler, Luther, Calvin, the Jansenists, Pascal) and repeatedly stirred up Christianity from optimistic Pelagian dreams. The belief in predestination, if paralysing at first sight, was singularly metamorphosed into a spirit of enterprise, especially in Holland and England, and became a motive for economical and political expansion.[5]

Augustine was the first in the western world to write a monograph on labor: *De opere Monachorum*. Following Paul and patristic traditions, Augustine stated in this book that any honest work, on principle, has its own dignity and ascetic value. Compared to the general disdain for physical labor in classical antiquity, this was a great step forward, although the contrast ought not to be overemphasized: there are some remains of aristocratic customs: he thought that monks of distinguished family should be exempted from physical toil (*op. monach.* 21. 25); moreover, the Stoics had already stressed the educative value of work; and finally, from Cato the Elder onward, the Romans, who considered themselves an agricultural nation, had appreciated *labor* and *industria*. This book, the content of which is conveyed by the medieval

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1953, 41–52; on Mount Ventoux, Petrarch read in the *Confessions* and drew an historical line back to Anthony (*fam.* 4. 1, ed. by V. Rossi, Firenze 1933); a follower of the *Retractationes* was Hugo of Trimberg (*Registrum multorum auctorum*, ed. by K. Langosch, Berlin 1942, p. 193, esp. lines 753–756 = 937–940).

[1] We might also think of Montaigne.

[2] B. Stock, Observations on the Use of Augustine by Johannes Scottus Eriugena, HThR 60, 1967, 213–220.

[3] E. Luciani, Les *Confessions* de saint Augustin dans les lettres de Pétrarque, Paris 1982.

[4] A. Zumkeller, Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke bei den deutschen Predigern des Spätmittelalters, ZKTh 81, 1959, 265–305.

[5] A. Zumkeller, Das Mönchtum des hl. Augustinus, Würzburg, 2nd ed. 1968, with bibl.

formula *ora et labora*, influenced the idea of work in western monasticism and indirectly prepared the way for our modern high esteem of labor.

On the other hand, the austere, even hardened aspects of an aging Augustine were not devoid of consequences. If his teaching of original sin is difficult to understand, even frightening to our mind, the reason is that modern readers are not immediately aware of its close connection with the doctrine of redemption. It is true that love, freedom and discretion are the main features of his idea of monasticism, which contributed considerably to preserving the monks of the western Church from a fanaticism hostile to culture, and obliged them to practice charity and scholarship. If the ethics he bequeathed to the western churches is mainly ascetic, we should not overlook that Augustine's views were moderate for his day. As for his attitude to heterodox Christians, Augustine, who had at the outset rejected any compulsion in matters of faith (*epist.* 23. 7; 93. 5. 17), came to adopt the contrary opinion (*epist.* 93 and 185) after the successful repression of Donatism by the state. It was a long way from here to the Inquisition, and an even longer way to the virtual abolition of the Inquisition by the churches and its reestablishment by non-Christians.

Hence it follows that Augustine in many respects—both positive and negative—is a son of Rome and a father of Europe. Despite his vast influence and the assiduous efforts of scholars, some aspects of Augustine have still escaped general attention. Even his admirers rarely understand with what care he extricated the convergency of Christian religion and of a methodical search for scientific knowledge under the auspices of truth. He is not a one-sided defender of a *credo ut intellegam*;[1] his biography shows that at the outset he strove for scientific knowledge and that he made good progress: natural reason grasped categorical notions, mathematical truths, esthetic and ethical standards and even the essence of the human self and the existence of God, if through a mirror and in enigmatic form (*1 Cor.* 13. 12). In view of the undeniable changes of emphasis during his long life, it may be tempting to play off his Platonism against his Paulinism or vice versa. However, this would not do justice to the

[1] Cf. however *serm.* 118, 11; *in euang. Ioh.* 29, 6; *serm.* 43. 7; *epist.* 120. 1. 3; in allusion in *trin.* 1. 1. 1; the idea can be traced to Plotinus 5. 3; 5. 8 through Ambrose; R. J. O'Connell; The *Enneads* and St. Augustine's Image of Happiness; V Chr 17, 1963, 129–164.

continuity of his intellectual life; suffice it to mention that the sentence 'God is all our strength' is found as early as the *Soliloquia* (2. 1. 1). The customary antithesis obscures the fact that Augustine gave his theocentric experience a double expression: the fact that God is the only reality could be appropriately expressed in Platonic terms, whereas the idea that God was the only source of activity required the vocabulary of Paul. Thoughts are more than words (and schools) and God listens only to the language of the mind (*catech. rud.* 9. 13). While today a conversion is liable to be called a flight or a *sacrificium intellectus*, Augustine took this step to prove his intellectual honesty; in his day Christianity was not afraid of contacts with philosophical science, but instead gave it new impulses.

Other aspects not yet fully appreciated are Augustine's contribution to the theory of labor, his pioneering work in semiotics, and his interpretation of Creation which, unlike that of Aquinas, gives biological evolution a chance. Nor would we have expected to find Augustine quoted as a 'merely sensuous observer' in Goethe's *Geschichte der Farbenlehre.*[1] It is true that it would be adventurous to call Augustine the 'greatest poet of the old Church;[2] yet it is certainly evident that the quality of Augustine's prose deserves more appreciation. As a product of sophisticated rhetorical and psychological empathy and genuine philosophical reflection, it must be called a highlight of classical Latin prose in form and content.

Editions: Maurine edition: Paris 1679–1700; PL 32–47; CSEL (cited individually). * J. E. Rotelle, E. Hill (TrN), The Complete Works of Saint Augustine, Brooklyn, N.Y., from 1989 onward (43 vols. planned). ** *Anti-Donatist writings*: M. Petschenig, CSEL 51–53, 1908–1910. * *beat. vit.*: R. W. Brown (TrC), Washington 1944. * J. Doignon (TTrN), Paris 1986. * *c. acad., beat. vit., ord.*: P. Knöll, CSEL 63, 1922. * W. M. Green, CC 29, Turnholti 1970. * B. R. Voss, I. Schwarz-Kirchbauer, W. Schwarz, E. Mühlenberg (TrN), Zürich 1972. * *catech. rud.*: J. P. Christopher (TrC), Washington 1926. * *c. Fel., nat. bon., epistula Secundini, c. Secundin.* (accedunt: Evod. *fid.*; Ps.-Aug. *comm.*): I. Zycha, CSEL 25, 1892. * *c. Iul. op. imperf. 1–3*: E. Kalinka, M. Zelzer, CSEL 85/1, 1974. * *civ.*: E. Hoffmann, CSEL 40, (1: *civ.* 1–13; 2: *civ.* 14–22), 1899–1900. * B. Dombart, A. Kalb, Lipsiae 1928–1929, 5th ed. 1981. * B. Dombart, A. Kalb, CC 47, 14, 1 and 48,

[1] Goethe, WA 2. 2. 165 (2nd ed.) quoting *trin.* 11. 2. 4.
[2] Norden, LG 122.

14, 2, Turnholti 1955. * G. E. McCracken and others (TTr), 7 vols., London 1957–1972. * W. Thimme (Tr), C. Andresen (N), 2 vols., Zürich 2nd ed. 1978 (rev.). * C. J. Perl (Tr), 2 vols., Paderborn 1979. * *conf.*: P. Knöll, CSEL 33, 1896. * W. Watts (TTr), 2 vols., London 1912. * M. Skutella, Lipsiae 1934. * M. Thimme (Tr), Zürich 2nd ed. 1950. * L. Verheijen, CC 27, Turnholti 1981. * J. J. O'Donnell (TC), 3 vols., Oxford 1992. * G. Clark (TC), Cambridge 1995. * *cons. euang.*: F. Weihrich, CSEL 43, 1904. * *de serm. dom.*: A. Mutzenbecher, CC 35, Turnholti 1967. * *doctr. christ.*: I. Martin, CC 32, Turnholti 1962. * L. Alici (TrN), Milano 1989. * *doctr. christ. 4*: T. Sullivan (TTrC), Washington 1930. * G. M. Green, CSEL 80, 6, 6, 1963. * *epist.*: A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34 (1: *epist.* 1–30; 2: *epist.* 31–123), 1895–1898. * id., CSEL 44 (3: *epist.* 124–184), 1904. * id., CSEL 57 (4: *epist.* 185–270), 1911. * J. H. Baxter (TTr, sel.), London 1930. * *Recently discovered letters*: J. Divjak, CSEL 88, 2, 6, 1981. * *fid. et symb.*: E. P. Meijering (TrC), Amsterdam 1987. * *fid. et symb., fid. et op., agon., contin., bon. coniug., virg., bon. viduit., adult. coniug., de mend., c. mend., op. monach., div. daem., cur. mort., pat.*: I. Zycha, CSEL 41, 5, 3, 1900. * *fid. invis.*: M. F. McDonald (TTrC), Washington 1950. * *gen. ad litt., gen. ad litt. imperf., loc. hept.*: I. Zycha, CSEL 28, 3, 2, 1894. * *haer.*: L. G. Mueller (TrC), Washington 1956. * *in euang. Ioh.*: D. R. Willems, CC 36, Turnholti 1954. * *in psalm. 1–50*: D. E. Dekkers, I. Fraipont, CC 38, Turnholti 1956. * *in Rom., in Gal., epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*: J. Divjak, CSEL 84, 1971. * *lib. arb.*: W. M. Green, CSEL 74, 1956. * id., CC 29, Turnholti 1970, 207–321. * F. de Capitani (TTrC), Milano 1987. * G. Madec and others (C), Palermo 1990. * *lib. arb., ver. rel.*: W. M. Green (T), W. Thimme (Tr), Zürich 1962. * *mag.*: G. Weigel, CSEL 77, 1961. * K.-D. Daur, CC 29, Turnholti 1970, 141–203. * E. Schadel (TrC), Würzburg 1975. * *mor. eccl., mor. Manich., quant. anim.*: J. K. Coyle and others (C), Palermo 1991. * *mus.*: C. J. Perl (Tr), Paderborn 3rd ed. 1962. * U. Pizzani, G. Milanese (C), Palermo 1990. * *nat. bon.*: A. A. Moon (TrC), Washington 1955. * *pecc. mer., spir. et litt., nat. et grat., de natura et origine animae libri IV, c. Pelag.*: C. F. Urba, I. Zycha, CSEL 60, 1913. * *perf. iust., gest. Pel., grat. Christ., nupt. et concup.*: C. F. Urba, I. Zycha, CSEL 42, 1902. * *persev.*: M. A. Lesousky (TrN), Washington 1956. * *quaest. hept., in Iob*: I. Zycha, CSEL 28, 1895. * *quaest. hept., loc. hept., de octo quaestionibus ex veteri testamento*: I. Fraipont, CC 33, Turnholti 1958. * *quant. anim., mag.*: K.-H. Lütcke, G. Weigel (TTrN), Zürich 1973. * *retract.*: P. Knöll, CSEL 36, 1902. * C. J. Perl (Tr), Paderborn 1976. * *serm. 335/K, 339, 340, 340/A, 383, 396*: H. R. Drobner (Tr), Würzburg 1993. * *soliloq., immort.*: H. Fuchs, Hansp. Müller (TTr), Zürich 1954. * G. Watson (TC), Warminster 1990. * *soliloq., immort., quant. anim.*: W. Hörmann, CSEL 89, 1986. * *spec.*: F. Weihrich, CSEL 12, 1887. * *trin.*: W. J. Mountain, F. Glorie, CC 50, 16, 1 and CC 50A, 16, 2, Turnholti 1968. * *urb. exc.*: M. V. O'Reilly (TTrC), Washington 1955.

* *util. cred.*, *de duab. anim.*, *c. Fort.*, *c. Adim.*, *c. epist. fund.*, *c. Faust.*: I. Zycha, CSEL 25, 1891. * *util ieiun.*: S. D. Rueff (TTrC), Washington 1951. * *vera relig.*: K.-D. Daur, CC 32, Turnholti 1962, 171–260. ** *Reference works*: Thesaurus Augustinianus, Series A (Formae), vol. 1 (with forms and frequency of occurrence) and microfiche, Turnhout: Brepols 1989. Series B (Lemmata) will concentrate on individual works. * The *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. by Cornelius Mayer (and others), Basel, Stuttgart 1986 ff., includes encyclopedic articles and articles on the history of ideas (without Nachleben). * *Concordance*: D. Lenfant, Concordantiae Augustinianae, 2 vols., Paris 1656–1665, reprinted 1966 (most comprehensive reference work to date).* R. H. Cooper and others, Concordantia in libros XIII *Confessionum* S. Aurelii Augustini, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1991. * *Indices*: CC 27 (*conf.*: Concordance of forms, in reverse alphabetical order), Turnholti 1983. * CC 32 (*doctr. chr.*: same content), ibid. 1982. * CC 36 (*in euang. Ioh.*) Eindhoven 1976. * CC 38 (*in psalm.* 1–50) Eindhoven 1978. * CSEL 58 (*epist.*: indices), 1923. * W. Hensellek, P. Schilling (and others), *Vorarbeiten zu einem Augustinus-Lexikon*: CSEL suppl. 1 = A 3 (*De ordine*) 1973; suppl. 2 = A 1 (*c. acad.*) 1974; suppl. 3 = A 14 (*util. cred.*) 1977; suppl. 5 = A 13 (*ver. rel*) 1980; suppl 6, 1992; suppl. 7, 1993. ** *Bibl.*: C. Andresen, Bibliographia Augustiniana, Darmstadt 2nd ed. 1973. * R. Lorenz, Augustinliteratur..., ThRdschau n.s. 25, 1959, 1–75; 38, 1974, 292–333; 39, 1974/75, 95–138; 253–286; 331–364; 40, 1975, 1–41; 97–149; 227–261.* T. L. Mirb, Augustine Bibliography 1970–1980, Westport, Conn. 1982. * Cf. also below: C. Mayer, K. H. Chelius, eds.

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BOETHIUS

Life and Dates

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius was born into a noble and wealthy family about 480. After the premature death of his father (consul in 487) important personalities took care of him, especially Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, whose daughter Rusticiana Boethius married. In his youth his scholarly talents caused a sensation and even attracted the attention of King Theodoric. Boethius was ordered to construct a waterclock and a sundial for Gundobad or find specialists able to do this. For King Clovis he had to choose the best citharist. In his political career he was quickly promoted; in 510 he became consul without a colleague. His two sons held the same high office in 522 even before having come of age. On this occasion he gave a laudatory speech on Theodoric (*cons.* 2, *pr.* 3). It was not long before he became the leading official of all magistrates of the court and of the state (*magister officiorum*). The antagonism between Goths and Romans, an Arian king and a Catholic senate, exploded into an open conflict; the patrician Albinus was suspected of treasonable contacts with the Byzantine Emperor Justin. Boethius unhesitatingly hastened to Verona to defend Albinus and the Senate which had also been drawn into the affair. At that point he was accused himself. The King condemned him without hearing him only on the basis of

witnesses' testimony. He was placed under temporary detention in Calvenzano and executed in 524.[1] The next victim of Theodoric would be Symmachus (in 525). In this same decade (529), two events symbolize the change from antiquity to the Middle Ages: while Benedict founded Monte Cassino, Emperor Justinian closed the Platonic Academy after nine hundred years of existence.

Boethius, who was a philosopher and a Roman, perceived the need of the moment like a prophet: in order to make philosophy accessible to the Latin Occident, he wanted to translate the complete works of Aristotle and Plato, and—following Porphyry—prove that the teachings of both philosophers were in harmony with each other. In his day he was the only man able to do this. Unfortunately, the crowned barbarian was not imaginative enough to doom the scholar to home arrest with ink and pen instead of death. Thus it happened that our nascent Europe could read very little of Aristotle and almost nothing of Plato except for the *Timaeus*, which had been translated much earlier.

Fixed points for the dating of his works are the years 510 (*Commentary on Categories*) and 523–524 (*Consolatio*). As for the relative chronology of his translations, independent lines of research have led to the following order: Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories, De interpretatione, Analytica priora, posteriora, Topica, Sophistici elenchi.*[2] In all probability Boethius used a codex, a form of book popular from the 4th century onward. This manuscript, in which the texts were arranged as they are in the Byzantine tradition of Aristotle,[3] had been a

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[1] A. Cameron, Boethius' Father's Name, ZPE 44, 1981, 181–183 (Marius Manlius Boethius); J. Moorhead, Boethius and Romans in Ostrogothic Service, Historia 27, 1978, 604–612; C. Morton, Marius of Avenches, the Excerpta Valesiana, and the Death of Boethius, Traditio 38, 1982, 107–136; U. Pizzani, Boezio consulente tecnico al servizio dei re barbarici, RomBarb 3, 1978, 189–242; D. Romano, Il significato della presenza di Nerone nella *Consolatio* Boeziana, ALGP 9–10, 1972–1973 (1975), 180–185 (on the typological parallel of Nero and Theodoric in the *Consolatio*); P. Rousseau, The Death of Boethius: the Charge of Maleficium, Studi Medievali, ser. 3, 20, 1979, 871–889; H. Tränkle, Philologische Bemerkungen zum Boethiusprozeß, in: Romanitas et Christianitas, FS J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam 1973, 329–339; E. Reiss, The Fall of Boethius and the Fiction of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, CJ 77, 1981, 37–47 (not convincing); D. Schanzer, The Death of Boethius and the *Consolation of Philosophy*, Hermes 112, 1984, 352–366.

[2] S. Brandt, Entstehungszeit und zeitliche Folge der Werke von Boethius, Philologus 62, 1903, 141–154; 234–275; A. P. McKinlay, Stylistic Tests and the Chronology of the Work of Boethius, HSPh 18, 1907, 123–156; L. M. de Rijk, On the Chronology of Boethius' Works on Logic, Vivarium 2, 1964, 1–49, 125–162.

[3] F. Solmsen, Boethius and the History of the *Organon*, AJPh 65, 1944, 69–74.

'Neoplatonic' school edition with Porphyry's *Isagoge* as an introduction. The neatness of this picture, which is in accordance with Boethius' methodical style of working, is not significantly impaired by two problems: in the transmission of Boethius, the sequence of works is not so fixed, and the authenticity of the translations of *Analytica, Topica*, and *Sophistici elenchi* is not beyond doubt.[1] It remains to hope for a *recensio* of the manuscripts of Boethius, which is overdue.

Survey of Works

Boethius lived to translate and comment on the *Organon*; moreover, he translated Porphyry's *Isagoge to the Categories of Aristotle* and wrote a commentary on Cicero's *Topica*. Of his commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and on the Aristotelian *De interpretatione* there exist two versions, one of them simpler (probably for students), the other more demanding (for teachers). When writing the commentaries on the *Categories* and *De interpretatione*, Boethius may have given literary shape to a preexisting corpus of Scholia.[2] The *Scholia to Analytics*, preserved in a manuscript, are nowadays ascribed to Boethius on grounds of linguistic criteria.[3] His works on logic follow Marius Victorinus, whose translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* was used by Boethius in the first version of his commentary; the second version contains his own literal translation.

Boethius wrote independent works on problems of logic: *De categoricis syllogismis, Introductio ad categoricos syllogismos, De hypotheticis syllogismis, De divisione, De topicis differentiis.*

We only have the first two parts of a work on the quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy); of the *Geometry* we have fragments and a forgery.

The theological writings form an independent group. Of the five treatises transmitted, the penultimate is of dubious authenticity.[4]

Consolatio

The *Consolatio*, a literary work of art, occupies an exceptional position among Boethius' works. Its structure is based on the principle of gradation. It is

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[1] S. however: C. H. Haskins, Mediaeval Versions of the *Posterior Analytics*, HSPh 25, 1914, 87–105; H. R. Patch 1935, 32.

[2] J. Bidez, Boèce et Porphyre, RBPhH 2, 1923, 189–201; J. Shiel, Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle, MRS 4, 1958, 217–244.

[3] L. Minio-Paluello, A Latin Commentary (? translated by Boethius) on the *Prior Analytics* and its Greek Sources, JHS 77, 1957, 93–102.

[4] Confidently in favor of authenticity: H. Chadwick, The Authenticity of Boethius' Fourth Tractate, *De fide catholica*, JThS 31, 1980, 368–377.

not a methodical description of a rigid system but a quasi-medical dialogue[1] between Lady Philosophy and a man unjustly doomed to death. This is a worthy continuation of the Roman tradition of psychotherapeutic literature, as represented by Seneca in an exemplary way.

1: The prisoner gives a passionate expression to his grief in an elegy when, all of a sudden, Philosophy appears in a quasi-divine epiphany and chases away the Muses. Solitude is typical of such revelations[2] but the scene is also reminiscent of Plato who had banished Homer from his republic. If the Muses disappeared from Boethius' work, however, poetry did not. From now on, verse and rhythm serve philosophical meditation and education. It seems that Boethius is the first Roman to have put Plato's poetic program into practice, though in a personal, not political sense: *quodsi Platonis Musa personat verum,/quod quisque discit, immemor recordatur*, 'If Plato's Muse tells the truth: to learn things is to remember them unconsciously' (3 *carm.* 11). In the 1st book Boethius above all unburdens his heart of the grievous experiences he has recently undergone. Philosophy makes the diagnosis: lack of self-knowledge; ignorance of the true goal of man, which is the knowledge of truth. Yet there is hope of healing, for in Boethius there remains unshaken faith in God as the prime cause and ultimate goal of all that happens (1 *pr.* 6). Then Philosophy prescribes a therapy: the means of attacking grief have to be weak at the outset, then stronger and stronger. The last poem of book 1 culminates in the desire for *ataraxia*, freedom from all emotions. This finale perfectly fits the psychological situation of the prisoner, as do all further endings.

2: The 2nd book is a detailed meditation on Fortuna, a figure introduced as a speaker in the opening. Given her changeable nature, man cannot claim anything from her. The changes of fortune are difficult to support, all the more so since Boethius had been very lucky before (2 *pr.* 4). Yet, the very remembrance of benefits received (a standard topic of classical consolation)[3] is liable to compensate grief. This is a good opportunity to look back upon the happier first period of Boethius' life. If later events emerge before earlier ones in his memory, this is fully consonant with the laws of psychology. In book 2 Boethius deliberately puts his memory into action; instead of being inundated with impressions, his mind becomes active.

Boethius' reflections on Fortuna investigate the problem more thoroughly (2 *pr.* 5–7): in the style of a diatribe our author demonstrates that all happiness based on external goods is doomed to be imperfect. A process of

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[1] E. Rhein, Die Dialogstruktur der *Consolatio Philosophiae* des Boethius, diss. Frankfurt 1963; S. Lerer 1985.

[2] J. Gruber 1969 (with bibl.).

[3] Cf. Hor. *epist.* 1. 4. 6–11; Sen. *Helv.* 14–17 and *Marc.* 5. 23–25; Plut. *cons. ad Timox. ux.* 8.

methodical 'dismantling' establishes that riches, honors, and power are questionable, and glory is futile (the reader is reminded of the *Somnium Scipionis*). The only good thing about false Fortuna is that she can also turn away from man. Then he is left to his own resources: the real goods. Misfortune is often more salutary than success (2 *pr.* 8); when there is no way of striving for external goods, the mind of the prisoner is compelled to turn to inner values. However, Boethius does not carry this idea as far as Solzhenitsyn who says: 'Be blessed, oh my prison!'.

3: While the 2nd book tried to revalue current values, book 3 has a positive goal: God as the essence of happiness, the beginning and the end of our search for truth and virtue. Thus, the unmasking of Fortuna in the wake of Stoicism and vulgar Platonism is superseded by an Aristotelian teleology: the striving for happiness. True happiness is independent of the external goods so congenial to the Romans: *opes, honores, potentia, gloria, voluptates.* Here our author gives up Aristotle's realism and opts for Platonic, even Stoic intransigence. These passages are close to Seneca's and Augustine's *De beata vita* and Cicero's *Hortensius* and *De finibus*, though the details of the use of sources still need clarification. Like a Stoic or a Neoplatonist, Boethius' 'wise man' can justly hope for an apotheosis. Even this passage is not an argument against Boethius' being a Christian, for Greek Church Fathers talk quite unabashedly of the divinization of man.

4: Now that the positive goal is known, the problem of evil becomes urgent. Consequently, the 4th book leads us to the lofty heights of Platonism: evil is the privation of essence, and the happiness of the wicked is only apparent, since due punishment awaits them. For the good, misfortune is a test, an exercise, and a purification. The lot of the individual depends on his personal attitude. This finale has a Roman and Stoic ring;[1] it dwells on the importance of the person and his will as the sole foundation of happiness.

5: Not surprisingly, free will becomes the subject of the last book. As early as book 4, Boethius had distinguished *providentia* (ascribed to divinity) and *fatum* (operating in the world). He had prepared us for book 5 by introducing the Platonic antithesis of what is eternal, one, simultaneous (i.e. God) and what is temporal, manifold, and in continuous progression (i.e. the world). He starts with an implicitly anti-Epicurean remark on chance: it does not happen without cause, as Aristotle had proved in *Physics* 2. 4. Then Boethius turns to the problem of freedom, especially free will. God enjoys full freedom, other beings participate in freedom according to their reason. Man is free if he follows God; vice enslaves him. We will come back to Boethius' remarkable solution of the problem of divine prescience.[2]

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[1] For 4, *pr.* 7 cf. Sen. *prov.* 2. 1–12.

[2] The *Consolatio* is considered unfinished by H. Tränkle 1977, 148–156.

Sources, Models, and Genres

From Aelius Stilo and Varro up to Apuleius, Roman scholars had handled problems of logic in terms of Stoicism. Marius Victorinus had added a Peripatetic approach, which Boethius perfected.

The *Institutio arithmetica* follows a recognized authority: Nicomachus of Gerasa (first half 2nd century); the five books on *Music* draw on the same author and Ptolemy; the *Geometry* on Euclid; the lost *Astrology* in eight books (last seen in 983 at Mantua by Gerbert) probably derived from Ptolemy. The textbooks mentioned here have no independent scholarly claim;[1] they transmit to the Middle Ages the basics of those sciences which operate with numbers. The name *quadruvium* (later: *quadrivium*) for these four subjects is first attested in Boethius (*arithm.* 1. 1). The more scholarly of the *Commentaries to the De interpretatione* is influenced by Neoplatonism; the works on logic use Aristotle, Theoprastus, and Porphyry, the *De topicis differentiis*,[2] Themistius (4th century) and Cicero.

In his first theological treatise Boethius expressly refers to Augustine: *vobis tamen etiam illud inspiciendum est, an ex beati Augustini scriptis semina rationum aliquos in nos venientia fructus extulerint*, 'you must, however, examine whether the seeds sown in my mind by St. Augustine's writings have borne fruit' (*trin. praef.*). There are parallels of subject matter (as can be seen in the *Consolatio*); a more important feature both authors have in common is the high philosophical level of their thought, although their attitudes to life and the problems discussed diverge considerably.

Which are the literary traditions followed in the *Consolatio*? The alternation of prose and poetry is typical of the *satura Menippea*, which from Varro to Martianus Capella and Fulgentius[3] served as a vehicle for popular treatment of moral problems. Our author's personality and destiny, his artistic sense and severe taste transformed that genre past recognition. The *Consolatio* is the beginning of a new serious literary genre in which poetry and prose alternate; it lies closer to Dante's *Vita Nuova* than to Varro. The form of the conversation recalls

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[1] Boethius, however, shortens and expands his text, thus enhancing its transparency and beauty (cf. e.g. the introduction of the *Arithmetics*).

[2] For the sources of *top. diff.*: D. Z. Nikitas, Ciceros rhetorische Schriften als Quellen von Boethius' *De Topicis differentiis*, in: Praktika des 3. Griechischen Symposions für Lateinische Studien, Thessaloniki 1989, 243–279 (in modern Greek with an abstract in German).

[3] P. Courcelle 1967, 17, notes 2 and 20.

the tradition of philosophical dialogue. The non-Platonic use of an allegorical figure as leader of the dialogue is reminiscent of Augustine's consultation with his Ratio in the *Soliloquia.* Philosophy incarnate, visiting the prisoner in his dungeon to comfort him, was already familiar from Seneca.[1] Although her role recalls that of the divine speakers in apocalyptic literature,[2] she is not a divinity proper but the embodiment of human wisdom and knowledge.[3] This definition is sufficient reason for omitting specifically Christian doctrines.

Despite the title of the work the links to the literature of consolation[4] are not close, though one might recall the consolation Cicero wrote for himself after the death of his daughter; and it is possible that more research on Seneca's *Consolationes* would further our knowledge. To our imprisoned author the literature of exile (as represented by Ovid and Seneca)[5] was more congenial. The same is true of the depreciation of glory (2 *pr.* 7) in Cicero's *De re publica,* a work written while its author was compelled to abstain from politics. The commentator of the *Somnium,* Macrobius, had been close to the circle of the Symmachi (the ancestors of Boethius' wife).

Like Cicero, Boethius subscribed to Plato's idea that philosophers and rulers should be the same (1 *pr.* 4). However, in accordance with the religious penchants of late antiquity and his own perilous situation, Boethius opted even more exclusively for the contemplation of things divine. To him, this was the meaning of the solemn ending of the *De re publica;* similarly, in an earlier work, he had defined the essence of philosophy: 'This love of wisdom is the illumination of a judicious mind by that pure wisdom and, as it were, a process of being newly attracted and called back to it. Thus, striving for wisdom seems equivalent to striving for divinity and for a close union with that pure intelligence. Consequently, this wisdom imparts the merits of its divine essence to any kind of soul by leading it back to its own original strength and purity'.[6]

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[1] Sen. *epist.* 65. 16; cf. 16. 5; 53. 7–8; 103. 4.

[2] F. Klingner 1921, 112–118; J. Gruber 1969.

[3] P. Courcelle 1967, 18–22.

[4] Scholars specialized in the literature of consolation rarely mention Boethius; for a bibliography s. R. Kassel, Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur, München 1958.

[5] For *cons.* 1 *pr.* 3, cf. Sen. *dial.* 9 (= *tranq. an.*) 14; for the theme of Fortuna in Boethius and Seneca s. P. Courcelle 1967, 105–108; 125–134; for Ovid: H. Scheible 1972, 12–16.

[6] Boeth. *in Porph. dial.* 1; PL 64, 11; cf. also V. Schmidt-Kohl 1965; critically: H. Scheible 1972, 217–229.

Thus our author goes to the root of his subject. Consolation is merged in the conversion to God. His work is a προτρεπτικὸς εἰς θεόν[1] rather than a *consolatio*; however there is little hope for discovering in it many fragments of Aristotle's *Protrepticus* or Cicero's *Hortensius*. Plato's allegory of the cave[2] is constantly present, while book 4 evokes the *Gorgias* and the *Timaeus*. Boethius makes a synthesis of Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics under the auspices of Neoplatonism. Even the ideas on Fortuna redolent of Stoicism in book 2 are reminiscent of the Platonizing *Protrepticus* ascribed to Plutarch (although it might be rewarding to look for Latin parallels from the literature of consolation); Macrobius the Neoplatonist helped to give the passages on Fortuna a Roman touch. Boethius' doctrines of providence, of the 'non-entity' of evil and matter and of the eternity of the world go back to Proclus,[3] very probably through Ammonius,[4] son of Hermias, the Alexandrian Neo-Platonist. Boethius possibly found the doctrine of 'double necessity' in Ammonius' *Commentary on the De interpretatione* and made use of it to solve the problem of free will: this transfer is an original achievement.

Roman literature is omnipresent in his works: there are poetic quotations and narrative *exempla* from myth and history. Lady Philosophy is on friendly terms with Aristotle (*Aristoteles meus* 5 *r.* 1) as well as Lucan (*familiaris noster Lucanus* 4 *pr.* 6); together with Socrates, Roman philosophers parade as examples of active philosophical life and heroic death (3 *pr.* 5).[5] Seneca is present as a live *exemplum* and also as a master of Roman psychotherapy. Cicero is a guide for the fusion of political activity and Platonic contemplation of God and for a defence of free will in Aristotelian terms. The Roman thinkers gave Boethius much more than a classical linguistic form for Neoplatonic doctrines.

Literary technique

Boethius gives distinction to the form of the Menippea: there is a new regularity in the alternation of prose and poetry, and the vulgar elements specific to the genre have disappeared. However, he does

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[1] E. K. Rand 1904, 1–28, esp. 8.
[2] 1 *carm.* 2; 1 *carm.* 6; 3 *carm.* 1; 3 *carm.* 12; H. Scheible 1972, 218.
[3] P. Courcelle 1967, 164–168; 220–228.
[4] P. Courcelle 1967, 215–219; 227–229.
[5] Cf. Tac. *ann.* 1. 16; 15. 60.

not completely renounce the satire of mankind's folly (including that of Stoic and Epicurean philosophers), a theme of Lucian's *Icaromenippus*.

Greek proverbs (e.g. 1. 4) and quotations enliven the text. Since there was no library in his prison and Boethius was left only with his memory, quoting sometimes became a problem. Therefore our search for citations ought not to go too far. In accordance with his situation Boethius often resorts to familiar quotations which do not necessarily stem from original reading. Sometimes he gives a more poignant turn to epigrammatical sentences from Ovid or Horace: *quem felicitas amicum fecit, infortunium faciet inimicum*, 'whom prosperity made our friend, adversity will make our enemy'.[1]

Often, however, Boethius remembers even the context; this is especially true of maxims and educative paroles.[2] The intention of the sentence *felix qui potuit*..., 'happy is he who can behold...' (3 *carm.* 12) is close to its original Virgilian context (*georg.* 2. 490); only that the philosophy Boethius has in mind is Neoplatonism, not Epicureanism, and salvation is obtained through introspection, not through natural philosophy. Another allusion to the *Georgics* helps to express the basic idea of the 2nd book of the *Consolatio*: if Boethius were aware of what is good in his life, he would be happy (2 *pr.* 4 *o te si tua bona cognoscas felicem*, 'o happy man that you are if you know your own wealth'; cf. Verg. *georg.* 2. 458). A dictum of Lucan reveals the inner triumph of one externally defeated: *Victricem quidem causam dis, victam vero Catoni placuisse familiaris noster Lucanus admonuit*, 'and our disciple Lucan notes that the cause of conquerors pleased the gods and that of the conquered, Cato' (Lucan. 1. 128; Boeth. *cons.* 4 *pr.* 6). As we observed in Augustine, in such cases quotations lead into the core of the author's thought, though in Boethius the citations come from secular texts.

The multiple literary devices used so skilfully by Boethius combine to form a higher unity. Thus in book 1 an elegy conveying despair is the background for the revelation of Philosophy. Then didactic verses indicate the contrast between the philosopher's high-flown theories and his momentary dejection. Next follows a diatribe of

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[1] 3 *pr.* 5; cf. Ov. *trist.* 1. 9. 5–6; (*Fortuna*) *servavit circa te propriam potius in ipsa sui mutabilitate constantiam* (2 *pr.* 1; cf. Ov. *trist.* 5. 8. 18); *atqui haec (pecuniae) effundendo magis quam coacervando melius nitent* (2 *pr.* 5; cf. Hor. *carm.* 2. 2. 1–4); *quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non* (5 *pr.* 3; Hor. *sat.* 2. 5. 59), *avaritiae nil satis est* (3 *pr.* 3; Hor. *sat.* 1. 1. 62).

[2] Cf. R. Glei 1985, 225–238; quotations from poets help to substantiate philosophical ideas (poetry as elementary philosophy).

Philosophy and a judicial speech of Boethius in defence of himself; the subsequent poem is close to the style of prayer. Philosophy answers this desperate cry for help with a speech that could be called a *suasoria*, crowned with a catechetic passage in the vein of a Platonic dialogue. The final poem in stichic Adonics (discovered by ancient metricians in Sappho) has a solemn ring,[1] not unlike the anapaestic hymns in the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria and Synesius' verse.

The alternation of themes is accompanied by subtle variation of stylistic shades.[2] Each idea is given an adequate literary form; the very change of genres becomes a means of contrast and climax to serve an organic whole and an overall design, both psychological and pedagogical.

The literary polyphony of the *Consolatio* is subdued by a severe artistic discipline preventing the work from falling apart into disparate elements. An example is the consistent parallelism in the structure of book 2.[3] This inward unity, supported by an all-pervading good taste, may be called 'classical'. Boethius actually became a classic for posterity; of course, his being a classic is not the result, but the basis of his wide reception.

Alternation of prose and poetry[4] is typical of the literary technique of the *Consolatio*. The poems serve as breaks for rest; replacing the rational discourse by an appeal to imagination, they consolidate the results of the preceding inquiries or prepare what is to follow. In this context, myths gain crucial importance: for example, the men who, though changed by Circe into beasts (4 *carm.* 3), keep their human consciousness. Much worse is the loss of one's identity caused by abandoning oneself to passion: an exegesis based on Platonic[5] and Stoic[6] traditions. Hercules (4 *carm.* 7) symbolizes the wise man who accepts his destiny and overcomes it; this is a Stoic interpretation.[7] Orpheus is a witness to the dangers of looking into the Netherworld and to the problematic character of Eros (3 *carm.* 12). Boethius'

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[1] Cf. Mart. Cap. 2. 125, ed. WILLIS, Leipzig 1983, p. 38.

[2] K. REICHENBERGER 1954.

[3] F. KLINGNER 1921, 22–27.

[4] D. BARTONKOVÁ, Prosimetrum. The Combined Style, in Boethius's Work *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, GLO 5, 1973, 61–69.

[5] Cf. Plat. *Tim.* 91d–92c; Plotinus 1. 6. 39.

[6] Athen. 1. 10e; Hor. *epist.* 1. 2. 23–26.

[7] Epict. 1. 6; Porph. *ad Marc.* 7.

Platonizing approach prepares for the medieval interpretation of myths.[1] The very first scene has been designed allegorically: Philosophy has made her own gown (1 *pr.* 1). We must keep in mind Athena (*Iliad* 5. 734–735), who dragged angry Achilles backward by his hair to prevent him from attacking Agamemnon. This goddess was interpreted as Phronesis (*Scholia A* to *Iliad* 1. 195–196). Plotinus comments on this: 'If someone were lucky enough to be drawn by Athene by his hair and still able to turn backward, he will see God' (6. 5. [23]. 7. 11).

Allegorical interpretation as a form of reading determined the reception of classical mythology by philosophers; in his philosophical verse compositions, Boethius adopts this method, thus paving the way for the influence of pagan myth in the Middle Ages. Allegorical interpretation and creation of allegories could be called two 'hands' of late-antique Roman tradition: one ready to receive, the other to give.

In a continuous chain of metaphors—which is the technical description of allegory—Boethius shapes the appearance of Lady Philosophy; her medical role (prepared by Seneca, the great psychotherapist among Latin authors); the banishment of the Muses; Fortuna's figure and speech etc. Our author combines a preference for allegory (prominent already in Plato) with an analogous tendency of Roman literature and sculpture: the art of conveying abstract ideas through artificial images was very popular in poetry from Ennius and Lucretius to Ovid and Claudian. Since allegory is a synthesis of features composed in a way unattested in nature, it compels its public to search for a higher meaning. As an activity of artistic imagination governed by ratio, allegory became a method influential in the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Baroque. It decayed when artistic creativity was no longer considered a process both rational and emotional but was increasingly interpreted in terms of irrationalism. In our day a new understanding of allegory in Roman art and literature is growing.

A literary device typical of Boethius is the correction of common notions by conferring on them a new spiritual meaning: riches, power, dignity (3 *pr.* 4), homeland and healing (2 *pr.* 2; 4; 6) now designate *inner* qualities (2 *pr.* 6). Such revaluations occur especially at moments when a point of view which had hitherto dominated is superseded. This technique, known from philosophical preaching, is especially

[1] H. Scheible 1972, 124–125.

congenial to Boethius' *Consolatio*, which proceeds gradually from step to step. A similar method of invention shows in the dematerialization of the image of 'library': in prison Boethius replaces his missing library with active thinking.[1]

Boethius conveys his ideas through vivid images. Even supernatural beings bear typically Roman features: Fortuna appears as a grand lady with her suite (2 *pr.* 2), God as a *pater familias* (4 *pr.* 1; cf. Prudentius' *Epilogue* and the passages from Paul he alludes to). At the same time there is a sense of atmosphere reminiscent of Virgil: a description of sunrise and the waning of the stars (2 *carm.* 3) captures the impressions of a morning in Northern Italy, not merely reproducing what is going on in nature but transforming it into emotion; thus, the author's sensibility creates a lively image capable of becoming a symbol. Yet although it reflects psychology, nature is always seen through our author's eyes in its objective reality. He is not an introspective mystic alien to this world but a poet of Italy.

Boethius is a sophisticated author. He artistically subordinates autobiography to his overall design and evokes the facts in reversed chronological order, a device of considerable psychological interest. He is tactful enough not to report his achievements himself but to have Fortune or Philosophy mention them. The literary theme of Fortune, typical of the literature of consolation, allows him to compare past and present. Finally, Boethius deliberately chooses a behavior opposite to that of his king: Instead of monopolizing accusation, he gives his adversary, Fortune, a chance to defend herself and learns from what she says (book 2). Thus the technique of prosopopoeia, known from other *consolationes* (e.g. Sen. *Marc.* 4–5) as a means of creating 'distance', gains deeper meaning in Boethius.

Language and Style[2]

The language of Boethius is surprisingly classical for his time; features typical of late antiquity are not prominent, even compared with

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[1] 1 *pr.* 5; cf. Petr. Chrys., *serm.* 58, 361 B.; Hier. *epist.* 60. 10; Rufin., Orig. *in gen.* 2. 6, p. 173 C; Cassiod. *inst. div.* 5 p. 1116 B; cf. Sen. *epist.* 2.

[2] A. Engelbrecht 1902; K. Dienelt 1951; K. Prinz, Bemerkungen zur *Philosophiae Consolatio* des Boethius, WS 53, 1935, 171–175. C. Mohrmann, Some Remarks on the Language of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*, in: J. J. O'Meara, B. Naumann, eds., Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900. FS L. Bieler, Leiden 1976, 54–61.

Augustine. An adequate analysis ought to start not with the irregular, but the regular elements.

A prestigious mastery of prose rhythm and a surprisingly great range of poetic meter[1] brought him later the attribute *centimeter*, along with Terentianus Maurus, the king of metricians. In his handling of prosody, licenses are rare. Variety of rhythm is not an end in itself; it serves to express diverse emotions and moods: to give an example, choliambs reflect the change of Fortune (2 *carm.* 1). The contrast between the elegiac surrender to grief (at the beginning of book 1) and the exhortation to get rid of emotions (at the ending of the book) is also depicted in the different character of the meters adopted. While the elegiac introduction is written in distichs, the finale is in stichic Adonics, the brevity and regular pulse of which suggest solemn tranquillity: *Gaudia pelle,/pelle timorem/spemque fugato,/nec dolor adsit*, 'all joy forsaking, no sorrow taking, fear must you fly, and hopes defy' (*cons.* 1. *carm.* 7. 25). It may be tempting to interpret Boethius' use of rhythms in terms of ancient musical therapy.

His noble and unobtrusive vocabulary earned him the title of being the last classical writer. On the other hand, colourful touches of naturalism are not totally lacking, e.g. *delatravi* (1 *pr.* 5); the same is true of poetic words (*carminis mulcedo; summum lassorum solamen animorum*, 'the soothing tones of the verse'; 'greatest comforter of weary minds' 3 *pr.* 1). Most innovative is the abstract and philosophical vocabulary ultimately based on Marius Victorinus and the Church Fathers from Tertullian onward: *insufficientia, possibilitas, praesentarie* (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον), *valentia* in an abstract sense, *alteritas* (Mar. Vict., Aug., Boeth.), *pluralitas* (Aug., Boeth.). Existing words gain a specifically philosophical meaning, in many cases still present today: Boethius handed down to us notions like principle, universal, speculation, accidental, subject.

In our author Greek words reflect in a special way the dignity and sanctity of philosophy. They are a sort of 'sacred language' of philosophy, as pronounced from a standpoint not human but divine, e.g. 4 *pr.* 6 (from an unknown source). In Boethius' fictive context this function is especially appropriate, since Greek is actually the mother-tongue of Philosophy. Not surprisingly Lady Philosophy uses the Greek interjection *papae* (1 *pr.* 6) to express surprise.

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[1] L. Pepe, La metrica di Boezio, GIF 7, 1954, 227–243.

Our author is aware of the acoustic qualities of his words; he deliberately employs etymological figures like *tendat intentio* (1 *pr.* 6), *oblectamenta delectant* (4 *pr.* 6); the fullness of other expressions borders on tautology: *conexione constringit; proficiscatur exordiis* (4 *pr.* 6); occasionally we find wordplay like *memoriam maeror hebetavit*, 'grief has dulled my memory' (1 *pr.* 6) or an oxymoron: *infortunio dixit esse felicem*, 'he said that they are happy by being unfortunate' (3 *pr.* 7: a quote from Euripides); *hae ad beatitudinem viae devia quaedam*, 'these ways to happiness are only certain by-paths' (3 *pr.* 8). Yet, such niceties are not too frequent and do not disturb the dignified and overall sober impression.

An example of a telling congruence of form and content is the narrative of various vicissitudes of fortune crammed into a single sentence. An accumulation of adjectives and participles adds to the impression of density and copiousness: *Nesciebas Croesum regem Lydorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem mox deinde miserandum rogi flammis traditum misso caelitus imbre defensum?*, 'Were you ignorant how Croesus, King of the Lydians, not long before a terror to Cyrus, within a while after came to such misery that he should have been burnt had he not been saved by a shower sent from heaven?' (2 *pr.* 2).

When handling trite themes like Fortuna (a figure known to us e.g. from Seneca's *consolationes*), our author feels especially challenged to add some luster to his subject by using elaborate rhetorical embellishments, as he does for example in the following passionate protestation against a well-known method of consolation: *nam in omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum est genus infortunii fuisse felicem*, 'for in all adversity of fortune, it is the most unhappy kind of misfortune to have been happy' (2 *pr.* 4).[1] No less polished is the following remark on precious stones: *quas quidem mirari homines vehementer admiror*, 'which I exceedingly marvel that men admire' (2 *pr.* 5). Boethius is especially successful at finding extremely succinct expressions of a highly poetic quality, e.g. 2 *carm.* 4: *ridens aetheris iras*, 'mock the raging passions of the air': most significantly an image of an individual who stands in defiance of the whole world.

Boethius' style radiates intellectual charm. Unlike most of the Roman writers he develops each of his ideas strictly from the foregoing and takes all objections seriously to eliminate them only after

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[1] Dante has Francesca of Rimini pronounce the same idea *inf.* 5. 121–123: *nessun maggior dolore/che ricordarsi del tempo felice/nella miseria.* This is a quotation rather than a mere topos, for Francesca adds: 'And your teacher knows that.'

keen examination. His definitions, with their wide, artfully structured hyperbata possess a mathematical beauty of their own: *Aeternitas igitur est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio*, 'eternity, therefore, is a perfect possession altogether of an endless life' (5 *pr.* 6); *licet igitur definire casum esse inopinatum ex confluentibus causis in his quae ob aliquid geruntur eventum*, 'therefore we may define chance thus: that it is an unexpected event of concurring causes in those things which are done to some end and purpose' (5 *pr.* 1).

Ideas I
Reflections on Literature, Theory of Sciences

Like Plato, Boethius used literature exclusively for the purposes of philosophy; after Lucretius he is perhaps the first great Roman author to have followed this course so consistently. In the field of literature Boethius gave definite shape to certain forms preferred by Roman authors, like allegory and prosimetron, and handed them down to medieval writers, who would develop them further. However, he replaced the traditional rhetorical methods of thought with strictly philosophical ones. The literary intentions of our author can be understood only by taking into account his theory of sciences.

Far from constructing a system of lifeless rigidity, he considered the path through the individual arts and sciences as a sort of staircase, which the student ascended step by step while proceeding from insight to insight. This explains the great importance Boethius placed on the writing of textbooks. His Quadrivium was intended to be a meaningful sequence of various disciplines allowing the student of a particular field to develop faculties beyond that particular field. In so doing our philosopher perfected the encyclopedic approach typical of Roman literature and became one of Europe's great teachers. It was his unique and progressive achievement to base education consistently on logic and mathematics.

His ability to keep a distance from the subjects, to give an overview and to encourage transference of methods is matched by opposite strengths: perceptiveness and profundity, a striving for clear distinctions between disciplines and the faculty of isolating and analyzing individual problems with precision. (The theological treatises and *cons.* 5 are showpieces in this respect).

Boethius' theory of sciences in general, and specifically his division

of them into physical sciences, mathematics and theology, would have lasting influence. His impact was furthered by the authority of Aquinas, who would adopt and defend Boethius' classification of sciences in his commentary on the *De trinitate*. While Augustine had stigmatized physics as *curiositas* ('inquisitiveness'); in Boethius physics maintained its place in the system of sciences. In this respect Boethius proves to be an Aristotelian, unlike Augustine the theologian and Neoplatonist.

In his theological works Boethius almost never uses quotations from the Bible. The second of these treatises (*utrum pater et filius* . . .) concludes with the sentence: 'Connect, if possible, faith and reason' (*et fidem, si poteris, rationemque coniunge*). This principle of a strictly scientific analysis is formulated by Boethius at the beginning of a theological treatise in which he uses mathematics as an analogy (*subst. bon. praef.*): *ut igitur in mathenmatica fieri solet ceterisque etiam disciplinis praeposui terminos regulasque quibus cuncta quae sequuntur efficiam*, 'I have therefore followed the example of the mathematical and cognate sciences and laid down bounds and rules according to which I shall develop all that follows'. There follow nine premises. Significantly they are purely philosophical; the same is true of Boethius' approach to the problems. A result of this 'mathematical' form of argument is *obscuritates brevitatis*: brevity and 'obscurity' are typical of technical literature meant for specialists. 'Obscurity' in this case is not a lack of clarity but a manner of writing accessible only to the insider. Boethius was aware of the fact that he used new words and gave new meanings to existent words (*trin. praef.*). The vocabulary is meant to convey the content but also to conceal it from the uninitiated. This esoteric attitude is reminiscent of Plato (cf. *subst. bon. praef.*). However, this is not a general theory of communication (or: excommunication) but only a theory of information among specialists. The *Consolatio* and Boethius' pedagogical œuvre prove that he also knew how to write for a larger public.

The mathematical orientation of his thought is evident from the fact that Boethius considered the system of the quadrivium as a preparatory school for philosophy.[1] This is also the appropriate context for his theory of music.[2]

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[1] *Inter omnes priscae auctoritatis viros, qui Pythagora duce puriore mentis ratione viguerunt constare manifestum est, haud quemquam in philosophiae disciplinis ad cumulum perfectionis evadere, nisi cui talis prudentiae nobilitas quodam quasi quadruvio vestigatur* (*arithm.* 1. 1).

[2] C. Bower, Boethius and Nicomachus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of the

The definition of number, derived from Nicomachus, is rather sober and pragmatic: *numerus est unitatum collectio vel quantitatis acervus ex unitatibus profusus*, 'a number is a collection of unities or a big mass of quantity issuing from unities' (*arithm.* 1. 3). Boethius also knows the distinction between 'number' and 'plurality', which is of great importance to logic: *numerus enim duplex est, unus quidem quo numeramus, alter vero qui in rebus numerabilibus constat. Etenim unum res est; unitas, quo unum dicimus ... ergo in numero quo numeramus repetitio unitatum facit pluralitatem; in rerum vero numero non facit pluralitatem unitatum repetitio, vel si de eodem dicam 'gladius unus, mucro unus, ensis unus'; potest enim unus tot vocabulis gladius agnosci*, 'there are as a fact two kinds of number. There is the number with which we count (abstract) and the number inherent in the things counted (concrete). 'One' is a thing, the thing counted. Unity is that by which oneness is denoted ... Therefore, a repetition of unities produces plurality when it is a question of abstract, but not when it is a question of concrete things as, for example, if I say of one and the same thing 'one sword, one edge, one blade'. It is easy to see that each of these names denotes a sword' (*trin.* 3; similarly Boeth. *herm sec.* Meiser 56. 12). When modern historians of philosophy[1] date the distinction between number and plurality to the year 1884, this is too late. For Theo of Smyrna (2nd century A.D.), Unity (μονάς) and One (ἕν) were distinct as are the number and what is counted.[2]

It follows that Boethius was in an especially good position to apply to other fields the insights and methods he owed to his mathematical studies. To put it in modern terms: he displayed his genius in the transference of methods. This is much more significant than his abundantly praised ability for teaching, which he shared with many less important figures in the history of the human mind.

De Institutione Musica, Vivarium 16, 1978, 1–45; D. S. Chamberlain, Philosophy of Music in the *Consolation* of Boethius, Speculum 45, 1970, 80–97; G. B. Chambers, Boethius *De musica*. An Interpretation, StudPatr 3, 1961, 170–175; F. von Lepel, Die antike Musiktheorie im Lichte des Boethius. Eine Studie, Berlin-Charlottenburg sine anno; U. Pizzani, Studi sulle fonti del *De institutione musica* di Boezio, SEJG 16, 1965, 5–164; L. Schrade, Music in the Philosophy of Boethius, Musical Quarterly 33, 1947, 188–200.

1 B. Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, London 1946, ch. 31, p. 830.

2 H. Gericke, 'Zahlbegriff', in: LAW, col. 3297.

Ideas II

Two philosophical achievements of Boethius deserve special attention: his definition of *persona*[1] and his discussion of free will. In his study of the notion of *persona* Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theol.* 1. 29. 1–3) would start with Boethius: 'Person is the individual substance of a nature gifted with reason', *naturae rationabilis individua substantia* (*c. Eut.* 3). Thus Boethius raised an old Roman experience to the level of a philosophical definition. The Latin word *persona* had been connected with the idea of a mask or a role but it also denoted a certain range or dignity. Roman law had initially limited the term of *persona* to the free, and only later extended it to all human beings. Developing a Neoplatonic tradition, Boethius defined this essentially Latin notion not in terms of formal law, but in terms of content. The definition of the person as substance, not as function, was influenced by Christianity, which ascribed a unique value to every human being on the grounds that it was created and redeemed by God. When viewed against the background of Plato's *Republic*, with its enmity to personality, Boethius turns out to have been much more than a mere mediator of Greek philosophy. It is true that he needed the notion of person to describe divinity, but his definition is much more fitting for the human person (Aquinas and modern scholars agree upon this). Similarly, Augustine had used the problem of Trinity to develop a human psychology.

Patristic authors looked back upon Roman culture from an independent point of view and revived it into a first renaissance. With them Latin literature reached a new stage of self-awareness. Augustine and Boethius brought the reception of Greek philosophy to a close and made the Latin language an instrument of scholarly and scientific thought, thus preparing an arsenal for intellectual struggles to come.

Another problem independently researched by Boethius was the

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[1] M. Elsässer, Das Person-Verständnis des Boethius, diss. Würzburg, Münster 1973; M. Lutz-Bachmann, 'Natur' und 'Person' in den *Opuscula Sacra* des A. M. S. Boethius, Th&Ph 58, 1983, 48–70; M. H. Marshall, Boethius' Definition of *Persona* and Medieval Understanding of the Roman Theater, Speculum 25, 1950, 471–482; M. Nédoncelle, Les variations de Boèce sur la personne, RSR 29, 1955, 201–238; H. Rheinfelder, Das Wort *persona*, Halle 1928; antecedents in G. O'Daly, Plotinus' Philosophy of the Self, Shannon 1973; G. O'Daly, Augustine's Philosophy of Mind, Berkeley 1987; E. Sonderegger, Boethius und die Tradition, Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung 48, 1994, 558–571 (bibl.).

relationship between God's prescience and man's free will. The problem of free will[1] had been studied since the sophists; Socrates had believed that nobody did evil voluntarily. At the outset discussion was limited to the sphere of ethics and to free choice; this was true of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Plato in the final myth of the *Republic* had the souls freely choose their future lives before birth; the Neoplatonists sought in this myth an answer to the question of free will. The Stoics felt the weight of the problem since, on the one hand, they believed that the world process was reigned by necessity and strict causality, while on the other, they defined man as a being capable of moral (i.e. free) acts. It followed that he could enact his freedom only by personal assent to fate; the chains of causalities inherent to fate were at the same time an expression of the finality of divine πρόνοια. In addition we have Proclus' treatise on providence, fate, and free will in Latin translation. Ammonius, the teacher of Boethius, was a student of Proclus.

Boethius started with the fact[2] that the problem had been treated by Cicero in the context of divination (5 *pr.* 4). Not only did he refer to the *De divinatione*, but also to the comprehensive discussion in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (5. 9) following Cicero's *De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*, and *De fato*. Moreover, Boethius used the 2nd version of his own commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*. There he had tried, in the wake of Aristotle and in accordance with Cicero, to leave a wide margin to the 'possible' in order to safeguard freedom. Only in the *Consolatio* did he find a solution which did justice to God's prescience and was thus acceptable to Christians.

God's eternity is of another kind than that of the world: while the world is in a process of endless progression in time, God is above time and contemplates all that happens as present, no matter if it is past or future for us. Yet this divine prescience does not invalidate the free will of man, for we have to distinguish two kinds of necessities: one simple, the other hypothetical.[3] Suppose we observe simultaneously

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1 E. Gegenschatz, Die Freiheit der Entscheidung in der *Consolatio philosophiae* des Boethius, MH 15, 1958, 110–129.

2 H. R. Patch, Necessity in Boethius and the Neoplatonists, Speculum 10, 1935, 393–404; E. Gegenschatz, Die Gefährdung des Möglichen durch das Vorauswissen Gottes in der Sicht des Boethius, WS 79, 1966, 517–530; P. Huber 1976.

3 Cf. Boethius, *herm. sec.* 3, ch. 9, ed. C. Meiser 2, Leipzig 1880, 241; Ammonius *de interpr.* 122–124 = *in Arist. De interpretatione commentarius*, ed. A. Busse, Berlin 1897, 152–155 (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4, 5).

the rising sun and a man walking through the landscape; both facts are 'necessary' while they are occurring. However, before happening, only the sunrise was 'necessary', whereas the man could as well have abstained from walking. When God sees all the events of the world process simultaneously and presently, they are 'necessary' as facts seen by him. However, like a human observer, he is able to distinguish whether their occurrence is based on necessity or free will. It follows that God's prescience does not abolish free will. Man is responsible for his actions. Hope and prayer are not in vain if we desire the right thing.

Two objections against Boethius' philosophy arise: one concerning his philosophical theory of knowledge and another concerning his theology of redemption. To begin with the first: according to Boethius (cf. Aristot. *anima* 3) animals are endowed with *imaginatio*, and humans with *ratio*, whereas God (against Aristotle) has *intellectus* (5 *pr.* 5). Each higher form of knowledge includes the lower ones but not vice versa. How then is it possible that man, who possesses no more than *ratio*, can know and declare anything about God and his *intellectus*? It was left to Kant to realize the depth of this problem, but even for his own time Boethius showed little awareness of the methodological difficulties in this field; suffice it to compare his statements with the increasing self-restraint of Augustine in matters of metaphysics. Even Lactantius had been conscious of the epistemological problem, and solved it in his own way by deriving man's capacity for knowledge from the benefit of 'upright stature' gained through baptism. It is true that in his theological writings Boethius emphasized the *differentia praedicationis* (*trin.* 4), a methodical principle which scholastic theologians would develop further into the cautious clausulae on *analogia* and *eminentia*. Even the *De trinitate* is far from giving a clear solution to the epistemological problem; Boethius was content with an unspecific allusion to grace.[1] It is true that it might be deduced from the ending of the *De trinitate* that Boethius deemed philosophy a handmaiden

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[1] *Nos vero nulla imaginatione diduci sed simplici intellectu erigi et ut quidque intellegi potest ita aggredi etiam intellectu oportet . . . Quod si sententiae fidei fundamentis sponte firmissimae opitulante gratia divina idonea argumentorum adiumenta praestitimus, illuc perfecti operis laetitia remeabit unde venit effectus. Quod si ultra se humanitas nequivit ascendere, quantum inbecillitas subtrahit, vota supplebunt* (*trin.* 6. 24–26; 30–36); cf. *cons.* 5 *pr.* 5: *quare in illius summae intelligentiae cacumen si possumus erigamur*; for intellectual knowledge: Plat. *Phdr.* 249a 1–5 (through philosophical Eros); cf. Plotin. 3. 4. 36; Boeth. *cons.* 4 *carm.* 1. 1–30; 5 *pr.* 5 *extr.*

of theology; but we should rather say that he considered it his duty to make a contribution to the burning theological problems of his day from the standpoint of his special discipline, logic. In a sense the theological works are clearer than the *Consolatio* as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned. Unlike the *Consolatio*, they rely on revelation and the creed of the Church in matters of God and the intelligible world.

Let us now turn to the second objection: to theological readers, Boethius' reliance on human *virtus* and *sapientia* looks somewhat naïve and pagan. His opinion that nobody deliberately does evil for the sake of evil-doing bears the stamp of Greek intellectualism (4 *pr.* 6). Such a Socratic high esteem of knowledge rests on the supposition that knowledge is not limited to theory but concerns and changes man in his entirety. This may well be true of Boethius, who was a fanatic of logic and regarded ideas as realities; but he ought not to have judged others by himself. Before him, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, and Augustine had recognized the gap between knowledge and action or, to quote Paul, between 'willing' and 'carrying out'. It reveals the Roman cast of Boethius' mind that even the idea of humility is intertwined with notions of merit: *iustae humilitatis pretio inaestimabilem vicem divinae gratiae promeremur*, 'by the price of just humility we deserve the inestimable benefit of God's grace' (5 *pr.* 3). In this regard Augustine proved more penetrating. On the whole, Boethius assimilated Greek philosophy to give lasting expression to his Roman experiences. His readers may feel free to interpret this noble form of natural humanity ultimately in terms of grace.

Why does the *Consolatio* limit its scope to philosophical disquisitions without discussing Christianity? It would be the simplest solution to consider Boethius a pagan and to declare that his theological writings are spurious. This standpoint was defended in the 19th century until an important finding made it impossible. In a fragment discovered by Alfred Holder,[1] Cassiodorus attests that his friend Boethius had written 'a book on the Trinity, some dogmatic chapters and a book against Nestorius'. This solid contemporary testimony, which is confirmed by criteria of language and content, compels us to look for another answer. The correct solution is based on the observation that no passage in the *Consolatio* does explicitly contra-

[1] H. Usener, Anecdoton Holderi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Roms in ostgotischer Zeit, Bonn 1877, repr. 1969.

dict Christianity. Many of Boethius' philosophical ideas converge with religion: he emphasizes the personal character of God, the punishments in the other world, love, the renunciation of hate against one's enemies. He draws a clear line between time and eternity without involving God in the cosmic process. The Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of the world (5 *pr.* 6) does not contradict Christian faith, even in the view of Aquinas.[1] But unlike Alcuin (*De grammatica*), we are not compelled to use an interpretatio Christiana. Could it not have been that Boethius simply decided to write a 'human' book? Just as he tries elsewhere to separate disciplines and isolate problems, in the *Consolatio* he limited his scope to the sphere of human reason. The clear separation of theology and philosophy springs from a born logician's aversion to vagueness. In a deliberate act of intellectual modesty, Boethius limited his research to the realm of natural reason, a choice which enabled him to reach the largest possible audience. This attitude was understood by readers like Conrad of Hirsau and John of Salisbury.[2]

As a senator at Theodoric's court, Boethius was a worthy representative of the practical and political qualities of the Romans, a feature much less prominent in Augustine. As had been the case with Cicero, our author's attempts to spiritualize the notion of glory by philosophy are unable to veil his grief about the loss of his earthly homeland. His experience of man's virtue (*virtus*) and of man's dignity was closer to the Roman tradition and less sophisticated than Augustine's. Doubtless the African's religious insight is more profound. Yet the sober mind of Boethius courageously stood the test of death as a true Roman, without renouncing the world. In this, through his life and work, Boethius was a keystone for a basic theme of Roman literature: the *magna mors*: in fact it was at death's door that the individual was raised to his greatest intellectual and moral height.[3] Boethius reflected with a new philosophical awareness an experience familiar to many Romans. In his program of psychotherapy, ever stronger medicaments should follow the weaker ones. Thus, discussions of moral philosophy are increasingly replaced with strictly

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[1] *De aeternitate mundi contra murmurantes*, ed. Parm. 1065 vol. 16, 320 = opusc. 27 in vol. 27, ed. Vivès.

[2] Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in: Coll. Latomus 17, 1955, 46, line 1163; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 7. 15. 672b, ed. Webb, vol. 2, 155, 16.

[3] Cf. 1 *pr.* 3; a further step is to 2 *carm.* 7. 15–16.

philosophical argument; incidentally, this seems to point to a hierarchy of philosophical schools.

Boethius' personality inspired even a critical and cool logician like Bertrand Russell to enthusiasm: 'During the two centuries before his time and the ten centuries after it, I cannot think of any European man of learning so free from superstition and fanaticism. Nor are his merits merely negative; his survey is lofty, disinterested, and sublime. He would have been remarkable in any age; in the age in which he lived, he is utterly amazing'.[1]

As for his literary creativity, it is tempting to use similar superlatives. The integrity and the transfigurative force of his mind can be felt in every detail of his work. After Virgil, Boethius succeeded once again in accomplishing in the field of aesthetics what had been a typical feature of classical ethical discipline: he tried not to leave to chance any detail in life or art worthy of orientation towards some higher goal. Originality did not depend on matter, but on the mind's ability to penetrate matter and transform it completely.

However, Boethius is not immovable like a classical Roman's statue. His humanity shows in his relationship to those who are close to him. He is proud of his sons; his loving care for his wife is all the more moving for the delicate shyness of its expression; he sincerely respects his father-in-law Symmachus and courageously defends his colleagues in the senate. In view of such outstanding qualities it is almost a relief to discover some hints of vanity under the philosopher's cloak. Our sage has philosophy tell him that he had been too modest and not praised his merits sufficiently (1 *pr.* 5). His Italian blood shows in his delight in honors and festive glamor. Involuntarily, through the mask of the philosopher and ancient Roman, at times an almost modern sensibility can be sensed, clinging passionately to each transient moment of our short human life (5 *pr.* 6).

In another respect Boethius is very far from modern resignation: the ideas he cherishes are real for him, as can be gathered from the affective tone of his poems. The entire universe is penetrated with love (4 *carm.* 6), an idea which Dante would make the keystone of his Divine Comedy: *L'amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle.*[2]

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[1] B. Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, London 1946, 373.

[2] C. J. de Vogel, *Amor quo caelum regitur: Quel amour et quel Dieu?*, in: L. Obertello, ed., 1981, 193–200.

Transmission

For lack of space we limit our discussion to the transmission of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*. The available collations are not sufficient to establish a *recensio*[1] or a stemma for the over 400 manuscripts. Corruptions common to all manuscripts hitherto studied prove that they had a common source. The final vulgate is full of faults and *lectiones faciliores*. The witnesses for the best reading vary considerably; e.g. sometimes only the text used by Maximus Planudes for his Greek translation preserved the correct wording. Therefore, the critic has to compare single readings rather than classes of manuscripts. There is much space left to conjectural criticism. The following manuscripts are thought to be the most important:

- Parisinus B.N. Lat. 7181, antea Puteanus, Regius 5365, 9th century;
- Monacensis 18 765, antea Tegurinus 765, early 9th century;
- Florentinus Laurentianus XIV 15, early 9th century;
- Vaticanus Lat. 3363, 9th century.

Influence[2]

In the Middle Ages and in recent times the *Consolatio* found its readers independently of social rank and philosophical conviction. Was this owing to the honesty of the author, who faced his destiny in

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[1] L. Bieler, CC 94, 1957, p. xii; W. Weinberger CSEL 67, 1934, p. xxii; L. Bieler, Vorbemerkungen zu einer Neuausgabe der *Consolatio* des Boethius, WS 70, 1957, 11–21; A. Engelbrecht 1902; K. Büchner, Bemerkungen zum Text der *Consolatio Philosophiae* des Boethius, Hermes 75, 1940, 279–297; K. Dienelt 1942 and 1951; J. Gruber 1978, 45–48; F. Troncarelli, Boethiana Aetas. Modelli grafici e fortuna manoscritta della *Consolatio Philosophiae* tra IX e XII secolo, Alessandria 1987.

[2] P. Courcelle, La survie comparée des *Confessions* augustiniennes et de la *Consolation* boécienne, in: R. R. Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500, Cambridge 1971, 131–142; older: H. R. Patch, The Tradition of Boethius. A Study of his Importance in Medieval Culture, New York 1935; R. Anastasi, La fortuna di Boezio, MSLC 3, 1951, 93–110; A. Auer, Johannes von Dambach und die Trostbücher vom 11. bis zum 16. Jh., Münster 1928; K. Burdach, Die humanistischen Wirkungen der Trostschrift des Boethius im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance, DVjs 11, 1933, 530–558; R. A. Dwyer, Boethian Fictions. Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976; H.-W. Heinz, Grazia di Meo, il libro di Boeçio de chonsolazione (1343), Frankfurt 1984; G. Mathon, La tradition de la *Consolation* de Boèce, REAug 14, 1968, 133–138; F. P. Pickering, Augustin oder Boethius? Geschichtsschreibung und epische Dichtung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, Teil 1: Einführender Teil, Berlin 1967; D. Z. Nikitas, Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' *De hypotheticis syllogismis*, Göttingen 1981; D. Z. Nikitas, Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* und die byzantinische Rezeption dieses Werkes (= Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi: Philosophi Byzantini, vol. 5), Athens 1990; we know two Byzantine translations by

order to overcome it? Or to the poised logic of his argument, combined with powerful imagery? Or, most of all, to his undogmatic, purely humane language which was a special gift of Rome to philosophy?

Rational and emotional elements (*sententiarum pondus* and *canendi iucunditas* 3 *pr.* 1) conspire to produce a strong impact. On the one hand, Boethius inspired medieval poetry (including the metricians who were constantly aware of him); on the other hand he provided scientific thought with the priceless equipment of Aristotle's logic (and, as a corollary, the musical science of antiquity).

Along with the Bible, the *Imitatio Christi*, and the works of Virgil, the *Consolatio* remained until recent times one of the most-read books. Less than half a century after the Gutenberg Bible, there existed already 43 printed editions of the *Consolatio*. Edward Gibbon (d. 1794) would call it 'a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully'.

Among Boethius' imitators, translators, and commentators we find distinguished names: King Alfred translated the book into Anglo-Saxon.[1] There followed English translations by Chaucer[2] and John Lydgate, an old high German version by Notker III Labeo (together with other works of Boethius),[3] and a Greek translation by Maximus Planudes.[4] It is highly probable that Dante's teacher, Brunetto Latini,

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Maximos Holobolos (with scholia) and Prochoros Kydones (14th century); Holobolos (13th century) was further adapted by Pachymeres (late 13th century); A. Thomas, M. Roques, Traductions françaises de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce, Histoire littéraire de la France 37, 1938, 419–488; A. Van de Vyver, Les traductions du *De consolatione philosophiae* de Boèce en littérature comparée, H&R 6, 1939, 247–273.—For the medieval commentators s. the following notes and the editions.—For the legend: H. R. Patch, The Beginnings of the Legend of Boethius, Speculum 22, 1947, 443–445.

[1] K. Otten, König Alfreds Boethius, Tübingen 1964; F. A. Payne, King Alfred and Boethius. An Analysis of the Old English Version of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, Madison 1968; D. K. Bolton, The Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England, AHMA 52, 1977, 33–78.

[2] Westminster 1478, facsimile Norwood 1974; cf. B. Jefferson 1917.

[3] Ed. by E. Graff, Berlin 1837; Notker, Die deutschen Werke, ed. by E. H. Sehrt, Halle 1933; H. Naumann, Notkers Boethius, Untersuchungen über Quellen und Stil, Straßburg 1913; E. Luginbühl, Studien zu Notkers Übersetzungskunst, diss. Zürich 1933 (1970); I. Schröbler, Notker III. von St. Gallen als Übersetzer und Kommentator von Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Tübingen 1953.

[4] Boëce, *De la Consolation de la philosophie.* Traduction grecque de Maxime Planude, publ. pour la première fois dans son entier par E.-A. Bétant, Genève 1871, repr. 1962.

made an Italian version. It is not surprising to find medieval French versions; rather exceptional is the Hebrew Boethius found in a Vatican manuscript. At Pavia Boethius later enjoyed a local cult, which would be authorized by Pope Leo XIII in 1883.

In the Middle Ages Boethius was one of the classical authors who most frequently gave rise to commentaries. A commentary on the theological works[1] and a *Vita* of Boethius bear the name of Johannes Scotus; another commentary on the theological works was written by Gilbertus Porretanus (PL 64). The *De trinitate* enjoyed an almost canonical authority during the Middle Ages. There were also commentaries on his mathematical writings.[2]

The numerous commentators of the *Consolatio*[3] gave special heed to the theological and cosmological poem 3 *carm.* 9, a Boethian text crucial to the Medieval view of the physical world. William Occam the nominalist and father of modern thought, chose Boethius as his point of departure.

No less impressive is the influence of the *Consolatio* on poetic literature and iconography. Julian of Toledo quoted Boethius. The poems were set to music: in the Psalter of Ludwig the German (cod. Berol. Meerm. 250, 9th century, 1 b) some of the *carmina* are provided with musical notes (1 *carm.* 1, 2 *carm.* 5, and 3 *carm.* 8). Alanus ab Insulis (Alain de Lille) could not have written his allegory of *Natura* without knowledge of Boethius; the same is true of Dante's *Vita nuova* and *Divina Commedia.* A moving passage in *Convivio* 2. 13 attests to the great poet's reading of the *Consolatio.* At the moment when he had lost his love, Dante read Boethius 'in order to turn back to the path

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[1] Ed. by E. K. Rand, Quellen und Untersuchungen, vol. 1, part 2, München 1906; E. K. Rand, The Supposed Commentary of John the Scot on the *Opuscula sacra* of Boethius, RNeosc 36, 1934, 67–77; for the *Opuscula sacra* cf. also M. Cappuyns, Le plus ancien commentaire des *Opuscula Sacra* et son origine, RecTh 3, 1931, 237–272.

[2] G. R. Evans, Introduction to Boethius' *Arithmetic* of the Tenth to the Fourteenth Century, HS 16, 1978, 22–41; G. R. Evans, A Commentary on Boethius' *Arithmetic* of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century, Annals of Science 35, 1978, 131–141; M. Folkerts, 'Boethius' Geometrie II, ein mathematisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalters, Wiesbaden 1970.

[3] P. Courcelle, Etude critique sur les commentaires de la *Consolation* de Boèce (IXe–XVe siècle), AHMA 14, 1939, 5–140; J. Silvestre, Le commentaire inédit de Jean Scot Erigène au mètre IX du Livre III du *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, RHE 47, 1952, 44–122; G. Mathon, Le commentaire du Pseudo-Érigène sur la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce, RecTh 22, 1955, 213–257; D. K. Bolton, Remigian Commentaries on the *Consolation of Philosophy* and their Sources, Traditio 33, 1977, 381–394.

trodden by another disconsolate man. And as it happens that someone in search for silver finds gold presented to him for some hidden reason, not without divine interference, thus did I find in my search for comfort not only a remedy for my tears, but the words of authors, science and books; considering them I came to judge that philosophy, who was their mistress, must be something very high. And I imagined her shaped as a noble lady; and I could not view her in any other activity than charity and my sense of truth had such a steady vision of her, that I almost could not turn my eyes from her.' The image of the *donna gentile* merges with Beatrice. It is to Boethius, again, that Dante owes the idea of *reformatio* as a way back to the origin.[1] The tribune Cola di Rienzo (d. 1354) had a very personal relationship to Boethius.[2]

Nietzsche called up Roman Boethius and his personified Philosophy (*cons.* 2 *pr.* 7) against his continually busy German readers: 'Abundance of time, of serenity of sky and heart, of *otium* in the most audacious sense of the word: all these are good things which we Germans of today do not have and hence cannot give. After such a graceful answer my Philosophy advises me to be silent and not ask further; all the more that in certain cases, as the proverb says, you can only remain a philosopher if you are silent.[3]

Editions: Complete works (except for *fid. cath.*): Joh. Greg. DE GREGORIIS, Venetiis 1491–1492. * *cons.*: A. COBURGER, Nürnberg 1473. * *fid. cath.*: ed. by Ren. VALLINUS, Leiden 1656. * *Complete text*: PL 63–64, Paris (1847) 1882; 1891. * *categ.*: L. MINIO-PALUELLO, in: Aristoteles Latinus, 1, 1–5, Leiden 1961, 1–41. * *anal. pr.* (*recensiones duae*): L. MINIO-PALUELLO, in: Aristoteles Latinus, 3, 1–4, Leiden 1962, 1–139; 143–191. * *divis.*: L. POZZI (T of the editio princeps Venetiis 1492, Tr), Brescia 1969. * *herm.*: C. MEISER, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1877–1880. * L. MINIO-PALUELLO, in: Aristoteles Latinus, 2, 1–2, Leiden 1965, 1–38. * *in top. Cic.*: I. C. ORELLI and I. G. BAITER, Ciceronis Opera 5, 1 Turici 1833, 270–388. * *in Porph. comm.*: S. BRANDT, G. SCHEPPS, CSEL 48, 1906. * *diff. top.*: D. Z. NIKITAS (T, monogr.), Athens 1990. * E. STUMP (TrN, essays), Ithaca 1978. * *syll. hyp.*: L. OBERTELLO (TTr), Brescia 1969. * *top. Arist.*: L. MINIO-PALUELLO, B. G. DOD, in: Aristoteles

[1] *Lo sommo desiderio di ciascuna cosa e prima da la Natura dato è lo ritornare a lo suo Principio* (*Convivio* 4. 12; cf. Boeth. *cons.* 3 *carm.* 2 and *pr.* 3).

[2] *Dilectissimum mihi almum illum patricium Boetium Severinum palatinis a canibus accusatum* (*Correspondence* 3, p. 394, lines 280–281).

[3] *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, Vorrede* 8, in: F. NIETZSCHE, Werke, ed. by K. SCHLECHTA, 1, München 7th ed. 1973, 444–445.

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SIXTH CHAPTER
THE TRANSMISSION OF ROMAN LITERATURE

THE TRANSMISSION OF ROMAN LITERATURE

> 'Tradition has the distinctive characteristic that it not only propagates sentiments and opinions, but also sets the tone: Ptolemy, Boethius, Augustine.'
>
> Goethe[1]

Transmission and influence can hardly be separated from each other, especially when transmission depends upon the copying of texts by hand. One only goes to the trouble of transcribing a manuscript if there is a compelling motive to do so. To investigate these motives, however, already takes us into the history of the influence of classical texts.

Ancient books were not the same as ours today. Their different nature affects ancient literature and its transmission. A 'book' (*liber*) originally was a papyrus roll; the word *volumen* is derived from *volvere* ('to roll'). The papyrus strips were inscribed from left to right in columns (*paginae*). While the new column was revealed with the right hand, the left hand rolled up the part which had already been read. The author and title of the work were often given at the end of the text. From the outside one could recognize the work by the *titulus*, a protruding piece of parchment which was glued onto the roll. The rolled form undoubtedly made consulting a book difficult, a fact which explains certain peculiarities of ancient literature: the imprecision of citations, the very summary and often incomplete listing of sources, the lack of footnotes. It is therefore clear that the ancients usually cited passages from memory. Moreover, it seems to have been impossible to take notes, since one would need both hands to hold the papyrus roll. This was not a serious obstacle, however, since one had the text read aloud by another person most of the time anyway. The difficulty of reading ancient manuscripts, too, has been exaggerated. In contrast to the statements made by scholars, which cast the later *scriptura continua* back into the early and classical periods, we find that the (typically Roman) division of words by dots or spaces is almost standard in Latin inscriptions and literary texts. Some texts even show careful rhetorical punctuation (at breathing-places in speech), which

[1] *Paralipomena zur Farbenlehre*, W.A. II 5, 2nd ed., 251.

shapes the text much more agreeably than our so-called 'logical' punctuation marks. Another aid to reading is the division of texts into paragraphs, which is widespread and early.[1] The decrease in word-division after the 2nd century A.D. may be connected with the increase of Greek influence at that time.

In addition to the roll, around the 1st century A.D. a cheaper, more enduring and manageable form of the book came onto the scene, one which now made it easier to consult. This was the *codex*, the predecessors of which were small bound wax tablets. *Codices* resemble our books, but were made mostly of parchment, since papyrus was difficult to fold. The word 'parchment' comes from Pergamon, whose ruler Eumenes II (ruled 197–159 B.C.) remembered the old writing material and refined it in response to an Egyptian papyrus-embargo (cf. Plin. *nat.* 13. 70). In the 4th century the codex gained acceptance, and in particular met the needs of the law and the Church.[2]

Since silent reading was an exception in antiquity, texts must be interpreted as an acoustic process. The reader faced the text not only as an observer, but also as a listener: he was led by the ear into a process of communication and was influenced immediately. The book thus had another function than it has today: it was not identical with the text, but only a prop for its realisation in performance. We should not overlook the fact that we act quite similarly with music today: only the initiated few will read the score silently to themselves, and even they will not consider this a satisfactory substitute for a performance.

When we consider the dissemination of books, we must try to free ourselves of modern associations. A text could be reproduced in many copies by dictating it to a group of slaves. So we might almost call Cicero's friend Atticus, who ran an office doing just that, a publisher. Although the readership of these publications was larger than the circle of intimate friends—to whom an author often read his work aloud before publication—it is still narrowly defined compared with our notions of public. This fundamental difference between

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[1] Rud. Wolfg. Müller, Rhetorische und syntaktische Interpunktion. Untersuchungen zur Pausenbezeichnung im antiken Latein, diss. Tübingen 1964, esp. 35, note 3.

[2] Aug. *conf.* 6. 3.

ancient and modern times does not alter the fact that Horace, Ovid, and Martial attest to a professional book trade which extended as far as the provinces.

Books which one did not possess oneself had to be sought in the private libraries of friends. After the victory of Paullus at Pydna (168 B.C.), the royal library of Perseus arrived in Rome. Lucullus, Cicero, Varro, and Atticus all owned large collections of books. The first public library in Rome was run by Asinius Pollio in the Atrium Libertatis (founded in 39 B.C.); on the Palatine, Augustus founded a double library containing Greek and Latin texts. Significant libraries were built in Rome under Trajan and in Athens under Hadrian. In the time of Constantine there were 28 in the capital alone,[1] but Gaul, too, had considerable book holdings. It seems even that works of remote and early Latin Authors survived longer in the provinces because of the backwardness of their schools.

The manuscript form of the tradition put texts to a difficult test—not so much because of the danger of mutilation—as because the acceptance or non-acceptance of a work actually was tantamount to its survival or extinction. One only copies what one considers important, or at least useful. Without doubt many significant and valuable works fell victim to this ruthless self-cleansing process of the tradition, and the literary historian does well to keep in mind how much has been lost, and how this might affect his judgment, which is based solely on what has been preserved.

Tradition is a living process. Can we approach the ancient texts directly, without studying the process of their transmission? If we ignore this question we cannot even be certain of the wording, nor is there any better way to get at the meaning. Carl Lachmann had taught us to trace the dependence of manuscripts all the way back to their archetype; later, Wilamowitz insisted that only a true textual history can lead us to make a decision about the text. Ultimately

[1] The decline sets in during the 4th century: Amm. 14. 6. 18 *bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis*. Christians rely on private libraries (Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine), school libraries (Alexandria, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Nisibis), episcopal libraries (for example the one in Rome, fostered by Agapetus and Cassiodorus), and especially monastery libraries (these could come from private libraries, as in the case of Jerome): S. Grebe, Die Bibliothek Agapets im Vergleich mit ausgewählten Bibliotheken der Zeit der alten Kirche und des Frühmittelalters, in: Bibliothek und Wissenschaft 25, 1991, 15–60.

ancient literature can only be understood and appreciated if we take into consideration the process of transmission and, as far as possible, the reasons for the acceptance or rejection of a given text (i.e. the history of its influence).

Of course this can only be a distant goal, and unattainable in most cases. In this book we must be satisfied with mere hints for individual authors. It is true that on the whole the requirements of formal education and stylistic training played a (not always beneficial) role in the selection of ancient texts; but for many readers a genuine interest in the content is what counted.

For the transmission of ancient literature there are several crucial periods. We mention first those times which were critical: the survival of certain works was particularly endangered during the transfer of Roman literature from papyrus rolls to parchment codices, a process finished by about the 4th century A.D. Authors who were not considered for transcription are henceforth cut from the transmission.

A second danger period is the so-called 'Dark Ages', between the decline of the western Roman Empire and the rule of Charlemagne. Books which had not found a place behind monastery walls or in episcopal libraries at that point are lost forever.[1] In the Middle Ages the distribution of books to a large number of small libraries diminished the danger of total annihilation of ancient literature.[2]

Apart from the critical periods we should also reckon with losses conditioned by politics, religion and ideology. Authors politically out of favor like the poet Cornelius Gallus or the historian Cremutius Cordus are lost to us. Jovian, the Christian successor of the last pagan emperor, Julian the Apostate, burnt a library founded by Julian in Antioch. The anti-Christian *True Speech* of Celsus must be reconstructed from church rejoinders. In general the Church at that time was more tolerant of pagan authors than of heterodox Christians, whose works are known to us mostly from the writings of their opponents. The

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[1] The acceptance of texts into monastery libraries did not, however, guarantee their preservation; in fact, in order to save the expensive parchment, many pagan manuscripts were erased and a Christian text was written over the new surface. Only in the late Middle Ages do we find palimpsests, where, in its turn, a pagan text has replaced a Christian one.

[2] In Antiquity we know of the burning of the Alexandrian library under Caesar; some scholars, however, think that the disaster was relatively small (perhaps to spare Caesar's memory); in 475, the library at Constantinople burned down, which a hundred years earlier had been abundantly furnished with new Latin and Greek manuscripts by the Emperor Valens.

collection of heretical books, which a patriarch of Constantinople started at the end of the 8th century A.D., is the exception which proves the rule. If writers like Tertullian and Origen have come down to us, although their orthodoxy was anything but assured, this is because their overwhelming intellectual significance made them indispensable.

We turn now to positive factors which have contributed to the transmission of texts. In the first place we should mention the activities of scholars and philologists. The plays of Plautus have been transmitted to us owing to the fact that they had been the subject of philological research and interest in the Republic (an interest which unfortunately did not include early Latin prose, which is lost). Those plays which have survived are the ones which scholars then considered genuine. We are very much in the debt of scholars for difficult authors like Horace and Persius, and are able to read the full text of Cicero's *Scipio's Dream* thanks only to the commentator Macrobius.

We can compare, too, the somewhat different case of long citations from authors which we owe to zealous readers, without whose efforts we would otherwise be left with short fragments. Thus, for example, we know Ennius mostly from Cicero, who was especially fond of this poet, and many other early Latin authors from Aulus Gellius, a knowledgeable friend of old texts.

Of fundamental importance is the editorship of senatorial families in late antiquity, especially the Symmachi and Nicomachi, still partly recognizable by *subscriptiones*, which later were copied together with the texts. Our manuscripts from the Middle Ages rest in good part on the pains of these late Roman senators.

The next important step is the establishment of *scriptoria* in monasteries, which Cassiodorus first introduced in Vivarium, though without lasting success. The Rule of St. Benedict did not expressly prescribe copying, but reading, which of course presupposed the activity of writing, even without the explicit recommendation of Pope Gregory the Great (581).

A decisive impulse for the preservation of ancient literature comes from an administrative measure: for the running of his empire, Charlemagne needed educated priests and administrators. Hence he established schools and writing-rooms (*scriptoria*) in all the abbeys and episcopal cities. In this he was able to rely on monasteries founded mostly by the Irish and Anglo-Saxons. He selected his advisor Alcuin from York, then the intellectual center of Northern Europe. Through

the production of new manuscripts, the treasures of Charlemagne's royal library were distributed in numbers unheard-of to French, German, and Swiss monasteries and cathedrals. With this the most important prerequisite for the continued existence of classical literature was achieved.

In order to understand the facts of transmission, it is also worthwhile to reconstruct the criteria by which the readers of various periods were guided. The standard changed of course according to the class of society which was interested in Roman literature: after the senators of late antiquity come monks and bishops, later secular priests in the episcopal centers, and finally jurists and politicians, the wealthy aristocrats of flourishing cities. In the Renaissance, Roman literature returned to a milieu comparable to its origins. The ways of reception varied according to the development sketched above: the specific interest of the 12th century in natural science inaugurated a gradual secularization, which finds its characteristic expression in the favorite authors of the 12th and 13th centuries: in Ovid they looked for sensuality, in Seneca, for soothing of the conscience.

Admittedly, current fashion and the so-called 'spirit of the age' do not explain everything. The history of transmission itself shows us clearly enough the possibilities of personal initiative, whether on a large scale (as with Charlemagne and Alcuin) or on a small scale. In fact much would have been lost, were it not for certain individuals who again and again passionately defended specific authors and texts, and either produced a copy of the single extant codex which forms the source of our entire tradition; or took the trouble to produce as good a text as possible (or as complete as possible), in which they united what were formerly split branches of the tradition. Some monks of the Middle Ages were already earning the kind of credit which Petrarch, for example, gained for a text of Livy or Cicero. It is amazing how the names of individual scholars turn up repeatedly as those responsible for ensuring the transmission of an endangered or rare author. From the Carolingian period we have the names of Dungal, the Irish scholar, who read our oldest text of Lucretius (the so-called Oblongus Voss. Lat. F. 30); Lupus of Ferrières (d. after 862) with his unusual knowledge of Cicero; Heiric of Auxerre (d. around 876), who (among other achievements) in the 9th century annotated Pomponius Mela; Rather of Verona (d. 974), who knew Plautus and Catullus. In the 12th century William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) was familiar with Plautus, Petronius and the *Apocolocyntosis* and cited from

both parts of Seneca's collection of letters (elsewhere handed down separately). John of Salisbury (d. 1180) read everything by Petronius which is available to us. Richard of Fournival (later chancellor of Amiens) even mentioned Tibullus and Propertius in his *Biblionomia*, which described an actual library like a garden (about 1250). The pre-Humanists in Padua, whose leader was the judge Lovato Lovati (d. 1309), anticipated supposed discoveries of the Humanists: they read Propertius (before Petrarch), all of Tibullus (before Salutati), Lucretius and Valerius Flaccus (before Poggio), Catullus (50 years before his 'discovery' in Verona) and even Ovid's *Ibis*. Petrarch (d. 1374) played an important role in the transmission of Livy, Mela, Propertius and Cicero's letters. Boccaccio (d. 1375) read Martial, Ausonius, Ovid's *Ibis*, the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and with his own hand wrote our oldest manuscript of the *Priapea* (Laur. 33. 31). From Monte Cassino he knew Tacitus' *Annals* and *Histories*, Apuleius' *Golden Ass* and Varro's *De lingua Latina*. Poggio Bracciolini (d. 1459) discovered numerous other treasures in monastery libraries, especially during the Council of Constance.

The transmission of some authors who are very important for us today hang literally by a thread: we would probably have known nothing of Catullus were it not for the interest of a bishop of Verona for the native poet during the Middle Ages; Lucretius and several works of Tacitus were hardly known in the Middle Ages; and the age of courtly love perhaps only became so exclusively an *aetas Ovidiana* because the other Roman love poets (Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius) were as good as forgotten[1] (in the early Middle Ages even the works of Ovid had been a rarity).

How problematic the demarcation is between deliberate transmission and accidental survival is shown by the following extreme examples. The first half of the fifth decade of Livy is preserved in a late Roman manuscript, which was wakened from its almost thousand-year sleep only in the 16th century in the Lorsch Monastery. There is but a small step to Mai's discovery of the palimpsest of the *De re publica* at the beginning of the 19th century

Our shaky belief in the higher wisdom of transmission is shaken even more if we examine those authors who have produced a large transmission. In addition to great names like Virgil and Terence, this category also includes handbooks and encyclopedias, which today

[447] Compare also the history of the transmission of Pomponius Mela.

no longer mean very much to us. Cicero's masterpiece the *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio* in many cases come off worse than the school volume *De inventione*. Augustine's enthusiasm had not helped Cicero's *Hortensius* to survive, but the survival of a Martianus Capella was never in danger.

Given this situation, we cannot hope to possess a truly representative choice of Roman literature. What has been preserved is representative mostly of the interest of schools, scholars, and society in late antiquity; and this choice was of course further affected by the particular needs of readers in the Middle Ages. The breadth of transmission is a mirror of the reception of authors at various times; but the fact that a number of the very best authors have come down to us through only one or very few manuscripts shows that the preservation efforts of individual scholars, at times swimming against the current of their day, can also safeguard the life and endurance of a work. Determinants in the history of transmission sometimes occur in the mind of a single reader.

E. Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, Bern 1958. * B. Bischoff, Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne, transl. by M. M. Gorman, Cambridge 1994. * H. Blanck, Das Buch in der Antike, München 1992. * K. Büchner, Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Altertums, in: H. Hunger (and others), Die Textüberlieferung der antiken Literatur und der Bibel, München 1975, 309–422 (reprint of: Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur, vol. 1, Zürich 1961). * J. Delz, Wo wurde die lateinische Literatur ins Mittelalter hinüber gerettet?, in: H. L. C. Tristram, ed., Medialität und mittelalterliche insulare Literatur, Tübingen 1992, 41–56 (bibl.). * A. Derolez, Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin, 2 vols., Turnhout 1984. * Fuhrmann, LG. * P. Ganz, ed., The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 1982, 2 vols., Turnhout 1986. * A.-M. Guillemin, Le public et la vie littéraire à Rome, Paris 1937. * E. J. Kenney, The Classical Text. Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book, Berkeley 1974. * E. J. Kenney, Books and Readers in the Roman World, in: CHLL 1982, 3–32. * F. G. Kenyon, Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome, Oxford 2nd ed. 1951. * Leo, LG. * F. Leo, s. also Wilamowitz. * Le livre au Moyen Âge, ed. by: Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (sous la direction de J. Glenisson), Paris 1988. * K. Löffler, P. Ruf, Allgemeine Handschriftenkunde, in: Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1952, vol. 1, 1, 106–162. * Manitius, LG. * Norden,

LG. * NORDEN, Kunstprosa. * PASQUALI, Storia. * K. PREISENDANZ, Papyruskunde, in: Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, Stuttgart 2nd ed. 1952, vol. 1, 1, 163–248. * L. D. REYNOLDS, Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics, Oxford 1983. * L. D. REYNOLDS and N. G. WILSON, Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature, Oxford 1968, 2nd ed. 1974, 3rd ed. 1991. * C. H. ROBERTS and T. C. SKEAT, The Birth of the Codex, Oxford 1983. * SCHANZ-HOSIUS, LG. * W. SCHUBART, Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern, Berlin 1907, repr. Heidelberg 1962. * C. WENDEL, Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, ed. by W. Krieg, Köln 1974. * H. WIDMANN, Herstellung und Vertrieb des Buches in der griechisch-römischen Welt, Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 1967, no. 55, 35–81. * U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, K. KRUMBACHER, J. WACKERNAGEL, F. LEO, E. NORDEN, F. SKUTSCH, Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache (= KultdGgw 1, 8), Berlin and Leipzig (1905) 3rd ed. 1912 (corr. and augmented).

PERIODICALS AND STANDARD WORKS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations used in the present work for periodicals and general works. The abbreviations for Latin authors and works are those of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

Titles mentioned only once in the footnotes do not appear in the book lists to the relevant author. Titles quoted in the footnotes with the initial(s) of the author's first name(s), surname, and the year of publication refer to the specialized bibliography to the given chapter.

Standard works quoted *without* the initial(s) of the author's first name(s) are quoted in full in the following list (to give an example, F. Leo 1912 refers to the specialized bibliography to the chapter in question, whereas Leo, LG is explained in the present list of abbreviations).

For editions, the following abbreviations are used: T (text), Tr (translation), N (notes), C (commentary).

Capital letters following quotations from ancient authors indicate the editor, e.g.: Ennius *ann.* 237 V. (= Vahlen), *trag.* 217 J. (= Jocelyn).

AAAd: Antichità altoadriatiche. Udine.
AAASzeged: Acta antiqua et archaeologica. Szeged.
AAEC: Annuario dell'Accademia etrusca di Cortona. Cortona.
AAG: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen., phil.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
AAHG: Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von der Österreichischen Humanistischen Gesellschaft. Innsbruck.
AALig: Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere. Genova.
AAntHung: Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest. (cf. ActAnt).
AAPat: Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze morali, Lettere ed Arti. Padova.
AAPel: Atti della Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, Classe di Lettere, Filosofia e Belle Arti. Messina.
AAT: Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Torino.
AATC: Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana La Colombaria. Firenze.
AAWM: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse. Wiesbaden.
AAWW: Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse. Wien.
AB: Analecta Bollandiana. Bruxelles.
ABAW: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. München.

ABG: Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte. Bausteine zu einem historischen Wörterbuch der Philosophie. Bonn.
AC: L'Antiquité Classique. Louvain.
ACD: Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis. Debrecen.
AClass: Acta classica. Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa. Cape Town.
Acme: Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università statale di Milano. Milano.
ActAnt: cf. AAntHung.
ADAW: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur & Kunst. Berlin.
add.: with addenda.
A&A: Antike und Abendland. Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihres Nachlebens. Berlin.
A&R: Atene e Roma. Rassegna trimestrale dell'Assoc. Italiana di Cultura classica. Firenze.
Aevum: Aevum. Rassegna di Scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche. Milano.
AFLA: Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines d'Aix, Sér. class. Gap.
AFLB: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Bari. Bari.
AFLC: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero della Università di Cagliari. Cagliari.
AFLM: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Macerata. Roma.
AFLPer: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Perugia. Perugia.
AFLN: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli. Napoli.
AFLT: Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Trieste.
AFMC: Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari. Cagliari.
AG: Archivio giuridico. Modena.
AGM: Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften. Wiesbaden.
AGPh: Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie. Berlin.
AGWG: Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Berlin.
AHAW: Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. Heidelberg.
AHMA: Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age. Paris.
AHR: American Historical Review. Washington.
AIIS: Annali dell'Istituto italiano per gli Studi storici. Napoli.
AION: Aión. Annali del Seminario di studi sul mondo classico dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, Sezione linguistica. Pisa.
AIPhO: Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Bruxelles.
AIV: Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze morali e Lettere. Venezia.
AJAH: American Journal of Ancient History. Cambridge, Mass.
AJPh: American Journal of Philology. Baltimore.
AK: Antike Kunst. Herausgegeben von der Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst in Basel. Olten.
AKG: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte. Köln.
Akroterion: Akroterion. Quarterly for the Classics in South Africa. University of Stellenbosch.
al., et al.: and in further instances.
AL: Anthologia Latina, ed. A. Riese, vol. 1, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1894, vol. 2, 1st ed. 1870; ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, vol. 1, 1, Stutgardiae 1982.

von Albrecht, LG: M. von Albrecht, Augusteische Zeit, Stuttgart 1987 (= M. von Albrecht, ed., Die römische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, vol. 3); cf. also Gärtner, Kissel, Leeman, Petersmann.
von Albrecht, Poesie: M. von Albrecht, Römische Poesie. Texte und Interpretationen, Heidelberg 1977; Tübingen 2nd ed. 1995.
von Albrecht, Prose: M. von Albrecht, Masters of Roman Prose. Interpretative Studies. Translated by N. Adkin, Leeds 1989.
von Albrecht, Rom: M. von Albrecht, Rom: Spiegel Europas. Texte und Themen, Heidelberg 1988.
Alföldy, Sozialgeschichte: G. Alföldy, Römische Sozialgeschichte, Wiesbaden 3rd ed. 1984.
ALGP: Annali del Liceo G. Garibaldi di Palermo. Palermo.
ALL(G): Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Leipzig.
ALMA: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange). Leiden.
ALMArv: Annales Latini Montium Arvernorum. Clermont.
Altaner: B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter, Freiburg, Basel 8th ed. 1978.
Altertum: Das Altertum, herausgegeben vom Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Berlin.
Altheim: F. Altheim, Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache, von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Literatur, Frankfurt 1951.
Anazetesis: Anazetesis. Quaderni di ricerca. Pistoia.
AncSoc: Ancient Society. Louvain.
André, Lexique: J. André, Lexique des termes de botanique en latin, Paris 1956.
André, Otium: J.-M. André, L'*otium* dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine des origines à l'époque augustéenne, Paris 1966.
André, Plantes: J. André, Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique, Paris 1985.
Année Épigraphique: L'Année Épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine. Paris.
Anregung: Anregung. Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik. München.
ANRW: Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Berlin.
AntAfr.: Antiquités africaines. Paris.
Antichthon: Antichthon. Journal of the Australian Society for Classical Studies. Sydney.
Antike: Die Antike. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur der Altertumswissenschaft. Berlin.
Antike und Christentum. Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien. Münster, Westf.
AP: Anthologia Palatina, ed. H. Beckby (TTrN), 4 vols., München 2nd ed. 1965–1967.
Arcadia: Arcadia. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft. Berlin.
Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens (publ. as an appendix to: Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel). Frankfurt.
Archiv für Musikwissenschaft. Wiesbaden.
ArchPhilos: Archives de Philosophie. Recherches et documentation. Paris.
Arctos: Arctos. Acta philologica Fennica. Helsinki.
Arethusa: Arethusa. A Journal of the Wellsprings of Western Man. Buffalo, State University of New York.
ARID: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici. Odense Univ.
Arion: Arion. A Quarterly Journal of Classical Culture. Boston University.
ARW: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Berlin and Leipzig.
ASI: Archivio Storico Italiano. Firenze.
ASNP: Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di Lettere e Filosofia. Pisa.

AT: Antiquum testamentum (Old Testament).
Athenaeum: Athenaeum. Studi periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità. Pavia.
Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze. Arezzo.
AU: Der altsprachliche Unterricht. Arbeitshefte zu seiner wissenschaftlichen Begründung und praktischen Gestalt. Stuttgart.
AUB: Annales Universitatis Budapestensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio classica. Budapest.
Auerbach, Mimesis: E. Auerbach, Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur, Bern 7th ed. 1982.
Aufidus: Aufidus. Rivista di scienza e didattica della cultura classica. Foggia.
augm.: augmented.
AugMag: Augustinus Magister. Congrès international augustinien, Paris (1954). Communications (Actes), 3 vols., Paris sine anno.
AugStud: Augustinian Studies. Villanova.
Augustiniana: Tijdschrift voor de Studie van S. Augustinus en de Augustijnerorde. Héverlé-Louvain.
Augustinianum: Augustinianum. Roma.
Augustinus: Augustinus. Revista publicada por los Padres agustinos recoletos. Madrid.
AULLA (AUMLA): Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association. Christchurch, New Zealand.
AUS: 1. Annales Universitatis Saraviensis (Phil.-Lettres). Saarbrücken. 2. Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia, Faculté des Lettres. Sofia.
BAB: Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Bruxelles.
Baehrens: Ae. Baehrens, ed., Poetae Latini Minores, 6 vols., Lipsiae 1879–1886.
BAGB: Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé. Paris.
BAL: Bulletin des antiquités luxembourgeoises. Luxembourg.
Bardenhewer, LG: O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, 5 vols. (vols. 1 and 2: 2nd ed.), Freiburg 1913–1932.
Bardon, Litt. lat. inc.: H. Bardon, La littérature latine inconnue, 2 vols., Paris 1952 and 1956.
BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris.
BCO: Bibliotheca Classica Orientalis. Dokumentation der altertumswissenschaftlichen Literatur der Sowjetunion und der Volksdemokratien. Berlin.
Behrens, Einteilung: I. Behrens, Die Lehre von der Einteilung der Dichtkunst. Studien zur Geschichte der poetischen Gattungen, diss. Bonn 1939, Halle 1940.
Belfagor: Belfagor. Rassegna di varia umanità. Firenze.
Berschin, Biographie: W. Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter. I: Von der *Passio Perpetuae* zu den *Dialogi* Gregors des Großen, Stuttgart 1986.
Berschin, Medioevo: W. Berschin, Medioevo greco-latino da Gerolamo a Niccolò Cusano, Napoli 1989 (augmented; the German original had been published at Bern in 1980).
B&O: Bibbia e Oriente. Rivista trimestrale per la conoscenza della Bibbia. Bornato in Franciacorte (Brescia).
Bianchi Bandinelli, Kunst: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Die römische Kunst. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Antike, München 3rd ed. 1975.
bibl.: bibliography.
Bibl. di mat.: Biblioteca di materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici. Pisa.
BiblH&R: Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Genève.
Biblica: Biblica. Commentarii editi cura Pontificii Instituti Biblici. Roma.
Bibliographia patristica. Internationale patristische Bibliographie. Berlin.
Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis. München.

BICKEL, LG: E. BICKEL, Lehrbuch der Geschichte der römischen Literatur, Heidelberg 2nd ed. 1961.
BICS: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. London.
BIDR: Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto romano. Milano.
BIEH: Boletin del Inst. de Estudios helénicos. Barcelona.
BIELER, LG: L. BIELER, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, 2 vols. in 1 vol., Berlin 4th ed. 1980.
BIGNONE, LG: E. BIGNONE, Storia della letteratura latina, 3 vols., Firenze 1945–1950 (vol. 1: 2nd ed. 1946).
BINDER, Saeculum Augustum: G. BINDER, ed., Saeculum Augustum, 3 vols., Darmstadt vol. 1: 1987; vol. 2: 1988; vol. 3: 1991.
BJ: Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Kevelaer.
BKV: Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. München.
BO: Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.
BOLGAR: R. R. BOLGAR, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries, Cambridge 1954.
BollClass: Bollettino dei classici. Roma, Accademia dei Lincei.
BONNER, Declamation: S. F. BONNER, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire, Berkeley 1949, repr. 1969.
K. BORINSKI, Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie vom Ausgang des klassischen Altertums bis auf Goethe und W. von Humboldt, 2 vols., Leipzig 1914–1924, repr. 1965.
BQR: Bodleian Quarterly Record. Oxford.
BREMER, Iurisprud. antehadr.: F. P. BREMER, Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt, 2 sections in 3 vols., Lipsiae 1896–1901.
BROUGHTON, Magistrates: T. R. S. BROUGHTON, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, 2 vols., New York 1951; 1952; suppl. 1960.
BRUNHÖLZL, LG: F. BRUNHÖLZL, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, vol. 1: Von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung, München 1975.
BRUNS, Fontes: C. G. BRUNS, T. MOMMSEN, O. GRADENWITZ, eds., Fontes iuris Romani antiqui, Tubingae, 1 and 2, 7th ed. 1909; Additamentum 1 and 2: 1912.
BSG: Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse. Leipzig.
BSTEC: Bulletin de la Société toulousaine d'Études classiques. Toulouse.
BStudLat: Bollettino di Studi latini. Periodico quadrimestrale d'informazione bibliografica. Napoli.
BÜCHNER: cf. FPL.
BÜCHNER, LG: K. Büchner, Römische Literaturgeschichte. Ihre Grundzüge in interpretierender Darstellung, Stuttgart 5th ed. 1980.
BUCK: A. BUCK, Die Rezeption der Antike in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance, Berlin 1976.
Bursian: s. JAW.
ByzF: Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik. Amsterdam.
BZG: Baseler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Basel.
C (in editions): commentary.
Caesarodunum: Caesarodunum. Tours.
CAF: T. KOCK, ed., Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta, vols. 1–3, Lipsiae 1880–1888.

CAIRNS, Generic Composition: F. CAIRNS, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry, Edinburgh 1972.
G. CALBOLI, Nota: G. CALBOLI, Nota di aggiornamento a E. NORDEN, *La prosa d'arte antica*, in: NORDEN, Kunstprosa, Roma 1986, 971–1185.
CASSIRER: E. CASSIRER, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, 3 vols., Berlin 1923–1929; Darmstadt 2nd ed. 1953–1954, repr. 1987–1990.
CB: The Classical Bulletin. Saint Louis.
CC (and CCL): Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnholti.
CCC: Civiltà classica e cristiana. Genova.
CE: Carmina Latina epigraphica, ed. F. BÜCHELER, 2 vols., Lipsiae 1895–1897, repr. 1972.
CEA: Cahiers des Études anciennes. Montréal.
CÈBE, caricature: J.-P. CÈBE, La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvénal, Paris 1966.
C&M: Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise d'Histoire et de Philologie, publ. par la Soc. danoise pour les Études anciennes et médiévales. København.
C&S: Cultura e Scuola. Roma.
CF: Classical Folia. Studies in the Christian perpetuation of the Classics. New York.
CFC: Cuadernos de Filología clásica. Madrid.
CGF: G. KAIBEL, ed., Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta 1, 1, Berolini 1899 (also containing classical texts concerning the theory of comedy: *Tractatus Coislinianus*, Diomedes, Evanthius, Donatus).
Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. München.
CHLL: The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, 2. Latin Literature, ed. by E. J. KENNEY and W. V. CLAUSEN, Cambridge 1982.
CHM: Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale. Neuchâtel.
Ciceroniana: Ciceroniana. Rivista di Studi Ciceroniani. Roma.
CICHORIUS, Studien: C. CICHORIUS, Römische Studien. Historisches, Epigraphisches, Literaturgeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten, Leipzig 1922, repr. 1961.
CIL: Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Berolini.
CIMA: Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge grec et latin. Copenhague.
CISA: Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università del Sacro Cuore. Milano.
CJ: The Classical Journal. Athens, University of Georgia.
ClAnt: Classical Antiquity. Berkeley.
CLARKE, Rhetoric: M. L. CLARKE, Rhetoric at Rome. A Historical Survey, London 1953.
CLS: Comparative Literature Studies. Urbana, Illinois.
CM: Clio Medica. Acta Acad. internat. historiae medicinae. Amsterdam.
CML: Classical and Modern Literature. Terre Haute, Indiana.
cod.: Codex.
CodMan: Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde. Wien.
CONTE, LG: G. CONTE, Latin Literature. A History, Baltimore 1994.
Contemporanea: Contemporanea. Supplement to: Mostre e Musei. Torino.
corr.: with corrections.
cos.: Consul.
COURCELLE, Histoire: P. COURCELLE, Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques, Paris (1948) 3rd ed. 1964.
COURCELLE, Lettres: P. COURCELLE, Les lettres grecques en Occident. De Macrobe à Cassiodore, Paris 2nd ed. 1948.
COURTNEY: E. COURTNEY, The Fragmentary Latin Poets, Oxford 1993.
CPh: Classical Philology. Chicago.

CQ: Classical Quarterly. Oxford.
CR: Classical Review. Oxford.
CRAI: Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris.
CRDAC: Atti del Centro ricerche e documentazione sull'antichità classica. Milano.
CRF: Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta, II. Comicorum Romanorum praeter Plautum et Terentium Fragmenta, ed. O. RIBBECK, Leipzig 2nd ed. 1873; repr. 1962; Lipsiae 3rd ed. 1898.
Critica: La critica. Rivista di Lettere, Storia e Filosofia. Bari.
CSCA: California Studies in Classical Antiquity. Berkeley.
CSEL: Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Wien.
CURTIUS, Europäische Lit.: E. R. CURTIUS, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Bern 1948, 9th ed. 1978.
CV: Commentationes Vindobonenses. Wien.
CW: Classical World (formerly: Classical Weekly). Pittsburgh, Pa.
DA: Dissertation Abstracts. Internat. Abstracts of Dissertations Available in Microfilm or as Xerographic Reproductions. Ann Arbor, Mich.
DAW Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sektion Altertumswissenschaften. Berlin.
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DESSAU: cf. ILS.
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DHA: Dialogues d'histoire ancienne. Paris.
Didactica classica Gandensia. Gent.
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DIHLE, LG: A. DIHLE, Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis Justinian, München 1989.
Dioniso: Dioniso. Rivista trimestrale di studi sul teatro antico. Siracusa.
diss.: dissertation.
DLZ: Deutsche Literaturzeitung für Kritik der internat. Wissenschaft. Berlin.
DRAHEIM: J. DRAHEIM, Vertonungen antiker Texte vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart. Mit einer Bibliographie der Vertonungen (1700–1978), Amsterdam 1981.
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DUMÉZIL, Rel.: G. DUMÉZIL, La religion romaine archaïque, Paris 1966.
Durius: Durius. Boletín castellano de Estudios clásicos. Valladolid.
DVjs: Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte. Stuttgart.
ECKSTEIN, Unterr.: F. A. ECKSTEIN, Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht, Leipzig 1887.
EClás: Estudios clásicos. Madrid.
ed.: *edidit* (edited by; editor).
eds: editors.
Eikasmos: Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica. Bologna.
Eirene: Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina. Praha.
EISENHUT: W. EISENHUT, Einführung in die antike Rhetorik und ihre Geschichte, Darmstadt 1974.

EL: Études de Lettres: Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lausanne et de la Société des Études des Lettres. Lausanne.
Elenchos: Elenchos. Rivista di studi sul pensiero antico. Napoli.
EMC: Échos du Monde classique. Classical News and Views. Ottawa.
Emerita: Emerita. Revista de Lingüística y Filología clásica. Madrid.
Entretiens: Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique. Fondation Hardt, Vandœuvres-Genève.
Eos: Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum. Wrocław.
EPhK: Egyetemes philologiai közlöny. Budapest.
Eranos: Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana. Uppsala.
Euphorion: Euphorion. Heidelberg.
Euphrosyne: Euphrosyne. Revista de Filologia clássica. Lisboa.
fasc.: fascicle.
Faventia: Faventia. Publicació del Departament de Filologia classica de la Univ. autónoma de Barcelona.
FCG: Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum, collegit A. Meineke, 5 vols., Berolini 1839–1857.
F&F: Forschungen und Fortschritte. Berlin.
FGrHist: F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, 3 sections in 15 vols., Berlin 1926—Leiden 1958.
Filosofia: Filosofia. Rivista trimestrale. Torino.
Flach, Einführung: D. Flach, Einführung in die römische Geschichtsschreibung. Darmstadt 1985.
FPL: Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum, ed. W. Morel, Lipsiae 2nd ed. 1927, repr. 1963; rev. K. Büchner, Lipsiae 1982; replaced by J. Blänsdorf, Stuttgart 1995, and by Courtney, quoted above.
frg(g).: fragment(s).
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FS: Festschrift.
Fuhrmann, Lehrbuch: M. Fuhrmann, Das systematische Lehrbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike, Göttingen 1960.
Fuhrmann, LG: M. Fuhrmann, ed., Römische Literatur, Frankfurt 1974 (= Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 3).
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Gärtner, LG: H. A. Gärtner, Kaiserzeit II. Von Tertullian bis Boethius, Stuttgart 1988 (= M. von Albrecht, ed., Die römische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, vol. 5).
GB: Grazer Beiträge. Zeitschrift für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft. Graz.
Genre: Genre. A Quarterly Devoted to Generic Criticism. Chicago.
Germanic Review: Germanic Review. New York.
G&R: Greece and Rome. Oxford.
GFF: Giornale filologico ferrarese. Ferrara.
GGA: Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. Göttingen.
GIF: Giornale Italiano di Filologia. Rivista trimestrale di Cultura. Roma.
GL: Grammatici Latini, recensuit H. Keil, 7 vols. and 1 suppl., Lipsiae 1857–1880.
GLO: Graecolatina et Orientalia. Bratislava.
Glotta: Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache. Göttingen.
Gnomon: Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft. München.
Goethe: Goethe. Viermonatsschrift der Goethe-Gesellschaft. Weimar.

Graeco-Latina Pragensia: Graeco-Latina Pragensia. Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica. Praha.
GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies. Durham, N.C.
GRF: Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta, vol. 1, ed. H. (= G.) FUNAIOLI, Lipsiae 1907 (Pre-Varronian, Varronian, and Augustan epochs); continued by: A. MAZZARINO, Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta aetatis Caesarum, Augustae Taurinorum 1955.
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GRIMAL, Siècle: P. GRIMAL, Le siècle des Scipions. Rome et l'hellénisme au temps des guerres puniques, Paris 1953.
GRMS: Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Heidelberg.
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GRUMACH: E. GRUMACH, Goethe und die Antike. Eine Sammlung, 2 vols., Berlin 1949.
Grundriß: Grundriß der Literaturgeschichten nach Gattungen, Darmstadt, e.g.: J. ADAMIETZ, ed., Die römische Satire 1986. E. BURCK, ed., Das römische Epos 1979. E. LEFÈVRE, ed., Das römische Drama, 1978. G. A. SEECK, ed., Das griechische Drama 1979.
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Gymnasium: Gymnasium. Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung. Heidelberg.
Habis: Habis. Arqueología. Filología clásica. Sevilla.
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HANDIUS: F. HANDIUS, Tursellinus, seu de particulis Latinis commentarii, 4 vols., Lipsiae 1829–1845, repr. 1969.
HARNACK, LG: A. HARNACK, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius, 3 vols., Leipzig 1893–1904.
HAW: Handbuch der (klassischen) Altertumswissenschaft, founded by I. VON MÜLLER, augmented by W. OTTO, continued by H. BENGTSON, München 1897 ff.
Hdb.: Handbuch, handbook.
HEINZE, V.e.T.: R. HEINZE, Virgils epische Technik, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1914; s. now: R. HEINZE, Virgil's Epic Technique. Translated by H. and D. HARVEY, and F. ROBERTSON, with a Preface by A. WLOSOK, London 1993.
Helikon: Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica. Roma.
Hellenica: 'Ελληνικά. φιλολ., ἱστορ. καὶ λαογρ. Περιοδικὸν τῆς ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν. Thessaloniki.
Helmantica: Helmantica. Revista de Filología clásica y hebrea. Salamanca.
Hermathena: Hermathena. A Series of Papers by Members of Trinity College. Dublin.
Hermeneus: Hermeneus. Tijdschrift voor de antieke Cultuur. Culemborg.
Hermes: Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie. Wiesbaden.
H&R: Humanisme et Renaissance. Paris.
HIGHET, Class. Trad.: G. HIGHET, The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature, Oxford 1949, repr. 8th ed. 1978.
HIRZEL, Dialog: R. HIRZEL, Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch, 2 vols., Leipzig 1895.
Historia: Historia. Revue d'histoire ancienne, Wiesbaden.
HJ: Historisches Jahrbuch. München.

HLL: R. Herzog, P. L. Schmidt, eds., Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, hitherto only vol. 5: R. Herzog, ed., Restauration und Erneuerung. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr., München 1989.
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Homonoia: Homonoia. Yearbook of the chair of Greek philology of the Univ. Budapest.
HRR: H. Peter, ed., Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae, vol. 1, Leipzig 2nd ed. 1914, vol. 2, 1st ed. 1906, repr. with bibl. by J. Kroymann, Stuttgart 1967.
HS: History of Sciences. Chalfont St. Giles.
HSPh: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge, Mass.
HT: History Today. London.
HThR: Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass.
Humanistische Bildung. Vorträge und Beiträge. Stuttgart.
Humanitas: Humanitas. Revista do Inst. de Estudos clássicos. Coimbra.
HumLov: Humanistica Lovaniensia. Leuven.
Huschke, cf. Seckel-Kübler.
Hutchinson: G. O. Hutchinson, Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal. A Critical Study, Oxford 1993.
Hyperboreus: Hyperboreus. Studia Classica. Petropoli and München.
HZ: Historische Zeitschrift. München.
IA: Iranica antiqua. Leiden.
ibid.: ibidem (in the same work).
ICS: Illinois Classical Studies. Urbana, Illinois.
ICUR: Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, post I. B. De Rossi edidit A. Silvagni, 9 vols., Romae 1922–1985.
id.: idem (the same author).
IF: Indogermanische Forschungen. Berlin.
IJM: International Journal of Musicology. Frankfurt.
IL: L'Information littéraire. Paris.
ILS: Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, vols. 1–3, ed. H. Dessau, Berolini 1892–1916, repr. 1962.
IMU: Italia Medioevale e Umanistica. Padova.
Ind.: Index.
Index: Index. Quaderni camerti di studi romanistici. International Survey of Roman Law. Napoli.
Ind. lect.: Index lectionum.
Ingarden, Kunstwerk: R. Ingarden, Das literarische Kunstwerk, Tübingen 4th ed. 1972.
Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Innsbruck.
International Journal of American Linguistics. Baltimore.
introd.: introduction.
InvLuc: Invigilata Lucernis. Rivista dell'Istituto di Latino, Università di Bari.
Iura: Iura. Rivista internazionale di Diritto romano ed antico. Napoli.
Jacoby, cf. FGrHist.
Jakobson, Language: R. Jakobson, Language in Literature, ed. by K. Pomorska, S. Rudy, Cambridge 1987.
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JAW (= Bursian): Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Altertumswissenschaft. Leipzig.
JbAC: Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Münster.
JCS: Journal of Classical Studies. The Journal of the Classical Society of Japan. Kyôto.
JDAI: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
JENKYNS: R. JENKYNS, Three Classical Poets. Sappho, Catullus, and Juvenal, London 1982.
JHAW: Jahrbuch der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg.
JHI: Journal of the History of Ideas. Ephrata, Pennsylvania, & Philadelphia.
JHPh: Journal of the History of Philosophy. Berkeley.
JIES: Journal of Indo-European Studies. Hattiesburg, Miss.
JJP: The Journal of Juristic Papyrology. Warsaw, Soc. of Sciences & Letters.
JKPh: Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie. Leipzig.
JÖRS-KUNKEL-WENGER, Römisches Recht: P. JÖRS, W. KUNKEL, L. WENGER, Römisches Recht. 4th edition, completely revised by H. HONSELL, Th. MAYER-MALY, W. SELB, Berlin 1987.
JRGZ: Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums. Mainz.
JRH: Journal of Religious History. Sydney.
JRS: Journal of Roman Studies. London.
JS: Journal des Savants. Paris.
JThS: Journal of Theological Studies. Oxford.
JUD: Jahrbuch der Univ. Düsseldorf.
Jura: s. Iura.
JWI: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute. London.
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KLINGNER, Studien: F. KLINGNER, Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur, Zürich 1964.
Klio: Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Berlin.
KlP: Der Kleine Pauly, ed. by K. ZIEGLER, W. SONTHEIMER, 5 vols., München 1964–1975.
KlWöHell: Kleines Wörterbuch des Hellenismus, ed. by Hatto H. SCHMITT and E. VOGT, Wiesbaden 1988.

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Labeo: Labeo. Rassegna di Diritto romano. Napoli.
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Lampadion: Lampadion (continued in the form of reports in Lampas).
Lampas: Lampas. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse classici. Muiderberg.
Latinitas: Latinitas. Commentarii linguae Latinae excolendae, Città del Vaticano.
Latomus: Latomus. Revue d'études latines. Bruxelles.
LATTE, Religionsgeschichte: K. LATTE, Römische Religionsgeschichte, München 1960.
LAUSBERG, Hdb.: H. LAUSBERG, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, 2 vols., München 1960, Stuttgart 3rd ed. 1990 (with an introduction by A. ARENS).
LAW: Lexikon der Alten Welt, ed. by C. ANDRESEN, H. ERBSE, O. GIGON, K. SCHEFOLD, K. F. STROHEKER, E. ZINN, Zürich 1965.
LCM: Liverpool Classical Monthly. Liverpool (later: Leeds).
W. D. LEBEK, Neue Texte im Bereich der lateinischen Literatur, in: Klassische Antike und Gegenwart = Dialog Schule: Wissenschaft. Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen, ed. by P. NEUKAM, vol. 19, München 1985, 50–67.
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LEO, Plaut. Forsch.: F. LEO, Plautinische Forschungen, Berlin 1895.
LEO: s. also KultdGgw.

LESKY, LG: A. LESKY, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, Bern 3rd ed. 1971.
L&G: Latina et Graeca. Zagreb.
Lettere italiane: Lettere italiane. Rivista trimestrale. Firenze.
Lexis: Lexis. Studien zur Sprachphilosophie, Sprachgeschichte und Begriffsforschung. Lahr i.B.
LF: Listy Filologické. Praha.
LG: Literary History.
LIEBERG, Poeta creator: G. LIEBERG, Poeta creator. Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung, Amsterdam 1982.
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Lingua: Lingua. Revue internat. de linguistique générale. Amsterdam.
Lit.wiss. Jb. der Görres-Gesellschaft: Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft. Berlin.
LMA: Lexikon des Mittelalters (300–1500 n. Chr.), ed. by W. ABEL, R. H. BAUTIER, A. D'AGOSTINO (and others), München from 1977 onward.
LÖFSTEDT, Late Latin: E. LÖFSTEDT, Late Latin, Oslo 1959.
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LThK: Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, ed. by J. HÖFER, K. RAHNER, 14 vols., Freiburg 2nd ed. 1986.
Lustrum: Lustrum. Internationale Forschungsberichte aus dem Bereich des klassischen Altertums. Göttingen.
Maia: Maia. Rivista di letterature classiche. Bologna.
MAL: Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accad. dei Lincei. Roma.
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MARROU, Education: H.-I. MARROU, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité, 2 vols., Paris 6th ed. 1964, repr. 1981.
MAT: Memorie (Atti) dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. II. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Torino.
MAWA: Mededelingen der Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Amsterdam.
MB: Musée Belge. Revue de philologie classique. Liège.
MC: Il Mondo Classico. Torino.
MCr: Museum criticum. Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia classica dell'Università di Bologna. Bologna.
MCSN: Materiali e contributi per la storia della narrativa greco-latina. Perugia.
MD: Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici. Pisa.
MDAI(R): Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes (Römische Abteilung). Mainz.
Meander: Meander. Revue de civilisation du monde antique. Warszawa.
MEFR(A): Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome. Paris.
MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannover from 1826 onward.
MGH, AA: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi, Berlin 1877–1919.
MGM: Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen. Freiburg i.B.
MH: Museum Helveticum. Revue suisse pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité classique. Bâle.
Minerva: Minerva. Budapest.
Miscellanea Berolinensia ad incrementum scientiarum ex scriptis Societati Regiae Scientiarum exhibitis edita. Berolini.

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MLatJb: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch. Berlin.
MLR: The Modern Language Review. London.
Mnemosyne: Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Leiden.
Modern Language Notes. Baltimore.
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MOMMSEN, RG: T. MOMMSEN, Römische Geschichte, vols. 1–3, Berlin 6th ed. 1874–1875; vol. 5, 1885; numerous reprints.
MOMMSEN, Staatsrecht: T. MOMMSEN, Römisches Staatsrecht, 3 vols., Leipzig 1887–1888, repr. 1971.
MOMMSEN, Strafrecht: T. MOMMSEN, Römisches Strafrecht, Leipzig 1899, repr. 1955.
Morel: s. FPL.
MPhL: Museum Philologum Londiniense. Amsterdam.
MRS: Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies. London.
MS: Mediaeval Studies. Toronto.
MSLC: Miscellanea di Studi di letteratura cristiana antica. Catania.
MusAfr: Museum Africum. West African Journal of Classics and Related Studies. Univ. of Ibadan, Nigeria.
N (in editions): notes.
NAFM: Nuovi annali della facoltà di magistero dell'Università di Messina. Roma.
NAWG: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
NEUBECKER, Musik: A. J. NEUBECKER, Altgriechische Musik. Eine Einführung, Darmstadt 1977.
Neue Wege zur Antike: Neue Wege zur Antike. Leipzig.
NGG: Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen.
NISBET, Papers: R. G. M. NISBET, Collected Papers on Latin Literature, Oxford 1995.
NJA: Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum. Leipzig.
NJAB: Neue Jahrbücher für Antike und deutsche Bildung. Leipzig.
NJP: Neue Jahrbücher für Pädagogik. Leipzig.
NJW: Neue Jahrbücher für (deutsche) Wissenschaft (und Jugendbildung). Leipzig.
NORDEN, *Aen.* VI: P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis* Buch VI (TTrC), ed. E. NORDEN, (3rd ed. 1927), repr. Darmstadt 1957.
NORDEN, Agnostos Theos: E. NORDEN, Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede, Leipzig 1913.
NORDEN, Kunstprosa: E. NORDEN, Die antike Kunstprosa vom 6. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance, 2 vols., Leipzig 1898, 3rd ed. 1915, repr. 1983; cf. also CALBOLI.
NORDEN, LG: E. NORDEN, Die römische Literatur. Mit Anhang: Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter, Leipzig 6th ed. 1961.
NORDEN, Priesterbücher: E. NORDEN, Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern, Lund and Leipzig 1939.
NORDEN, Urgeschichte: E. NORDEN, Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' *Germania*, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1923.
Nova Tellus. México.
NPh: Neophilologus. Groningen.
NPhM: Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. Helsinki.

NRD: Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger. Paris.
n.s.: new series, nova series, neue Folge, etc.
NT: Neues Testament.
ω: all manuscripts or all except for those mentioned explicitly.
ORF: Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta, ed. H. (= E.) MALCOVATI, 3 vols., Torino 1930, 4th ed. 1976–1979 (with index).
ORom: Opuscula Romana (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae). Lund.
Orpheus: Orpheus. Rivista di umanità classica e cristiana. Catania.
PACA: Proccedings of the African Classical Association. Salisbury.
PACPhA: Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association. Washington.
Paideia: Paideia. Rivista letteraria di informazione bibliografica. Arona.
Pallas: Pallas, fasc. 3 des Annales de l'Univ. de Toulouse-Le Mirail. Toulouse.
Pan: Pan. Studi dell'Ist. di filologia latina dell'Univ. di Palermo.
PapOxy: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ed. by B. P. GRENFELL, A. S. HUNT and others, London from 1898 onward (over 50 vols. hitherto).
Paragone: Rivista mensile di arte figurativa e letteratura. Firenze.
PASQUALI, Storia: G. PASQUALI, Storia della tradizione e critica del testo, Firenze (1934) 2nd ed. 1952.
PCA: Proceedings of the Classical Association. London.
PCG: R. KASSEL, C. AUSTIN, eds., Poetae comici Graeci, Berolini from 1983 onward.
PCPhS: Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Cambridge.
PETER, Wahrheit und Kunst: H. PETER, Wahrheit und Kunst. Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum, Leipzig 1911 (repr. 1965).
PETERSMANN, LG: H. and A. PETERSMANN, Republikanische Zeit I (Poesie) Stuttgart 1991 (= M. VON ALBRECHT, ed., Die römische Literatur in Text und Darstellung, vol. 1).
P&I: Le Parole e le Idee. Rivista internazionale di varia cultura. Napoli.
Philologus: Philologus. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie. Berlin.
Philosophia naturalis. Archiv für Naturphilosophie und die philosophischen Grenzgebiete der exakten Wissenschaften und Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Meisenheim.
Phoenix: Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada. Toronto.
PhQ: Philological Quarterly. Iowa University Press.
Phronesis: Phronesis. Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities. New Brunswick.
PhW: Philologische Wochenschrift. Leipzig.
PINKSTER: H. PINKSTER, Lateinische Syntax und Semantik. Aus dem Niederländischen von F. HEBERLEIN and T. LAMBERTZ, Tübingen 1988.
PL: Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, ed. J.-P. MIGNE. Parisiis.
PLATNAUER: M. PLATNAUER, ed., Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship, Oxford 1954, 2nd ed. 1968.
PLLS: Papers of the Liverpool (later: Leeds) Latin Seminar. Liverpool (later: Leeds).
PLS: Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, Supplementum.
Poetica: Poetica. Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft. Amsterdam.
PP: La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi antichi. Napoli.
PPol: Il pensiero politico. Rivista di storia delle idee politiche e sociali. Firenze.
PRANG, Formgeschichte: H. PRANG, Formgeschichte der Dichtkunst, Stuttgart 1968.
probl.: problematic.
prol.: prolegomena.
Prometheus: Prometheus. Rivista quadrimestrale di studi classici. Firenze.
Prudentia: Prudentia. A Journal Devoted to the Intellectual History of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Auckland.

PVS: Proceedings of the Virgil Society. London.
QCTC: Quaderni di cultura e di tradizione classica. Palermo.
QFC: Quaderni di filologia classica. Università di Trieste.
QS: Quaderni di storia. Rassegna di antichità redatta nell'Ist. di Storia greca e romana dell'Università di Bari. Bari.
QUCC: Quaderni Urbinati di cultura classica. Roma.
QUELLET: H. QUELLET, Bibliographia indicum, lexicorum et concordantiarum auctorum latinorum, Hildesheim 1980.
RA: Revue Archéologique. Paris.
RAAN: Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli. Napoli.
RABBOW, Seelenführung: P. RABBOW, Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzitien in Antike, München 1954.
RAC (RivAC): Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana. Città del Vaticano.
RAIB: Rendiconti dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, Classe di Scienze morali. Bologna.
RAL: Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accad. dei Lincei. Roma.
Ramus: Ramus. Critical Studies in Greek and Latin Literature. Clayton, Victoria.
Rassegna della letteratura italiana. Firenze.
RBen: Revue Bénédictine. Abbaye de Maredsous.
RBi: Revue Biblique. Paris.
RBPh(H): Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire. Mechelen.
RCC: Revue des Cours et des Conférences. Paris.
RCCM: Rivista di Cultura classica e medioevale. Roma.
RE: Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart.
REA: Revue des Études Anciennes. Bordeaux.
REAug: Revue des Études Augustiniennes. Paris.
REByz: Revue des Études byzantines. Paris.
rec.: recensuit.
RecAug: Recherches augustiniennes (suppl. to: REAug).
recc.: recentiores.
RecPhL: Recherches de Philologie et de Linguistique. Louvain.
RecSR: Recherches de Science Religieuse. Paris.
RecTh: Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale. Gembloux.
REIFF: A. REIFF, *Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio.* Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern, diss. Köln, Würzburg 1959.
REL: Revue des Etudes Latines. Paris.
RELO: Revue de l'Organisation internationale pour l'étude des langues anciennes par ordinateur. Liège.
RenQ: Renaissance Quarterly. New York.
Rendiconti della Accademia d'Italia. Roma.
repr.: reprint(ed).
RET: Revista Española de Teología. Madrid.
rev.: revised.
Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France. Paris.
RFC: Rivista di Filologia Classica. Torino.
REYNOLDS, Texts: L. D. REYNOLDS, Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics, Oxford 1983.
RFIC: Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica. Torino.
RFN: Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scholastica. Milano.

RHE: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Louvain.
RhetGr: Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione L. Spengel, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1853–1856, repr. 1966.
RhetLatMin: Rhetores Latini minores, ed. C. Halm, Lipsiae 1863.
Rhetorica: Rhetorica. Berkeley.
Rhetorik: Rhetorik. Ein internationales Jahrbuch. Tübingen.
RhM: Rheinisches Museum. Frankfurt.
RHR: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris.
Ribbeck, Tragödie: O. Ribbeck, Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik, Leipzig 1875, repr. 1968 (with an introduction by W.-H. Friedrich).
Ribbeck: s. also CRF and TRF.
Riccobono: S. Riccobono, J. Baviera, C. Ferrini, J. Furloni, V. Arangio-Ruiz, Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani, 3 vols., Florentiae 2nd ed. 1940–1943.
Richter: H. E. Richter, Übersetzen und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur, diss. Erlangen 1938.
RIDA: Revue internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité. Bruxelles.
RIGI: Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità. Napoli.
RIL: Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche. Milano.
Rinascimento: Rinascimento. Rivista dell'Instituto nazionale di Studi sul rinascimento. Firenze.
RLAC: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Stuttgart.
RMeta: Review of Metaphysics. Washington.
RNeosc: Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie. Louvain.
Rohde: E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer (1876), Leipzig 3rd ed. 1914, repr. 1974.
ROL: Remains of Old Latin, ed. and translated by E. H. Warmington, 4 vols., London 1936.
Romanic Review: The Romanic review. A Quarterly Journal. New York.
Romanische Forschungen. Vierteljahrsschrift für romanische Sprachen und Literaturen. Frankfurt.
RomBarb: Romanobarbarica. Roma.
Rotondi, Leges publicae: G. Rotondi, Leges publicae populi Romani, Milano 1912; repr. 1966.
RPh: Revue de Philologie. Paris.
RPhil: Revue de Philosophie. Paris.
RPL: Res publica litterarum. Studies in the Classical Tradition. University of Kansas. Lawrence, Kansas.
RQA: Römische Quartalsschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte. Freiburg.
RSA: Rivista storica dell'Antichità. Bologna.
RSC: Rivista di Studi Classici. Torino.
RSCI: Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia. Roma.
RSDI: Rivista di Storia del Diritto Italiano. Bologna.
RSF: Rivista critica di Storia della Filosofia. Firenze.
RSI: Rivista Storica Italiana. Napoli.
RSLR: Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa. Firenze.
RSPh: Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Paris.
Russell, Criticism: D. A. Russell, Criticism in Antiquity, London 1981.
Ruttkowski, Gattungen: W. V. Ruttkowski, Die literarischen Gattungen. Reflexionen über eine modifzierte Fundamentalpoetik, Bern 1968.

SABBADINI, Storia: R. SABBADINI, Storia e critica di testi latini. Cicerone, Donato, Tacito, Celso, Plauto, Plinio, Quintiliano, Livio e Sallustio, Commedia ignota, Padova 2nd ed. 1971.
Saeculum: Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte. Freiburg.
Salesianum: Salesianum. Theologiae, Iuris canonici, Philosophiae, Paedagogiae. Roma.
Sandalion: Sandalion. Quaderni di cultura classica, cristiana e medioevale. Sassari.
Sapienza. Rivista di filosofia e teologia. Napoli.
SAWW: Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse. Wien.
SBAW: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. München.
SC: Sources Chrétiennes. Paris.
SC: Suisse Contemporaine. Lausanne.
SCathol: Studia Catholica. Roermond (Netherlands), Romen.
SCHANZ-HOSIUS, LG: M. VON SCHANZ, C. HOSIUS, G. KRÜGER, Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian, 5 vols., München 1914–1935.
SCHEFOLD, Bildnisse: K. SCHEFOLD, Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker, Basel 1943.
SCHEFOLD, Kunst: K. SCHEFOLD, Römische Kunst als religiöses Phänomen, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1964.
SCHEFOLD, Malerei: K. SCHEFOLD, Pompejanische Malerei. Sinn und Ideengeschichte, Basel 1952.
SCHMID-STÄHLIN: W. SCHMID, O. STÄHLIN, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, part 1 in 5 vols., München 1929–1948; part 2 in 2 vols., 1920–1924.
SCHULZ, Einführung: F(ritz) SCHULZ, Einführung in das Studium der Digesten, Tübingen 1916.
SCHULZ, Geschichte: F. SCHULZ, Geschichte der römischen Rechtswissenschaft, Weimar 1961, repr. 1975.
SCHULZ, History: F. SCHULZ, History of Roman Legal Science, Oxford 2nd ed. 1953.
SCHULZ, Law: F. SCHULZ, Classical Roman Law, Oxford 1951.
SCHULZ, Prinzipien: F. SCHULZ, Prinzipien des römischen Rechts, München 1934, repr. 1954.
Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte. Bern.
SCO: Studi Classici e Orientali. Pisa.
ScRF: Scaenicorum Romanorum Fragmenta, adiuvantibus O. SEEL et L. VOIT edidit A. KLOTZ, München 1953.
Scriptorium: Scriptorium. Revue internat. des Études relatives aux manuscrits. Anvers.
SD: Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto. Roma.
SDAW: Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte, Staats-, Rechts- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Berlin.
SDHI: Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris. Roma.
SEJG: Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen. Steenbrugge.
SENGLE: F. SENGLE, Die literarische Formenlehre. Vorschläge zu ihrer Revision, Stuttgart 1967.
ser.: series, Serie.
Serapaeum: Serapaeum. Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Literatur. Leipzig.
SGLG: Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker. Berlin.
SHAW: Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. Heidelberg.

SicGym: Siculorum Gymnasium. Rassegna semestrale della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania. Catania.
SIF: Studi internazionali di Filosofia. Torino.
SIFC: Studi italiani di Filologia Classica. Firenze.
Sigma: Sigma. Rivista quadrimestrale. Napoli.
SKUTSCH: F. SKUTSCH, Die lateinische Sprache, in: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache, Leipzig 3rd ed. 1912 (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart 1, 8), 523–565.
s.a.: sine anno.
s.l.: sine loco.
s.l. et a.: sine loco et anno.
SMSR: Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni. Roma.
SO: Symbolae Osloenses. Oslo.
Sokrates: Sokrates. Berlin.
SPAW: Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
Speculum: Speculum. Journal of Medieval Studies. Cambridge, Mass.
SPEYER: W. SPEYER, Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum. Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung, München 1971 (= HAW 1, 2).
SPh: Studies in Philology. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina.
SR: Studies in religion. Sciences religieuses. Waterloo, Ont.
SRIC: Studi e Ricerche dell'Istituto di civiltà classica cristiana medievale. Genova.
SSAL: Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse.
SSL: Studi e Saggi linguistici. Pisa.
STAIGER, Grundbegriffe: E. STAIGER, Grundbegriffe der Poetik, Zürich 2nd ed. 1952.
STEINTHAL: H. STEINTHAL, Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik, 2 vols., Berlin 2nd ed. 1890–1891.
STOLZ-DEBRUNNER: F. STOLZ, A. DEBRUNNER, Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache, 4th ed. by W. P. SCHMID, Berlin 1966.
STROH, Liebeselegie: W. STROH, Die römische Liebeselegie als werbende Dichtung, Amsterdam 1971.
STROH, Taxis: W. STROH, Taxis und Taktik. Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden, Stuttgart 1975.
STROUX: J. STROUX, Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik, Potsdam 1949.
StudClas: Studii Clasice. Bucureşti.
StudFilol: Studime Filologjike. Tirana.
StudGen: Studium Generale. Berlin.
Studia Biblica: Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays Chiefly in Biblical and Patristic Criticism by Members of the University of Oxford. Oxford.
StudMed: Studi medievali. Spoleto.
StudPatr: Studia Patristica. Papers Presented to the International Conferences on Patristics. Berlin.
StudRom: Studi Romani. Rivista bimestrale dell'Istituto di Studi Romani. Roma.
StudUrb: Studi Urbinati di Storia, Filosofia e Letteratura. Urbino.
SUERBAUM, Unters.: W. SUERBAUM, Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter. Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Hildesheim 1968.
suppl.: supplement(s), *supplevit*, Ergänzungsband, Beiheft, etc.
SVF: Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, collegit I. VON ARNIM, 3 vols., Lipsiae 1903–1905; vol. 4 (index) by M. ADLER 1924.
SW: Sämtliche Werke (complete edition of works).
SYME, Revolution: R. SYME, The Roman Revolution, Oxford 1939.

SYME, Tacitus: R. SYME, Tacitus, 2 vols., Oxford 1958.
T (in editions): text.
Tabona: Tabona. Revista de preistoria y de arqueología y filología clásicas. La Laguna.
TAPhA: Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. Cleveland, Ohio.
TAPhS: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.
T&C: Technology and Culture. Chicago.
TEUFFEL-KROLL, LG: W. S. TEUFFEL, Geschichte der römischen Literatur. New edition by W. KROLL und F. SKUTSCH, vol. 1: Leipzig 6th ed. 1916; vol. 2: 7th ed. 1920; vol. 3, 6th ed. 1913.
TGF: Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, recensuit A. NAUCK (1888), suppl. adiecit B. SNELL, Hildesheim 1964; s. now: Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, ediderunt B. SNELL, R. KANNICHT, S. RADT, Göttingen, vol. 1: 2nd ed. 1986, vol. 3: 1985, vol. 4: 1977.
Th&Ph: Theologie und Philosophie. Freiburg.
THOMSON, Influences: J. A. K. THOMSON, Classical Influences on English Prose, London (1956), New York 2nd ed. 1962.
Thought and Religion. New York.
ThRdschau: Theologische Rundschau. Tübingen.
THROM: H. THROM, Die Thesis—Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Entstehung und Geschichte, Paderborn 1932.
ThZ: Theologische Zeitschrift. Basel.
Tr (in editions): translation.
TR: Le temps de la réflexion, Paris.
Traditio: Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion. New York.
TRAGLIA: A. TRAGLIA (TC, introduction), Poetae Novi, Roma 1962.
Transactions of the Royal Society. London.
TRE: Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Berlin.
TRF: Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta, vol. 1, Tragicorum Romanorum fragmenta, ed. O. RIBBECK, Leipzig 2nd ed. 1871, repr. Hildesheim 1962; Lipsiae 3rd ed. 1897.
TRG: Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis. Groningen.
TTrN (in editions): text, translation, and notes.
TTrC (in editions): text, translation, and commentary.
UEBERWEG-PRÄCHTER, Philosophie: F. UEBERWEG, Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. 1, by K. PRÄCHTER, Berlin 12th ed. 1926; repr. Basel 1960. New edition by H. FLASHAR, vols. 3 (1983) and 4 (1994) published, vols. 1 and 2 announced.
UCPPh: University of California Publications in Classical Philology. Berkeley.
U.P.: University Press.
V Chr: Vigiliae Christianae. A Review of Early Christian Life and Language. Amsterdam.
VDI: Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Revue d'Histoire ancienne. Moskva.
verb.: verbessert.
Verh. Akad. Wet. Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde: Verhandelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde. Amsterdam.
Verhandelingen aan de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Kl. der Letteren. Bruxelles.
VetChr: Vetera Christianorum. Bari.
Viator: Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Berkeley.
Vichiana: Vichiana. Rassegna di Studi filologici e storici. Napoli.

Vivarium. A Journal for Mediaeval Philosophy and Intellectual Life of the Middle Ages, Leiden.
VL: Vita Latina. Avignon.
VLU: Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta.
vol., vols.: volume, volumes.
Volkmann, Rhetorik: R. Volkmann, Rhetorik, in: Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 2, 3rd section, München 3rd ed. 1901 (ed. by C. Hammer).
VS: H. Diels, W. Kranz, eds., Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 3 vols., Zürich-Berlin (vol. 1: 8th ed. 1956; vol. 2: 6th ed. 1952; vol. 3: 6th ed. 1952), repr. 1990.
W.A.: Weimar editions (of Goethe's and Luther's works).
Walzel, Gehalt: O. Walzel, Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters, Berlin 1923; 2nd ed. 1929, repr. 1957.
WdF: Wege der Forschung. Darmstadt.
Webster, Hellenistic Poetry: T. B. L. Webster, Hellenistic Poetry and Art, London 1964.
Weiss: R. Weiss, The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity, New York 1969.
Wenger, Quellen: L. Wenger, Die Quellen des römischen Rechts, Wien 1953.
WG: Die Welt als Geschichte. Stuttgart.
WHB: Wiener humanistische Blätter. Wien.
Wieacker, Textstufen: F. Wieacker, Textstufen klassischer Juristen (= AAG 3, 45), Göttingen 1960.
Wieacker, Rechtsgeschichte: F. Wieacker, Römische Rechtsgeschichte. Quellenkunde, Rechtsbildung, Jurisprudenz und Rechtsliteratur, 1. Abschnitt: Einleitung, Quellenkunde, Frühzeit und Republik, 1, München 1988; 2 announced.
Wilamowitz, Hellenistische Dichtung: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos, 2 vols., Berlin 1924.
Wilamowitz, cf. also: KultdGgw.
Wille, Einführung: G. Wille, Einführung in das römische Musikleben, Darmstadt 1977.
Wille, Musica Romana: G. Wille, Musica Romana. Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer, Amsterdam 1967.
Williams, Tradition: G. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford 1968.
Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom: W. Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit. Wiesbaden 1960.
Wirszubski, Libertas: C. Wirszubski, Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate, Cambridge 1950.
Wissenschaft und Weltbild: Wien.
WJA: Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft. Würzburg.
WKPh: Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. Berlin.
Wortkunst: Wortkunst. Untersuchungen zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte. München.
WS: Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik. Wien.
Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart.
WZHalle: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
WZJena: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
WZRostock: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
YClS: Yale Classical Studies. New Haven.

ZANKER: P. ZANKER, Augustus und die Macht der Bilder, München 1987.
ZAnt: Živa Antika. Antiquité vivante. Skopje.
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Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur. Stuttgart.
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

8th c. B.C.	Greek colonization of Campania
753 B.C.	Alleged foundation of Rome
About 510	End of Etruscan kingship at Rome. Beginning of the Republic
End of 6th c.	The Capitoline she-wolf. Lapis niger
Mid-5th c.	The Twelve Tables
About 390	Rome taken by the Gauls
312	Appius Claudius Caecus, famous orator. During his censorship the Aqua Appia and Via Appia (from Rome to Capua) were built
272	Tarentum taken by the Romans. Influence of Greek theater

REPUBLICAN PERIOD I
(about 240–81 B.C.)

241	End of the First Punic War which, still in the 3rd c., would become the subject of Naevius' epic, a poet from Capua. Italy and Sicily unified: beginning of a Latin literature
240	First performance of a literary Latin drama in Rome (by Livius Andronicus who, in all probability, came from Tarentum)
218–201	Second Punic War, to be treated in Greek prose by Fabius Pictor and in Latin verse by Ennius from southern Italy
211	Syracuse taken by the Romans. Works of art brought to Rome as trophies
197	Victory of Cynoscephalae (over Philipp V of Macedonia)
196	Greece declared 'free'
191	Gallia Cisalpina made a Roman province

186	Scandal of the Bacchanalia: the cult of Bacchus prohibited
184	Death of the playwright Plautus
169	Death of Ennius, a poetic multi-talent
168	Battle of Pydna: victory of L. Aemilius Paullus over Perseus of Macedonia. The royal library of Pella brought to Rome. Greek schools at Rome. The historian Polybius comes to Rome
166–160	Terence's comedies performed
149	Death of Cato Censorius (orator, historian, and author of a work on agriculture)
146	Destruction of Carthage and Corinth
133	Numantia taken by the Romans. Attalus III of Pergamon bequeathes his kingdom to the Romans. Pergamene scholarship imbued with Stoicism becomes influential in Rome
133–121	Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus
121	Gallia Narbonensis becomes a Roman province
111–105	Jugurthine War. Numidia becomes a Roman province
106	Cicero born
100	Caesar born

Conditions

Initially, poets are foreigners or freedman, later on, at best, free natives of Italy.

Prose authors are senators (or their clients).

Poets come from southern or central Italy (Terence is African), orators and historians from central Italy.

Genre

Poetry
Epic: Livius Andronicus: His *Odusia* is a part of primitive history of Italy; Naevius: First Punic War; Ennius: Second Punic War.
Drama: Tragedy (Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius), Comedy (rich style: Plautus, Caecilius; severe style: Terence), along with these genres, there are other, partly popular, forms.
Lyric: Expiatory hymn of Livius Andronicus. Epigrams: significant early inscriptions of the Scipios; later (about 100) playful love epigrams.

Prose

Oratory (rich style: Cato; severe style: C. Gracchus; history (Cato and the Annalists). First encounters with philosophy (Crates of Mallus). Beginnings of philology (partly also influenced by Stoicism).

Influences

Graeco-Roman: the term 'translation' is somewhat misleading if applied to early Roman free adaptations. Roman authors earlier adapted contemporary (Hellenistic) Greek literature than classical or archaic works. They viewed Homer through the eyes of Hellenistic historical epic and Hellenistic imitations of Homer, and classical Greek tragedy through the prism of Hellenistic drama and its practice of performance. They assimilated myth simultaneously with the different forms of rational 'demythification', so that literal belief in myth was excluded *a priori*. The mediating and pioneering roles of early Roman poets, such as Ennius, compelled them to show their talents in many genres.

Junctions and bridges for cultural influences were: the theatrical tradition of Magna Graecia, especially Tarentum (for Latin drama, beginning with Livius Andronicus), southern Italy, and Sicily (Archestratus, Epicharmus, Euhemerus, and Pythagoreanism in Ennius); Pergamon, Pella, Rhodus (Stoic influences which were bound to determine the intellectual evolution of Roman culture); presence of Greek philosophers at Rome; learned slaves and freedmen.

Ideas

Individual identity: an identity based on intellectual achievement is developed by authors of humble origin. Philosophical doctrine (such as the migration of souls in Ennius' Pythagorean dream of Homer) is not believed as a dogma, but exploited as a means of self-portrayal.

Political identity: Naevius, Ennius, and Cato the Elder define basic values of the Roman Republic. At the same time, however, the thirst for fame of Roman families (*gentes*) and even individuals was expressed in literature. Even a poet as early as Ennius was not free of hero-worship (Scipio).

Inter-cultural relationships: the Hellenization of Roman life progressed irresistibly, transforming not only its material but also its intellectual aspects. Following Greek philosophers Ennius ranked wisdom above force. Cato made a plea for leniency (*clementia*) towards the Rhodians, disguising modern common sense as an ancient Roman moral principle. Drama, by referring to philosophical discussions or categories, encouraged its public to reflect. The education of orators was based both on Roman practice and on the teachings of Greek rhetors; the dissemination of rhetoric through *Latin* rhetors, however, met with serious obstacles for a long time.

REPUBLICAN PERIOD II
(about 81–43 B.C.)

92	Latin rhetors disciplined by the censor L. Licinius Crassus
91–89	The so-called Social War (the Italics' struggle for citizenship)
88–82	Civil war between Marius (or the Marians) and Sulla
86	Sallust born
82–79	Sulla's dictatorship. The sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste
81	Cicero's first speech (*Pro Quinctio*)
70	First consulate of Pompey. Process against Verres. Virgil born
65	Horace born
63	Cicero's consulate. Catilinarian conspiracy. The later Augustus born
62	So-called first triumvirate: Pompey, Caesar, Crassus
58–57	Cicero's exile
58–51	Gaul conquered by Caesar
57–56	Catullus and Cinna together with Memmius in Bithynia
55	Caesar's first arrival in Britain. Pompey's theater in Rome (first theater of stone). Cicero *De oratore*. Death of Lucretius
53	Battle of Carrhae: loss of the Roman standards and death of Crassus
51	Cicero accomplished his *De re publica* and Caesar his *Bellum Gallicum*
48	Battle of Pharsalus: victory of Caesar over Pompey
46	Suicide of Cato the Younger in Utica
45	Introduction of the Julian calendar (Sosigenes)
44	Caesar murdered
43	'Second' triumvirate: Antonius, Lepidus, and the later Augustus. First consulate of the latter. Death of Cicero. Ovid born

Conditions

The poet Catullus was a member of the municipal aristocracy; Lucretius, too, was independent. Most prose writers were active politicians and senators (an exception is Nepos).

Origin of authors: most of the authors were from central Italy, Catullus from northern Italy.

Genre

Poetry
Culmination of non-political poetry (Lucretius, Catullus).

Prose
Oratory (Cicero); autobiography and *commentarius* (Sulla, Caesar); biography (Nepos). Comprehensive introductions to philosophy in polished literary prose (Cicero) or verse (Lucretius). First steps towards a systematic approach to law (Scaevola, Cicero). Varro as a universal scholar.

Influences

The influence of classical Attic oratory helped to subdue the Hellenistic exuberance of Asian oratory (Crassus, Hortensius); the Atticists were strict representatives of the new trend, and Cicero a moderate one. Books on rhetoric based on Hellenistic precedents (cf. the Auctor ad Herennium) gained philosophical scope by especially following Aristotle (Cicero). The same Cicero, when assimilating Hellenistic political philosophy, competed with Plato. Cicero and Lucretius shaped the content of Hellenistic philosophy into forms reminiscent of classical (Plato) and archaic Greece (Empedocles). Caesar in his *commentarii* outdid Xenophon. Callimachean standards of quality (Catullus) applied to small and medium-sized (e.g. epyllion) poetic forms; occasionally there were echoes of archaic Greek lyric (Catullus: Sappho). Varro transferred the methods of Hellenistic linguistics and antiquarian scholarship to the Latin language and Roman culture.

Ideas

Personal identity: the loosening of political links gave more prominence to the individual (autobiography; biography) and encouraged the search for a fulfilled life outside politics (philosophy: Lucretius; love-poetry: Catullus).

Political identity: the crisis of the Roman Republic made it possible to grasp and re-define the basic ideas of Roman politics, morals, and law, partly with the aid of Greek philosophy (Cicero, the jurists). The Annalists and Varro developed an awareness of a Roman historical and linguistic identity.

Inter-cultural relationships: Graeco-Roman series of biographies (Nepos) and the parallel use of Greek and Roman examples in literature (Cicero, prepared by Cato) constitute a 'twofold ancestry' and a Graeco-Roman cultural identity.

Augustan Period (about 43 B.C. A.D. 14)

42	Battle of Philippi. Horace sides with Brutus as an officer
about	
42–35	Virgil's *Eclogues*
41–40	War of Perusia. Among the citizens killed by the future Augustus there is a relative of Propertius
about	
39–29	Virgil's *Georgics*
31	Battle of Actium
about	
29–19	Virgil's *Aeneid*
28	Inauguration of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine
27	Title of Augustus. Agrippa begins the construction of the Pantheon
26	Suicide of Cornelius Gallus
23	Death of Marcellus. Beginning of the construction of the Marcellus theater. Horace, *Odes,* Books 1 3
20	The Parthians render to the Romans the standards lost by Crassus Horace, *Epistles,* Book 1
19	(17 at the latest) Deaths of Virgil and Tibullus
18	*Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*
17	Secular games. Horace's *Carmen saeculare*
13–9	Ara Pacis
8	Death of Horace
2	Augustus *pater patriae*. Forum of Augustus
about -	Ovid, *Ars amatoria*
A.D. 8	Ovid, *Metamorphoses*
A.D. 14	Death of Augustus. *Res gestae Divi Augusti*

Conditions

Origin of authors: southern Italy (Horace), central Italy (Sallust, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid), northern Italy (Virgil, Livy)

Circle of Maecenas: close to the Princeps, comprising authors of merit without regard to their origin

Circle of Messalla: more aloof of the Princeps, opened also to young authors, but of family Historians were senators (Sallust, Pollio), later on, professional writers (Livy).

Genre

Poetry

Apogee of epic: Virgil's *Aeneid*. Didactic poetry: Virgil's *Georgics;* blending of genres in Horace's *Ars poetica* (*Epistula ad Pisones*) and Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.

New genres: *Bucolica* (Virgil): a well-structured collection of ten poems (cf. Horace, *Satires,* book 1 and the first book of Tibullus). Horace's book of *Iambi* and the first three books of *Odes* were innovative both metrically and as collections.

Horace limited satire to the hexameter and created poetic epistle.

Zenith of elegy (Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid)

Epigram (Marsus)

Prose

Historiography only now gained high literary rank.

Political speech, which had lost importance, was replaced with scholastic declamation: 'pointed style'.

Vitruvius' *De architectura*.

Influences

Graeco-Roman: Virgil's intellectual development led him from Hellenistic to classical and archaic models: from neoteric miniature poetry to Theocritean idyll, Aratean and Hesiodic didacticism and, finally, Homeric epic. Similarly, Horace, in his *Odes,* was not content with Hellenistic models but went on to early Greek poets. These authors move against the mainstream of the development of literary history; their early Greek models helped them to become intellectually independent.

Latin historiography, competing with Hellenistic and older models, for the first time, finds a clear-cut identity: Sallust may be called a Roman Thucydidean, Livy a Herodotean. To the archaizing tendencies in prose and poetry there are parallel developments in the fine arts and even in the political climate of the Augustan period.

Within Latin literature: Sallust deliberately adds a Catonian touch to his personal archaizing style. Horace as a satirist has to struggle with Lucilius; however, he is aware of his own superiority to this predecessor. In elegy, there is an even more conspicuous Latin tradition. By now, it has become possible to lead a dialogue with an authoritative indigenous ancestry, which soon will be felt to be of equal rank as the Greek tradition.

Ideas

Personal identity: elegy develops a private way of living a fulfilled life; in his *Metamorphoses,* Ovid projected the theme of love into the large format of an

epic, almost aloof from politics. In his exile, poetic *ingenium* became a second authority besides the princeps. The pointlessness of political activity allowed a revaluation of philosophic contemplation (Manilius)

Political identity: a new peace after decades of chaos found an epic repercussion in the *Aeneid*; the values represented in this work were soon accepted as an expression of Roman identity. Virgil and Horace, who, as *vates*, felt responsible for their society, in many respects were in advance of their times and held a mirror up to their contemporaries and to Augustus: Virgil insists on *pietas* to the point of solidarity with the enemy. In Horace's *Roman Odes*, the Muse imparts *lene consilium* to the ruler. Livy projects an almost Menandrean sense of humanity (of which his contemporaries are badly in need) onto early Rome, thus transforming the Roman Republic retrospectively into a treasury of civic virtues looking to the future.

Inter-cultural relationships: Virgil shaped a Roman myth and confidently made it a counterpiece to Homer's myth. Many passages in his work indicate that the antithesis between the two cultures has been superseded by reconciliation.

With astounding completeness, Ovid transmitted to us Greek myth and Livy transmitted Roman history as two arsenals of typical characters, situations and patterns of behavior. At the same time, Graeco-Latin 'twin libraries' were built.

EARLY EMPIRE
(A.D. 14–117)

14–37 Tiberius. History and poetry use small forms
37–41 Caligula
41–54 Claudius
54–68 Nero. Literature and art are freed from traditional constraints
64 Conflagration of Rome. Persecution of Christians. Nero's Golden House
65 Pisonian conspiracy. Seneca and Lucan compelled to suicide
66 Petronius compelled to suicide
68–69 The year of four emperors
69–79 Vespasian
70 The Romans destroy Jerusalem. In Rome, beginning of the construction of the Flavian Amphitheater

79	Eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Death of Pliny the Elder
79–81	Titus
81–96	Domitian. Arch of Titus. Domitian's palace. Flavian neo-classicism in literature (Quintilian, Pliny)
96	Domitian inaugurates the *Ludi Capitolini*
96–98	Nerva
97	Frontinus as *curator aquarum*
98–117	Trajan
100	Pliny's *Panegyricus*
114	Trajan's arch in Beneventum
117	Trajan's column

Conditions

Authors frequently come from Spain (the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian), along with northern Italy (the Plinii).
Private patronage; imperial death sentences; poetic competitions

Some poets are of noble descent (Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Persius), others need maecenases (Calpurnius, Statius, Juvenal; Martial exaggerates his poverty); Phaedrus is a freedman.

Prose writers are senators (the Plinii, Tacitus, Petronius), officers (Velleius), or they are commissioned by the state (Quintilian).

Genre

Poetry
Minor forms and utilitarian texts are raised to the rank of literature (fable, epigram, occasional poem).

Historical epic as an antithesis to the *Aeneid* (Lucan) or as its continuation in the historical dimension (Silius). Mythological epic: Greek subject matter in post-Virgilian form.

Tragedy: Tyrants and criminals.

Satire: Philosophical seriousness (Persius) and tragic *pathos* (Juvenal)

Prose
Oratory as a sophisticated school exercise or as praise of the emperor.
History written in Latin attains its peak in Tacitus.
Compendium: Unlike Augustan Livy, Velleius prefers short form.
'Lower' genres raised to the rank of literature: letter (Seneca, Pliny); novel (Petronius).

Influences

Greco-Roman: Greek literature continues to be assimilated, but is viewed through the eyes of Roman tradition. A typical example is epic, which shapes Greek heroic myth into post-Vergilian structures and categories.

Within Latin literature: by now, imitation can be extended on Roman models; thus, epic and satire develop to a high degree of intellectual self-awareness.

Ideas

Personal identity: political pressure entailed psychological discoveries such as 'pleasure taken in evildoing' (in Seneca) and conscience (in Tacitus). Rhetoric is spiritualized into a method of psychological guidance and self-education (Seneca). The individual author takes an independent attitude towards tradition (Seneca).

Political identity: Stoic virtues of resitance prevail. The literary development of Stoic virtues of emperors and of functionaries' virtues for their subjects (*moderatio*) point to the future.

Inter-cultural relationships: in a literary collection, Valerius Maximus juxtaposes Roman *exempla* on a par with foreign *exempla*. There are Graeco-Latin poetic contests. Quintilian recommends Greek for elementary teaching. The 'Romanizing' assimilation of the myths of Thebes and the Argonauts in postvirgilian epic is a keystone in this regard.

MIDDLE AND LATE EMPIRE
(A.D. 117–565)

17–138	Hadrian. Imperial villa in Tivoli. Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. Olympieion in Athens. Hadrian's wall in Britain. New construction of the Pantheon in Rome. Temple of Venus and Roma in Rome
120	Death of Plutarch (author of parallel biographies of Greeks and Romans)
132–135	Insurrection of the Jews under Bar-Cochba
138–161	Antoninus Pius. The *limes* in Germany
161–180	Marcus Aurelius, the emperor as philosopher, writes his Εἰς ἑαυτόν in Greek. Marcus' column in Rome
about 175	Pausanias' *perihegesis*
180–192	Commodus
193–211	Septimius Severus. His arch on the Forum Romanum
197	(or later) Tertullian, *Apologeticum*

212	*Constitutio Antoniniana* (Roman citizenship for almost all free citizens of the empire)
218–222	Elagabalus
222–235	Severus Alexander. Cassius Dio writes Roman history in Greek. Porta Nigra at Trier
249–251	Decius. Persecution of Christians. Cyprian's martyrdom
253/4	Death of Origen
260–268	Gallienus. Edict of tolerance in favor of the Christians. Plotinus' teaching activity in Rome
270–275	Aurelian. Fortifications built around Rome
284–305	Diocletian. Thermae in Rome. Residences in Trier and Saloniki: Palaces in Split and Piazza Armerina
306–337	Constantine. Lactantius, a 'Christian Cicero' with 'classical' tastes
312	Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge
313	Edict of tolerance of Milan. Arch of Constantine in Rome
324	Foundation of Constantinople
325	Council of Nicaea
361–363	Julian the Apostate
379–395	Theodosius I ('the Great'). Renaissance of Latin literature
384	Symmachus' *Relatio* on the altar of Victoria
393	Last celebration of the Olympic Games
395–423	Honorius
397	Death of Ambrose of Milan
408	Death of Stilicho
410	Alaric conquers Rome
420	Jerome's death
430	Augustine's death
438	*Codex Theodosianus*
451	Battle of the Catalaunian Fields against the Huns
476	End of the Western Roman Empire
491	Theodoric proclaimed king
524	Death of Boethius
527–565	Justinian
528–534	*Corpus Iuris Civilis*
529	Justinian closes down the Platonic Academy. Benedict founds his monastic community in Monte Cassino

Conditions

Rise of cultural provinces. The imperial court resides at different places (*panegyrici* in prose or verse), senatorial aristocracy in Rome (preservation of classical literature, a receptive public for authors like Ammianus). Other centers (like Carthage or Milan) offer similar conditions for authors; the same is true of schools (which employ grammarians and rhetors) and the Church. There are excellent law schools, also in the east.

Authors often are members of the upper classes or, at least, adopt their moral categories.

A great many authors come from Africa (2nd–4th century). There follow Gaul (5th century), Italy (6th cetury), Spain (4th–8th century). Jerome was born in Dalmatia.

Genre

Poetry
Panegyric epic (Claudian), poetic miniature forms (Hadrian, Ausonius, Claudian). Christian poetry: Lactantius uses traditional forms, as do authors of Bible epics and, especially, Prudentius; on the other hand, there are hymns, partly in new forms.

Prose
Middle empire: oratory (*Panegyrici Latini*; Apuleius; Symmachus); biography (Suetonius); novel (Apuleius); philosophic writings (Apuleius); prime of juridic literature.

Under the auspices of Christianity there appear: Bible translations, acts of martyrs, and, in due course, lives of saints. Apologetic writing predominates during the period before the Nicene Council; after that date, dogmatics and polemics among Christians take pride of place. Relatively new genres were: psychological autobiography (Augustine), works on philosophy of history (Augustine).

Influences

Graeco-Roman: the decay of the knowledge of Greek in the west indirectly fostered the rise of precise translations of technical texts on philosophy and the improvement of philosophical terminology in Latin. Now, finally, the Latin language was ready to assimilate philosophy completely and in a scholarly way (Marius Victorinus, Augustine, Boethius) and even mathematical thought (Boethius), thus anticipating modern times.

Within Latin literature: the assimilation of pagan Latin literature by the Christian authors can be interpreted either as a renaissance or as a spiritu-

alized metamorphosis (Cicero's and Ambrose's *De officiis;* Cicero's *De oratore* and Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*). As a religion based on a book Christianity furthered the introverted metamorphosis of rhetoric into hermeneutics. Reading of written evidence as 'signs' encourages a creative assimilation of domestic Latin tradition on a higher level of understanding.

From the Biblical tradition to Latin: a third strand of tradition was added now: the biblical one. The non-rhetorical character of literal Latin Bible translations was a serious obstacle for ancient readers; it was left to Jerome to find the right balance between the exigencies of both precision and beauty. A further barrierthe moral offensiveness of many stories of the Old Testament was surmounted by allegorical interpretation (beginning with Philo the Jew and Christians like Origen and Ambrose), a method originally developed by philosophers and applied by them to Greek myth. Collections of *testimonia* (as compiled by Cyprian, for instance) served a 'pneumatic' reading of the Old Testament or a reading centered on Christprepared as early as in the New Testament.

Ideas

Personal identity: the liberation of the individual by a savior god (in Apuleius and the Church Fathers) or by means of (religiously tinged) philosophy (here, 'conversion' is an important motif) is found in both pagans and Christians, partly in the tradition of 'exhortations to contemplative life and scientific knowledge' such as Cicero's *Hortensius* and Lucretius' 'imitation of Epicurus'. This enabled the individual to take an independent and critical standpoint *outside* the Roman *res publica.* Monotheism, which at first glance was in harmony with most of the philosophical schools, allowed Christianity to present itself as a 'philosophy' and to surpass other mystery cults intellectually.

Political identity: emperors again and again adopted the strongest existent intellectual force at the right moment, thus depriving it of its oppositional potential: in the 2nd century this was true of Stoic philosophy, in the 4th, of Christianity. Beside this, other efforts to provide power with a religious foundation pale into insignificance (such as Elagabalus' or Aurelian's religious innovations and Julian's belated Neoplatonic restoration of paganism).

Inter-cultural relationships: in the 2nd and 3rd centuries Latin literature was thrown into the shade. Among the few exceptions there are two bilingual but predominantly Latin authors: Apuleius and Tertullian. Greek was used not by philosophers only (such as the Christian author Origen and the pagan Plotinus) but even by Rome's historian Cassius Dio and Aelius Aristides, author of a eulogy of Rome. Latin literature experienced a renaissance only in the 4th century (partly conditioned by the political situation). Then, even native Greeks wrote in Latin (Claudian and Ammianus).

The Hellenization of Christian and Jewish traditions was first marked by Stoicism (2nd century), later (from the 3rd century onward), by Platonism. A Romanization of the same tradition shows from the application of juridic categories and the spiritualization of Roman values, which were transferred from the *res publica* to the Church and from pagan to Christian martyrs. Finally the Romans' mistrust of theory and their preference for practical life were congenial with Jewish traditions.